Encyclopaedia Aethiopica

Volume I

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Encyclopaedia Aethiopica

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A–C

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Gold coin of king Afilas,
early 4th cent. A.D., diametre 16 mm,
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Introduction

The idea of creating a comprehensive work of reference for the field of Ethiopian Studies had been circulated in the scientific community for decades until, in 1994, during the 12th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies in Michigan, USA, the concept finally crystallized. A group of scholars agreed on the overall exposition, the thematic, regional and temporal scope and the structural framework of the future Enyclopaedia.

The Ethiopian Studies research group at Hamburg University was asked to take over the organization of the project. After three years of preliminary planning and negotiations, the Universität Hamburg and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft agreed to offer the project financial and organizational support. Scholars of Ethiopian studies from Europe, the USA, Ethiopia, Eritrea and other countries united their efforts to create the provisional entry list, which was finally agreed upon in several workshops. They suggested the potential authors for the entries, helped select the field specialists who would then evaluate the articles and lent a hand in clarifying a number of basic questions. Finally, in 1998, the actual work started and the project began to take shape, welcomed enthusiastically by both older and younger colleagues throughout the world.

With more than four thousand separate entries in four volumes and an additional fifth volume designed for supplements and indices, the Encyclopaedia Aethiopica is a compendium of up-to-date information on the Horn of Africa, envisaged as a reference work for Ethiopian and Eritrean studies.

The region encompassed in the Enyclopaedia corresponds to the cultural-geographic "Orbis Aethiopicus", with the meaning this term has developed on the basis of ancient conceptions, approximating to the Horn of Africa. The area of present-day Ethiopia and Eritrea is in the centre; Djibouti and those parts of the Sudan and Somalia bordering on Ethiopia or Eritrea are also included. Readers will also come across information on other cultural regions insofar as they are connected to the Orbis Aethiopicus, such as Egypt and Arabia, Israel-Palestine and the Graeco-Roman area, territories across the Indian ocean and Oriental Christian communities, including the Coptic, the Syriac and the Armenian.

The thematic focus of the Encyclopaedia Aethiopica is the humanities, with the core field composed of, but not confined to, history, archaeology, languages, literature, religion, arts, anthropology and social sciences. Entries from the natural sciences are, as a rule, included only if they relate to a core field.

The period covered by the Enyclopaedia spans from prehistoric times to the second half of the 20th century. The coming of the Provisional Military Government to power in 1974 clearly marks a major caesura in the region's history, with the consequences being felt until the present day, which therefore prevents any conclusive evaluation of the events of recent history in a work of this nature. For this reason, the most current developments in society, politics and foreign relations receive less attention; however, entries devoted to subjects originating before 1974 do, for the most part, shed light on the current situation.

The subject index of the Encyclopaedia Aethiopica has been developed in cooperation with a large number of scholars,

with the aim of representing different cultures and ethnic groups in as balanced a way as possible. The incidental disparity in treating certain topics reflects the varying amount of research conducted into different fields of Ethiopian and Eritrean studies thus far.

The encyclopaedic nature of the work demands that articles are concise. In order to compensate for this, almost all entries have a detailed bibliography listing primary and secondary sources for further study. The informative value of the work is additionally enhanced by numerous geographical and historical maps, as well as by the illustrations accompanying the articles.

Potential updates received from the authors or readers after publication will be included in the fifth volume. In the meantime, addenda et corrigenda, along with a provisional index, will be made accessible to readers at the official Encyclopaedia website (*http://www.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/EAE*).

Acknowledgements

An interdisciplinary undertaking on the scale of the Encyclopaedia Aethiopica could not have been made possible without the co-operation and help of numerous people and organizations who supported the project in different ways. Therefore, it is my duty and pleasure as the Editor-in-Chief to thank those who have shared our vision of the Enyclopaedia and assisted in its preparation.

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all those foundations and private individuals who have financially supported the work on its way to publication. I owe my most sincere appreciation to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, whose generous grant not only breathed life into the project but also has ensured its survival. Another generous subsidy from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft enabled the publication of the present volume.

The realization of the project would also have been unthinkable without the substantial support of the Universität Hamburg, the Zeit-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, the Johanna und Fritz Buch Gedächtnisstiftung, the German-Israeli Foundation, the Hamburgische Wissenschaftliche Stiftung, the Karl-Heinz Ditze-Stiftung and the Stiftung zur Förderung der Äthiopistik. I would also like to express my gratitude to the members of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies of Addis Ababa University and to its Director Baye Yimam for their readiness to help in various matters.

It would be impossible to acknowledge adequately all those who have participated in the preparation of the Enyclopaedia so far, and only some of the persons whose knowledge, skill and commitment have helped to shape the work can be mentioned here individually.

My greatest thanks go to the Hamburg editorial staff, who have invested extraordinary amounts of their time and energy in the enterprise. I offer my sincere gratitude and appreciation for all of their effort in discussing the structure and contents of the volume, communicating with the authors and field specialists, revising, completing, correcting and following up on the articles and, last but not least, for their readiness to take over those entries that had remained without an author, sometimes at the very last moment.

The contribution of numerous colleagues who, through their written and spoken advice, have participated in shaping the project was of invaluable importance. The project's official field specialists who suggested the entries, helped choose the authors and evaluated the articles are listed on page ix.

I am also indebted to those visiting scholars who, whilst pursuing their own research at Hamburg University, invested their time and skill in the Enyclopaedia. Among them, my special thanks go to Steven Kaplan, Gianfrancesco Lusini, Abbebe Kifleyesus, Fekade Azeze and Bahru Zewde. I would also like to use this opportunity to thank all our other colleagues who found some days or weeks to pay short but highly productive visits to the project.

Sometimes the articles were composed in languages other than English. I would like to extend my thanks here to all those who have helped in translating the articles, and especially to the Hamburg editorial team, as well as to all those who cannot be named here individually due to constraints of space.

The detail maps accompanying the articles were prepared by Matthias Schulz; Wolbert Smidt selected the illustrations; the image processing and manuscript preparation were in the capable hands of Thomas Rave and Evgenia Sokolinskaia. To Thomas Rave I owe special thanks for the development of the diacritical font sets used throughout the Enyclopaedia.

The Harrassowitz Verlag and the Memminger Medien Centrum printing press were always on hand with professional technical advice, for which I give my most sincere thanks.

Siegbert Uhlig

Hamburg, in January 2003

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Notes for the User

As a rule, the reader will find an article for each entry in the Enyclopaedia. Thematically related subjects are often organized as sub-articles under a summarizing general title (e.g., "Bible"; "Gəbbi"). If an entry is relevant to several languages or ethnic groups, an English title has been chosen (e.g., "Calendar", "[St.] George"). General topics of paramount importance are usually treated in larger overview articles (e.g., "Gəᶜəz literature"); additionally, every relevant subject has an independent entry (e.g., "Gädl"). Wherever a certain subject is organized together with, or subsumed under, another entry, the reader is directed to the place where the desired information can be found by a "blind entry" consisting of the keyword and a cross-reference, e.g., "Blue Nile (↗ Abbay)"; "Ḫatmīya (↗ Islamic brotherhoods)". The register volume will list all entries and cross-references to facilitate the search for a specific topic.

Important variants of and alternatives for the entry word are included in the main article in brackets after the first appearance of the entry word in the text. We have attempted always to provide the local orthography of the entry word, whether in Ethiopic, Arabic, Greek or Latin script, including those in languages with recently introduced orthography.

In order to facilitate usage for scholars dealing only marginally with regional languages, the terms given in an Oriental script are accompanied by (or sometimes replaced by) their transliteration and translation. The transliteration systems for the languages using Gəᶜəz (table 2), Arabic (table 3) and Sabaic (table 4) scripts can be found on pages xx-xxii. In the case of non-written languages, a transcription system is used. An attempt has been made, where possible, to make use of the same set of symbols as in the transliteration of Gəᶜəz script, trying to use one standard for all articles. Following common practice with many Cushitic and Omotic languages, the length of a vowel is often reflected by two vowel symbols. The tones and stresses are marked when the authors consider this information relevant. The transcription system is summarized in table 1 on page xix.

Non-English and especially Oriental terms, when they appear in the text of an entry in Latin script, are marked by italics.

The articles are interconnected by cross-referencing. When readers come across a word preceded by an arrow, they are alerted to the fact that this name or term is the subject of a separate entry that could contribute to a better understanding of the text. Readers will also encounter cross-references to super-ordinate or related subjects at the end of entries as long as cross-references are not made to these in the body of the text. This system enables readers to access information contained in the work easily.

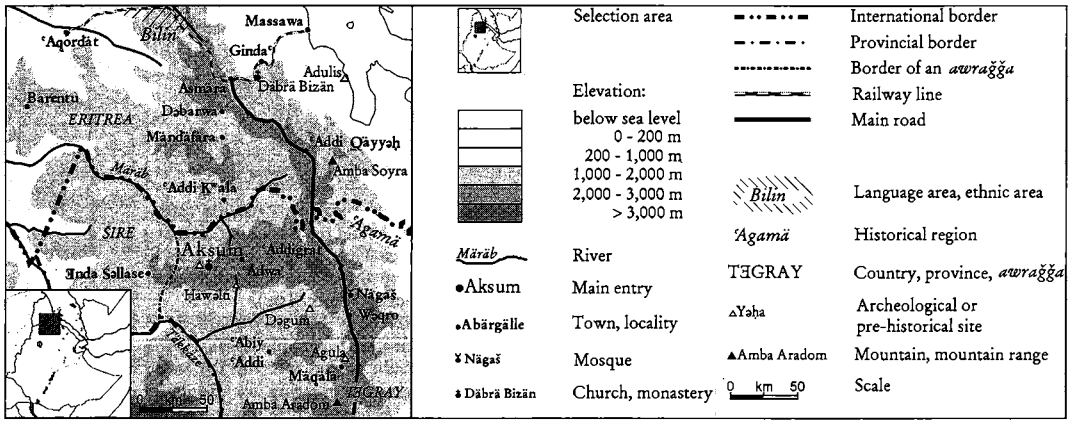
The bibliographic references are, as a rule, divided into two sections: primary sources ("Src."), that is manuscripts, catalogues, text editions, interviews etc., and secondary sources ("Lit."), that is modern critical studies related to the subject of the entry. Titles of central relevance which contain further references are followed by the bracketed abbreviation "(Lit.)". Frequently cited works, as well as the titles of most widely used periodicals, have often been abbreviated. The list of bibliographic abbreviations can be found on pages xxiv-xxx. Abbreviations for biblical books are explained on page xxxi.

Frequent terms often appear in abbreviated form; these are explained in table on page xxiii.

Entries dealing with places or regions are, as a rule, supplemented by detail maps (s. example and legend underneath). Thematic overview maps are to be published in the fifth volume. Articles can also be accompanied by photographs, drawings, reproductions or schemes, as long as these are of informative and not just of illustrative value.

If, out of necessity, articles had to be compiled by the editorial team, the abbreviation "Red." is substituted for the name of the author.

Key to Detail Maps



Disclaimer: The majority of boundaries used by the Encyclopedia Aethiopica reflect the situation of the end of the Ḫaylä Śəllase I period. The only exception is the international border between Ethiopia and Eritrea, which reflects the present situation. The borderlines shown on the maps should not be considered official.

Key to an Encyclopaedia Page

Amba Šänayti

RICHARD PANKHURST, *Tax Records and Inventories of Emperor Tewodros of Ethiopia (1855–68)*, London 1979, 11; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa – Nairobi 1965 (Monographs in Ethiopian Land Tenure no. 1), 83f.
Lit.: TadTChurch 74, 251.

Zewde Gabre-Sellassie

Blind entry

Amba Šoloda ↗ ʿAdwa, battle of

Amba Soyra

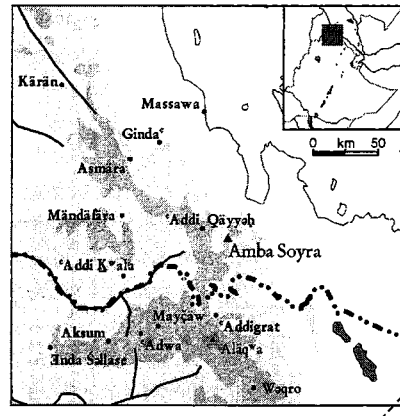
Entry title

A.S. (አምባ፡ ሶይራ) is the highest peak in Eritrea, consisting of a table of hard, mesozoic rocks (ʿAddigrat sandstone) laid on a crystalline basement, reaching an altitude of 3,013 m (*Guida*) or 3,018 m A.S.L. (*International Travel Maps*). It coincides with a horst thrust up between the ↗Sänʿafe crystalline plateaux, interrupted by the upper ↗Märäb trench to the west and the Red Sea rift to the east. Within 40 km of the Gulf of ↗Zula, it towers more than 3,000 m above the torrid coastal plain.

Name in local script

While the annual rainfall is 182 mm in Massawa and 460 mm in Sänʿafe, A.S. gets between 600 and 800 mm. It forms the limit between two contrasting climatic regions: to the east, the precipitations come from the Red Sea and fall from November to April, whereas the Highlands to the west have a tropical summer rainfall regime. The eastern slopes are prone to an intense gully erosion and are covered above an altitude of 1,000–1,200 m with an evergreen forest of local olive-trees (*Olea chrysophyla*) and of ↗juniper higher up. On the western side the proliferation of ↗euphorbia and ↗acacia follows the declining rainfall. To the west the Christian Təgrəñña-speaking cereal-croppers of the plateaux, who are settled in large villages of flat-roofed, rectangular houses (*həḍmo*), have cleared the lower slopes.

Cross-references



Detail map

Non-English terms

To the east the Sāho speaking ↗Asaorta cattle-keepers spend winter and the beginning of spring on the shores of the Gulf of Zula. From May to July they move up the mountains where they build temporary branch huts (*dasa*).

Land-use feuds have for long sparked up between the sedentary Təgrəñña speakers and the Asaorta nomadic pastoralists. But the recent climatic crises and the fighting for the independence of Eritrea have further aggravated the confrontation because of the flight of the Sāho and the ↗ʿAfar to the highlands.

Primary sources

Src.: ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988; *Guida* 294, map 4; MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *An Atlas of Ethiopia*, revised edition, Asmera 1971.
Lit.: MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972; CHRIS KUTSCHERA, *Érythrée. Eritrea*, Paris 1994; YUSUF ABUL-HAGGAG, *A Contribution to the Physiography of Northern Ethiopia*, London 1961; *International Travel Maps. Eritrea (731)*, scale: 1:900,000, Vancouver 1997.

Secondary sources

Alain Gascon

Transliteration and Transcription Tables

Table 1. General Encyclopaedia Aethiopica transcription system

	Plosive	Plos. implos.	Plos. eject.	Nasal	Affricat.	Aff. ejective	Fricat.	Approx.	Lateral approx.	Tap/flap	Trill
Bilabial, vcl.	p		p̲		pf		ɸ				
Bilabial, vcd	b	ɓ		m	bv		ß	w			
Labiodent., vcl.							f				
Labiodent., vcd.							v				
Dental., vcl.	t̲		ṭ				θ				
Dental., vcd.	d̲	d̲́		n̲			ð				
Alveol., vcl.	t				ʦ	ṣ	s		l̥		r̥
Alveol., vcd	d	d́		n	dz		z		l	r	ɾr
Lateral, vcl.					ɬ	ɬ̣	ɬ				
Lateral, vcd.					dl		ɮ				
Retrofl., vcl.	ʈ				ʧ̌						
Retrofl., vcd.	ɖ / Ð	ɖ									
Postalv., vcl.					č	č̣	š				
Postalv., vcd.					ǧ		ž				
Palatal., vcl.	c						ɕ				
Palatal., vcd.	j			ñ			ʝ	y			
Velar., vcl.	k		q		kx		k̲/x				
Velar., vcd.	g	g			gɣ		ɣ				
Labiovel., vcl.	kp			ŋ							
Labiovel., vcd.	gb										
Uvular, vcl.	q̲										ʀ
Uvular., vcd.	ɢ						ġ				
Pharyng., vcl.							ḥ				
Pharyng., vcd.							ʿ/ʕ				
Glottal., vcl.							h				
Glottal., vcd.	ʾ/ʔ						ɦ				

Table 2. Gəʿəz script

1st order		2nd order		3rd order		4th order		5th order		6th order		7th order	
ሀ	*ha*	ሁ	*hu*	ሂ	*hi*	ሃ	*ha*	ሄ	*he*	ህ	*hə*	ሆ	*ho*
ለ	*lä*	ሉ	*lu*	ሊ	*li*	ላ	*la*	ሌ	*le*	ል	*lə*	ሎ	*lo*
ሐ	*ḥa*	ሑ	*ḥu*	ሒ	*ḥi*	ሓ	*ḥa*	ሔ	*ḥe*	ሕ	*ḥə*	ሖ	*ḥo*
መ	*mä*	ሙ	*mu*	ሚ	*mi*	ማ	*ma*	ሜ	*me*	ም	*mə*	ሞ	*mo*
ሠ	*śä*	ሡ	*śu*	ሢ	*śi*	ሣ	*śa*	ሤ	*śe*	ሥ	*śə*	ሦ	*śo*
ረ	*rä*	ሩ	*ru*	ሪ	*ri*	ራ	*ra*	ሬ	*re*	ር	*rə*	ሮ	*ro*
ሰ	*sä*	ሱ	*su*	ሲ	*si*	ሳ	*sa*	ሴ	*se*	ስ	*sə*	ሶ	*so*
ሸ	*šä*	ሹ	*šu*	ሺ	*ši*	ሻ	*ša*	ሼ	*še*	ሽ	*šə*	ሾ	*šo*
ቀ	*qä*	ቁ	*qu*	ቂ	*qi*	ቃ	*qa*	ቄ	*qe*	ቅ	*qə*	ቆ	*qo*
ቐ	*q̈ä*	ቑ	*q̈u*	ቒ	*q̈i*	ቓ	*q̈a*	ቔ	*q̈e*	ቕ	*q̈ə*	ቖ	*q̈o*
በ	*bä*	ቡ	*bu*	ቢ	*bi*	ባ	*ba*	ቤ	*be*	ብ	*bə*	ቦ	*bo*
ተ	*tä*	ቱ	*tu*	ቲ	*ti*	ታ	*ta*	ቴ	*te*	ት	*tə*	ቶ	*to*
ቸ	*čä*	ቹ	*ču*	ቺ	*či*	ቻ	*ča*	ቼ	*če*	ች	*čə*	ቾ	*čo*
ኀ	*ḫa*	ኁ	*ḫu*	ኂ	*ḫi*	ኃ	*ḫa*	ኄ	*ḫe*	ኅ	*ḫə*	ኆ	*ḫo*
ነ	*nä*	ኑ	*nu*	ኒ	*ni*	ና	*na*	ኔ	*ne*	ን	*nə*	ኖ	*no*
ኘ	*ñä*	ኙ	*ñu*	ኚ	*ñi*	ኛ	*ña*	ኜ	*ñe*	ኝ	*ñə*	ኞ	*ño*
አ	*ʾa*	ኡ	*ʾu*	ኢ	*ʾi*	ኣ	*ʾa*	ኤ	*ʾe*	እ	*ʾə*	ኦ	*ʾo*
ከ	*kä*	ኩ	*ku*	ኪ	*ki*	ካ	*ka*	ኬ	*ke*	ክ	*kə*	ኮ	*ko*
ኸ	*k̲ä*	ኹ	*k̲u*	ኺ	*k̲i*	ኻ	*k̲a*	ኼ	*k̲e*	ኽ	*k̲ə*	ኾ	*k̲o*
ወ	*wä*	ዉ	*wu*	ዊ	*wi*	ዋ	*wa*	ዌ	*we*	ው	*wə*	ዎ	*wo*
ዐ	*ʿa*	ዑ	*ʿu*	ዒ	*ʿi*	ዓ	*ʿa*	ዔ	*ʿe*	ዕ	*ʿə*	ዖ	*ʿo*
ዘ	*zä*	ዙ	*zu*	ዚ	*zi*	ዛ	*za*	ዜ	*ze*	ዝ	*zə*	ዞ	*zo*
ዠ	*žä*	ዡ	*žu*	ዢ	*ži*	ዣ	*ža*	ዤ	*že*	ዥ	*žə*	ዦ	*žo*
የ	*yä*	ዩ	*yu*	ዪ	*yi*	ያ	*ya*	ዬ	*ye*	ይ	*yə*	ዮ	*yo*
ደ	*dä*	ዱ	*du*	ዲ	*di*	ዳ	*da*	ዴ	*de*	ድ	*də*	ዶ	*do*
ጀ	*ǧä*	ጁ	*ǧu*	ጂ	*ǧi*	ጃ	*ǧa*	ጄ	*ǧe*	ጅ	*ǧə*	ጆ	*ǧo*
ገ	*gä*	ጉ	*gu*	ጊ	*gi*	ጋ	*ga*	ጌ	*ge*	ግ	*gə*	ጎ	*go*

1st order		2nd order		3rd order		4th order		5th order		6th order		7th order	
ጠ	*ṭä*	ጡ	*ṭu*	ጢ	*ṭi*	ጣ	*ṭa*	ጤ	*ṭe*	ጥ	*ṭə*	ጦ	*ṭo*
ጨ	*č̣ä*	ጩ	*č̣u*	ጪ	*č̣i*	ጫ	*č̣a*	ጬ	*č̣e*	ጭ	*č̣ə*	ጮ	*č̣o*
ጰ	*p̣ä*	ጱ	*p̣u*	ጲ	*p̣i*	ጳ	*p̣a*	ጴ	*p̣e*	ጵ	*p̣ə*	ጶ	*p̣o*
ጸ	*ṣä*	ጹ	*ṣu*	ጺ	*ṣi*	ጻ	*ṣa*	ጼ	*ṣe*	ጽ	*ṣə*	ጾ	*ṣo*
ፀ	*ṣ́ä*	ፁ	*ṣ́u*	ፂ	*ṣ́i*	ፃ	*ṣ́a*	ፄ	*ṣ́e*	ፅ	*ṣ́ə*	ፆ	*ṣ́o*
ፈ	*fä*	ፉ	*fu*	ፊ	*fi*	ፋ	*fa*	ፌ	*fe*	ፍ	*fə*	ፎ	*fo*
ፐ	*pä*	ፑ	*pu*	ፒ	*pi*	ፓ	*pa*	ፔ	*pe*	ፕ	*pə*	ፖ	*po*
ቨ	*vä*	ቩ	*vu*	ቪ	*vi*	ቫ	*va*	ቬ	*ve*	ቭ	*və*	ቮ	*vo*

Labiovelars*:

ቈ	$q^{w}ä$	ቍ	$q^{w}i$	ቋ	$q^{w}a$	ቌ	$q^{w}e$	ቍ	$q^{w}ə$
ጐ	$\underline{b}^{w}ä$	ጕ	$\underline{b}^{w}i$	ጓ	$\underline{b}^{w}a$	ጔ	$\underline{b}^{w}e$	ጕ	$\underline{b}^{w}ə$
ኰ	$k^{w}ä$	ኵ	$k^{w}i$	ኳ	$k^{w}a$	ኴ	$k^{w}e$	ኵ	$k^{w}ə$
ጐ	$g^{w}ä$	ጕ	$g^{w}i$	ጓ	$g^{w}a$	ጔ	$g^{w}e$	ጕ	$g^{w}ə$
ኸ	$\underline{k}^{w}ä$	ኽ	$\underline{k}^{w}i$	ኻ	$\underline{k}^{w}a$	ኼ	$\underline{k}^{w}e$	ኽ	$\underline{k}^{w}ə$
ቈ	$q^{w}ä$	ቍ	$q^{w}i$	ቋ	$q^{w}a$	ቌ	$q^{w}e$	ቍ	$q^{w}ə$

* Consonant symbols with the additional ˌ underneath (e.g., ኗ, $l^{w}a$, ቧ, $b^{w}a$, ፗ, $t^{w}a$ etc.) or ˈ above (e.g., ሟ, $m^{w}a$, ሯ, $r^{w}a$, ፏ, $f^{w}a$ etc.) stand for the respective consonant phonemes followed by -^{w}a.

Numerals:

፩	1	፰	8	፷	60
፪	2	፱	9	፸	70
፫	3	፲	10	፹	80
፬	4	፳	20	፺	90
፭	5	፴	30	፻	100
፮	6	፵	40	፲፻	1,000
፯	7	፶	50	፼	10,000

Table 3. Arabic transcription/transliteration

a) Consonants											
أ	ʾ	ح	ḥ	ز	z	ط	ṭ	ق	q	ه	h
ب	b	خ	ḫ	س	s	ظ	ẓ	ك	k	و	w
ت	ṯ	د	d	ش	š	ع	ʿ	ل	l	ى	y
ث	ṯ	ذ	ḏ	ص	ṣ	غ	ġ	م	m		
ج	ǧ	ر	r	ض	ḍ	ف	f	ن	n		
b) Vowels											
ـَ	a	ا or ى	ā	ـُ	u	و	ū	ـِ	i	ي	ī

Table 4. Transliteration for Epigraphic South Arabian (Sabaic)

𐩮	n	𐩣	ṯ	𐩧	t	𐩵	d	𐩠	ʿ	𐩲	ṣ
𐩫	g	𐩦	s (s^1)	𐩺	š (s^2)	𐩱	l	𐩡	w	𐩴	ẓ
𐩵	ḏ	𐩤	ʾ	𐩸	ś (s^3)	𐩥	h	𐩩	q	𐩬	r
𐩪	b	𐩨	k	𐩷	z	𐩭	ḫ	𐩢	y		
𐩯	ḍ	𐩰	f	𐩶	m	𐩳	ḥ	𐩤	ṯ		

General Abbreviations

abbr.	abbreviation; abbreviated
A.D.	*Anno Domini*
Afr.	African
A.Mart.	*Anno Martyrum*
A.M.	*Anno Misericordiae*; *ʿAmäta Məḥrät* (year in Ethiopian calendar)
Amh.	Amharic
ANLin	Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma
annot.	annotated
Arab.	Arabic; Arabian
art.	article
A.S.L.	above sea level
b.	born
B.A.	Bachelor of Arts
B.C.	before Christian Era
bibl.	bibliography; bibliographical
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
BritLib	British Library, London
BritMus	British Museum, London
B.Sc.	Bachelor of Sciences
B.S.L.	below sea level
ca.	circa
cent.	century
cf.	confer
ch(s).	chapter(s)
cm	centimetre(s)
col(s).	column(s)
comm.	commented
Copt.	Coptic
cp.	compare
d.	died, dead
D.Sc.	Doctor of Sciences
ed(s).	editor(s); edition; edited
e.g.	*exempli gratia* (for instance)
et al.	*et alia* (and others)
etc.	*et cetera*
Eritr.	Eritrean
Eth.	Ethiopian; Ethiopic
f(f).	the following
fasc.	fascicle
fem.	*femininum*
fl.	flourished
fig.	figurative(ly); figure(s)
fol.	folio
Fr.	French
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
geog.	geography; geographical
Germ.	German
Gr.	Greek
H.	*hiğrī* (year of Hiğra, i.e. in Arab. calendar)
ha	hectar
ibid.	*ibidem* (in the same place)
id.	*idem* (the same person)
i.e.	*id est* (that is to say)
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Abäba
ill.	illustration
incl.	including; inclusive(ly)
intr.	introduced; introduction
Ital.	Italian
IUO	Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples
km	kilometre(s)
Lat.	Latin
lit.	literature; literal(ly)
l(l).	line(s)
m	metre(s)
M.A.	Master of Arts
masc.	*masculinum*
mf(s).	microfilm(s)
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
M.Sc.	Master of Sciences
n.	note; footnote
n.d.	no date
N.N.	*Nome nominandem*
no.	number
op.cit.	*opus citatum*
orig.	original(ly)
Ph.D.	Doctor of Philosophy
pl.	plural
p(p).	page(s)
p.a.	*per annum*
pers.	person(al) [grammatical]
pol.	political; politics
pron.	pronoun
r	recto
r.	rule(d); reign(ed)
repr.	reprint(ed)
s.	see
ser.	series; série
sg.	singular
sp.	spelling; spelled
spec.	specifically; special
src.	sources
St.	Saint
sth.	something
suppl.	supplement(ary)
syn.	synonym(ous)
Syr.	Syriac; Syrian
theol.	theology; theological
Tgn.	Təgrəññña
Tgr.	Təgre
tr.	translation; translator; translated
trad.	traditional
v	verso
vs.	versus
var.	variant; variation
vol(s).	volumes

Bibliographic Abbreviations

AbbCat	ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens appartenant à Antoine d'Abbadie*, Paris 1859
AE	*Annales d'Éthiopie*, Addis Abeba 1955ff.
AeF	*Aethiopistische Forschungen*, Stuttgart – Wiesbaden 1977ff.
Aethiopica	*Aethiopica. International Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Wiesbaden 1996ff.
AmhChurchD	SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE (ed.), **የአማርኛ፡ የቤተክርስቲያን፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት** (*Yä'amarəñña yäbetäkrəstiyan mäzgäbä qalat*, 'Amharic Church Dictionary'), 6 vols., Heidelberg 1981 A.M. [1989 A.D.]
Annali IUO	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, Napoli 1940ff.
AuÜ	*Afrika und Übersee*, Berlin 1910ff.
BaetDic	JOSEPH BAETEMAN, *Dictionnaire amarigna–français. Suivi d'un vocabulaire français–amarigna*, Dire-Daoua 1929
BassDic	FRANCESCO DA BASSANO, *Vocabulario Tigray–Italiano e Repertorio Italiano–Tigray*, Roma 1918
BassÉt [I, II]	RENÉ BASSET, "Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Première Partie: Chronique éthiopienne, d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris", *JA* 7e série 17, 1881, 315–434, [I]; 18, 1881, 93–183, 285–389 [II]; repr. Paris 1882
BassHist	ŠIHABADDĪN AḤMAD IBN ʿABDALQĀDIR, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša. Histoire de la conquête de l'Abyssinie (XVIe siècle) par Chihab Eddin Aḥmed ben ʿAbd el-Qāder, surnommé Arab-Faqih*, ed., tr. by RENÉ BASSET, 2 vols., Paris 1897 (Publications de l'École des lettres d'Alger 19, 20)
BeckHuntAlm	CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM – GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (ed., tr.), *Some Records of Ethiopia, 1593–1646. Being Extracts from the History of High Ethiopia or Abassia by MANOEL DE ALMEIDA, together with BAHREY's History of the Galla*, London 1954 (Hakluyt Society Works, ser. 2, vol. 107); Nendeln, Liechtenstein ²1967
BeckHuntAlvar	CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM – GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (eds.), *The Prester John of The Indies. A True Relation of the Lands of the Prester John, being the Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520, written by Father FRANCISCO ALVAREZ*, tr. by Lord STANLEY OF ALDERLY (1881), Cambridge 1961 (Hakluyt Society Works, ser. 2, vols. 114, 115)
BegCron	FRANCESCO BÉGUINOT, *La Cronaca abbreviata d'Abissinia, nuova versione dall'Etiopico e commento*, Roma 1901
BendLang	MARVIN LIONEL BENDER et al., *Language in Ethiopia*, London 1976
BendNonSLang	MARVIN LIONEL BENDER et al., *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, East Lansing 1976
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Leiden 1943ff.
BruNile	JAMES BRUCE OF KINNAIRD, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1772 and 1773*, 5 vols., Edinburgh 1790
BSO[A]S	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies*, London 1900ff.
BTafA	BAIRU TAFLA (ed., tr.), *Aṣma Giyorgis and His Work: History of the Gāllā and the Kingdom of Šawā*, Stuttgart 1987 (AeF 18)

BudHist	ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE, *A History of Ethiopia*, 2 vols., London 1928
BudSaint	ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE (ed.), *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, 4 vols., Cambridge 1928; repr. Hildesheim – New York 1976
CE	AZIZ S. ATIYA (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, 8 vols., New York 1991
CerLett	ENRICO CERULLI, *La letteratura etiopica*, Milano ^{3}1968
ChAbb	MARIUS CHAÎNE, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie*, Paris 1912
ChMonV	MARIUS CHAÎNE, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Mondon-Vidailhet*, Paris 1913
CIH	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*. IV: *inscriptiones himyariticas et sabaeas continens*, Paris
ColSyn VI – XIV	GERARD COLIN, *Le synaxaire éthiopien. Mois de Maskaram*, Turnhout 1986 (PO 43–3) [VI]; *Mois de Ṭeqemt*, Turnhout 1987 (PO 44–1) [VII]; *Mois de Ḫedār*, Turnhout 1988 (PO 44–3) [VIII]; *Mois deṬərr*, Turnhout 1990 (PO 45–1) [IX]; *Le mois de Yakkātit*, Turnhout 1992 (PO 45-3) [X]; *Le mois de Maggābit*, Turnhout 1994 (PO 46–3) [XI]; *Mois de Miyāzyā*, Turnhout 1995 (PO 46–4) [XII]; *Mois de Gənbot* , Turnhout 1997 (PO 47–3) [XIII]; *Index généraux, annexes*, Turnhout 1999 (PO 48–3) [XIV].
CRAbb [I – IV]	CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie", *JA* ser. 10, 15, 1912, 551–78 [I]; 20, 1913, 5–72, 449–94 [II]; ser. 11, 2, 1913, 5–64 [III]; 5, 1915, 189–238, 447–93 [IV]; repr. Paris 1914
CrawItin	OSBERT GUY STANHOPE CRAWFORD, *Ethiopian Itineraries, circa 1400–1524, Including those Collected by Alessandro Zorzi at Venice in the Years 1519–24*, Cambridge 1958
CRHist	CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed.), *Historia Regis Sarṣa Dengel (Malak Sagad). Accedit Historia gentis Galla curante Ignazio Guidi*, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1907 (CSCO 20, 21 [SAe 3, 4]), repr. 1961
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Louvain 1903ff.
DAE I–IV	ENNO LITTMANN — THEODOR VON LÜPKE (eds.), *Reisebericht der Expedition. Topographie und Geschichte Aksums*, Berlin 1913 [I]; DANIEL KRENCKER — THEODOR VON LÜPKE (eds.), *Ältere Denkmäler Nordabessiniens. Mit einem Anhang von ROBERT ZAHN*, Berlin 1913 [II]; THEODOR VON LÜPKE — ENNO LITTMANN — DANIEL KRENCKER (eds.), *Profan- und Kulturbauten Nordabessiniens aus älterer und Neuerer Zeit*, Berlin 1913 [III]; ENNO LITTMANN (ed.), *Sabäische, griechische und altabessinische Inschriften*, Berlin 1913 [IV]
DicEthBio	BELAYNESH MICHAEL – STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI – RICHARD PANKHURST (eds.), *The Dictionary of Ethiopian Biography*. I [*Early Times to c. 1270 A.D.*], Addis Ababa 1975
DillmLex	CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH AUGUST DILLMANN, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae*, Lipsiae 1865; repr. New York 1955; Osnabrück 1970
DillmLond	CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH AUGUST DILLMANN, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannica asservantur. Pars Tertia, codices aethiopicos amplectens*, Londini 1847
DombrChr	FRANZ AMADEUS DOMBROWSKI, *Ṭanasee 106: eine Chronik der Herrscher Äthiopiens*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 12a, 12b)

DTWDic	DÄSTA TÄKLÄ WÄLD, አዲስ፡ የአማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት፡ በካህናትና፡ በጋገረ፡ ሰብ፡ ቋንቋ፡ ተጻፈ. (*Addis yäʾamarəñña mäzgäbä qalat bäkahnatənna bäḫagärä säb qʷanqʷa täṣafä*, 'A New Dictionary of Amharic. Written in Accordance with the Parlance of the Clergy and the Peasants'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1970 A.D.]
EI²	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden ²1954ff.
EMML I–X	WILLIAM F. MACOMBER (I–III, V–VII) – GETATCHEW HAILE (IV–X), *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Abeba and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville*, vol. I: *Project Numbers 1–300*, Collegeville 1975; vol. II: *Project Numbers 301–700*, Collegeville 1976; vol. III: *Project Numbers 701–1100*, Collegeville 1978; vol. IV: *Project Numbers 1101–1500*, Collegeville 1979; vol. V: *Project Numbers 1501–2000*, Collegeville 1981; vol. VI: *Project Numbers 2001–2500*, Collegeville 1982; vol. VII: *Project Numbers 2501–3000*, Collegeville 1983; vol. VIII: *Project Numbers 3001–3500*, Collegeville 1985; vol. IX: *Project Numbers 3501–4000*, Collegeville 1987; vol. X: *Project Numbers 4001–5000*, Collegeville 1993
EncAfr	KEITH IRVINE – L. H. OFOSU-APPIAH, *The Encyclopaedia Africana Dictionary of African Biography*, vol. 1: *Ethiopia – Ghana*, New York 1977
EncSan	*Enciclopedia dei santi: le Chiese orientali*, Roma 1998ff.
ErDizBio	GUISEPPE PUGLISI, *Chi è? dell'Eritrea 1952. Dizionario Biografico con una cronologia*, Asmara 1952
EthObs	*Ethiopia Observer*, Addis Ababa 1956–74
GraggDic	GENE B. GRAGG, *Oromo Dictionary*, Michigan 1982
GrebSLex	SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, *Supplément au Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae de August Dillmann (1965) et Édition du Lexique de Juste d'Urbin (1850–1855)*, Paris 1952
GreSyn IV–V	SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, *Le synaxaire éthiopien. Les mois de Taḫschasch, Ṭer et Yakatit, publiés et traduits par Sylvain Grébaut*, IV: *Le mois de Taḫschasch*, Paris 1927 (PO 15–5) [IV]; *Le mois de Taḫšaš (fin), traduit par Geneviève Nollet*, Paris 1945 (PO 26–1) [V]
GreTisVat	SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT – EUGÈNE TISSERANT, *Codices Æthiopici Vaticani et Borgiani, Barberinianus Orientalis 2, Rossinianus 865, Pars Prior, enarratio codicum*, Romae 1935
GueCopMen	GUÈBRÈ SELLASIÉ, *Chronique du Règne de Ménélik II, Roi des Rois d'Éthiopie*, ed. by MAURICE DE COPPET, tr. by TÈSFA SELLASSIÉ, Paris 1930–31
Guida	CONSOCIAZIONE TURISTICA ITALIANA (ed.), *Guida dell'Africa Orientale Italiana*, Milano 1938
GuiIohan	IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed., tr.), *Annales Iohannis I, Iyāsu I et Bakāffā*, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1903 (CSCO 24, 25 [SAe 7, 8]); repr. Louvain 1960–61
GuiIyas	IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed., tr.), *Annales Regum ʾIyāsu II et ʾIyoʾas*, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1910–12 (CSCO 66, 61 [SAe 29, 28]); repr. Louvain 1960–61
GuiSLett	IGNAZIO GUIDI, *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, Roma 1932
GuiSyn I –III	IGNAZIO GUIDI, *Le Synaxaire éthiopien. Les mois de Sanê, Hamlê et Nahasê, publiés et traduits par I.Guidi, avec le concours de MM. L. Desnoyer et A. Singlas*. I: *Mois de Sanê*, Paris 1906 (PO 1–5); II: *Mois de Hamlê*, Paris 1909 (PO 7–3); III: *Mois de Nahasê et de Pâguemên (traduction de S.Grébaut)*, Paris 1912 (PO 9–4).
GuiVoc	IGNAZIO GUIDI, *Vocabolario Amarico–Italiano*, Roma 1901; repr. Roma 1953

HamSixBerl	ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT – VERONIKA SIX, *Äthiopische Handschriften*. 1: *Die Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, Wiesbaden 1983 (VOHD XX, 4)
HamTana 1, 2	ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee*. 1: *Reisebericht und Beschreibung der Handschriften in dem Kloster des heiligen Gabriel auf der Insel Kebrān*, Wiesbaden 1973 (VOHD XX, 1); 2: *Die Handschriften von Dabra Māryām und von Rēmā*, Wiesbaden 1977 (VOHD XX, 2)
HerTar	ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, **የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäḥəywät tarik*, 'Life Stories'), Addis Abäba 1915 A.M. [1922/23 A.D.]
HillBD	RICHARD HILL, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Anglo–Egyptian Sudan*, London 1951
HuntAmd	GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (ed., tr.), *The Glorious Victories of ᶜĀmda-Ṣeyon, King of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1965
HuntGeogr	GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Historical Geography of Ethiopia. From the First Century AD to 1704*, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, London 1989 (Union Académique Internationale; Fontes historiae africanae, series varia 4)
IJAHS	*International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Boston – New York 1968ff.
JA	*Journal asiatique*, Paris 1822ff.
JAH	*The Journal of African History*, Cambridge 1960ff.
JES	*Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa 1963ff.
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*, Manchester 1956ff.
KaneDic	THOMAS LEIPER KANE, *Amharic–English Dictionary*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1990
KilHDic	TOM KILLION, *Historical Dictionary of Eritrea*, London 1998
KinBibl	KINEFE-RIGB ZELLEKE, "Bibliography of the Ethiopic Hagiographical Traditions", *JES* 13, 2, 1975, 57–102
KrAmdS	MANFRED KROPP (ed., tr.), *Der siegreiche Feldzug des Königs ᶜĀmda-Ṣeyon gegen die Muslime in Adal im Jahre 1332 N.Chr.*, Lovanii 1994 (CSCO 538, 539 [SAe 99, 100])
KWKDic	KIDANÄ WÄLDÄ KƎFLE, **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዋስው፡ ወግሥ፡ ወመዝገበ፡ ቃላት፡ ሐዲስ፡ ንባቡ፡ በግዕዝ፡ ፍችው፡ ባማርኛ** (*Mäṣḥafä säwasəw wägəśś wämäzgäbä qalat ḥaddis nəbabu bägᶜəz fəčəw bamarəñña*, 'A Book of Grammar and Verb, and a New Dictionary. Gəᶜəz Entries with Amharic Definitions'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.]
LesCDic	WOLF LESLAU, *Comparative Dictionary of Gəᶜəz (Classical Ethiopic): Gəᶜəz – English. English – Gəᶜəz. With an Index of the Semitic Roots*, Wiesbaden 1987
Lockot I	HANS WILHELM LOCKOT, *Bibliographia Aethiopica: Die äthiopienkundliche Literatur des deutschsprachigen Raums*, Wiesbaden 1982 (AeF 9)
Lockot II	HANS WILHELM LOCKOT, *Bibliographia Aethiopica II: the Horn of Africa in English Literature*, ed. by SIEGBERT UHLIG – VERENA BÖLL, Wiesbaden 1998 (AeF 41)
LöfUpp	OSCAR LÖFGREN, *Katalog über die äthiopischen Handschriften in der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala*, Uppsala 1974
LusStud	GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, *Studi sul monachesimo eustaziano (secoli XIV-XV)*, Napoli 1993 (StAfEt 3)
MahHorse	*Blattén Géta* MAHTÄMÄ-SELLASÉ WÄLDÄ-MÄSQÄL, "A Study of the Ethiopian Culture of Horse-Names", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 195–303; first printed as **ቼ፡ በለው** (*Če bäläw*), Addis Abäba 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]

MHasOr	MOHAMMED HASSEN, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: a History 1580–1860*, Cambridge 1990 (African Studies Series 66)
MRALm	*Memorie della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Roma
NÆ	*Nubica et Æthiopica. Internationales Jahrbuch für koptische, meroitisch-nubische, äthiopische und verwandte Studien*, Warszawa 1987ff.
NEASt	*Northeast African Studies*, East Lansing 1979ff.
OrChr	*Oriens Christianus*, Leipzig – Wiesbaden 1901ff.
OrChrA	*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, Roma 1938ff.
OrChrP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Roma 1935ff.
PankHist I, II	RICHARD PANKHURST, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Middle Ages to the Early Ninteenth Century*, Wiesbaden 1982 (AeF 8); ID., *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to 1935*, Wiesbaden 1985 (AeF 17)
PerChron	FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, *Chronica de Susenyos, rei de Ethiopia*, 2 vols., Lisboa 1892–1900
PerrAmdS	JULES PERRUCHON (tr., ed.), "Histoire des guerres d'ᶜAmda-Ṣəyôn, roi d'Éthiopie", *JA* 8 sér., 14, 1889, 271–363, 381–493; repr. Paris 1890
PerrEsk	JULES PERRUCHON, "Histoire d'Eskender, d'Amda-Ṣeyon II et de Na'od, rois d'Éthiopie. Texte éthiopien inédit comprenant en outre un fragment de la chronique de Baʾeda-Mâryâm, leur prédécesseur, et traduction", *JA* 9 sér., 3, 1894, 319–66
PerrZarY	JULES PERRUCHON, *Les chroniques de Zar'a Yaᶜqôb et de Ba'eda Mâryâm, rois d'Éthiopie de 1434 à 1478*, Paris 1893 (Bibliothèque de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. Sciences Philologique et Historique 93)
PICES	*Proceedings of the International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies*, 1959ff.
PICES 1	[ENRICO CERULLI (ed.)], *Atti del Convegno di Studi Etiopici (Roma, 2-4 aprile 1959)*, Roma 1960 (Academia Nazionale dei Lincei 357, Problemi Attuali di Scienza e di Cultura 48)
PICES 2	CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM – EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Ethiopian Studies. Papers read at the Second International Conference of Ethiopian Studies (Manchester, July [8–11] 1963)*, Manchester 1964 [=JSS 9, 1]
PICES 3	RICHARD PANKHURST – STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI (eds.), *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies [3–7 April]*, 3 vols., Addis Ababa 1966
PICES 4	[ENRICO CERULLI (ed.)], *IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici, [10 – 15 April 1972]*, 2 vols., Roma 1974 (Accademia dei Lincei 371, Problemi Attuali di Scienza e di Cultura 191)
PICES 5a	JOSEPH TUBIANA (ed.), *Modern Ethiopia from the Accession of Menilek II to the Present. Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies [Session A], Nice, 19–22 December 1977*, Rotterdam 1980
PICES 5b	ROBERT LEE HESS (ed.), *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies. Session B, April 13–16, 1978*, Chicago 1979
PICES 6	GIDEON GOLDENBERG (ed.), *Ethiopian Studies. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference, Tel-Aviv, 14–17 April 1980*, Rotterdam 1986
PICES 7	SVEN RUBENSON (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, University of Lund, 26–29 April 1982*, Addis Ababa – Uppsala – East Lansing 1984

PICES 8	TADDESE BEYENE (ed.), *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies. University of Addis Ababa [26–30 November 1984]*, 2 vols., Addis Ababa – Frankfurt-am-Main 1988–89
PICES 9	ANATOLY ANDREEVICH GROMYKO (ed.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Ethiopian Studies, Moscow, 26–29 August 1986*, 6 vols., Moscow 1988
PICES 10	CLAUDE LEPAGE – ETIENNE DELAGE (eds.), *Études Éthiopiennes. Actes de la X^e conférence internationale des études éthiopiennes, Paris, 24–28 août 1988*, vol. 1, Paris 1994
PICES 11	BAHRU ZEWDE – RICHARD PANKHURST – TADDESE BEYENE (eds.), *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, 2 vols., Addis Ababa 1994
PICES 12	HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS (ed.), *New Trends in Ethiopian Studies. Papers of the 12th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Michigan State University, 5–10 September 1994*, 3 vols., Lawrenceville 1994
PICES 13	KATSUYOSHI FUKUI – EISEI KURIMOTO – MASAYOSHI SHIGETA (eds.), *Ethiopia in Broader Perspective. Papers of the XIIIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Kyoto, 12–17 December 1997*, Kyoto 1997
PICES 14	BAYE YIMAM (ed.), *Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa, 6–11 November 2000*, forthcoming
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*, Paris 1903ff.
PrRosDic	CHRIS PROUTY – EUGENE ROSENFELD, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia and Eritrea*, New Jersey ²1994
QSE	*Quaderni di Studi Etiopici*, Asmara 1980ff.
RevSem	*Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne*, Paris 1893–1914
RIE	ETIENNE BERNAND – ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES – ROGER SCHNEIDER, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite*, vol. 1: *Les documents*, vol. 2: *Les planches*, Paris 1991.
ROC	*Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, Paris 1896ff.
RRALm	*Rendiconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Roma 1892ff.
RSE	*Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, Roma 1941ff.
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali*, Roma 1907ff.
SAe	*Scriptores aethiopici* (within CSCO)
SixBay	VERONIKA SIX, *Äthiopische Handschriften*. 2: *Die Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, Wiesbaden 1989 (VOHD XX, 5)
SixDeu	VERONIKA SIX, *Äthiopische Handschriften*. 3: *Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken, Museen und aus Privatbesitz*, Wiesbaden 1989 (VOHD XX, 6)
SixTana 3	VERONIKA SIX, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee*. 3: *Nebst einem Nachtrag zum Katalog der äthiopischen Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken und Museen*, Wiesbaden 1999 (VOHD XX, 3)
SKK	*Studien zur Kulturkunde*, Wiesbaden 1933ff.
S.L.L.E. linguistic reports	*Study of Little-known Languages of Ethiopia. Linguistic Reports*, Addis Ababa
StAfEt	*Studi Africanistici. Serie Etiopica*, Napoli [IUO] 1992ff.
StrANL	STEFAN STRELCYN, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de l'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Fonds Conti Rossini et Fonds Caetani 209, 375, 376, 377, 378*, Roma 1976 (Indici e sussidi bibliografici della biblioteca 9)

StrBritLib	STEFAN STRELCYN, *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired since the Year 1877*, London 1978.
TadTChurch	TADDESSE TAMRAT, *Church and State in Ethiopia 1270–1527*, Oxford 1972.
THMDic	TÄSÄMMA HABTÄ MIKA'EL, ከሣቴ፡ ብርሃን፡ ተሰማ። የአማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት (*Käśate Bərhan Täsämma yä'amarəñña mäzgäbä qalat*, 'Täsämma, the Light Revealer. An Amharic Dictionary'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]
TilDic	TILAHUN GAMTA, *Oromo–English Dictionary*, Addis Ababa 1989
UhPal	SIEGBERT UHLIG, *Äthiopische Paläographie*, Stuttgart 1988 (AeF 22)
USCES	HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS – JOHN HINNANT (eds.), *Proceedings of the First United States Conference on Ethiopian Studies, 1973*, East Lansing 1975 (Monograph no. 3, Occasional Papers Series, Committee on Ethiopian Studies)
VelMaw	BERNARD VELAT, "Le Mawāsə'ət et les livres de chant liturgique éthiopien", in: *Mémorial du Cinquantenaire de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Anciennes de l'Institut Catholique de Paris*, Paris 1964 (Travaux de l'Institut catholique de Paris 10), 159–70
VelMe I–II	BERNARD VELAT, *Mə'əräf. Commun de l'office divin éthiopien pour toute l'année. Texte éthiopien avec variantes*, Paris 1966 (PO 34) [I = text]; *Études sur le Mə'əraf, commun de l'office divin éthiopien. Introduction, traduction française, commentaire liturgique et musical*, Paris 1966 (PO 33) [II = tr.]
VelSoDe I–II	BERNARD VELAT, *Ṣoma Deggua. Antiphonaire du carême. Quatre premières semaines*, Paris 1966 (PO 32–1, 32–2 [no. 151, 152]) [I = text]; Paris 1969 (PO 32–3, 32–4 [no. 153, 154]) [II = tr.]
VOHD	*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Berlin 1961ff.
VSAe I–III	ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN (ed.), *Altvölker Süd-Äthiopiens*, mit Beiträgen von EIKE HABERLAND – ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN – W. SCHULZ-WEIDNER – ELISABETH PAULI, Stuttgart 1959 (Völker Süd-Äthiopiens. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expeditionen 1950–52, 1954–56, Teil 1) [I]; EIKE HABERLAND, *Galla Süd-Äthiopiens*, mit einem Beitrag von K. REINHARDT, Stuttgart 1963 (Völker Süd-Äthiopiens. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expeditionen 1950–52, 1954–56, Teil 2) [II]; HELMUT STRAUBE, *Westkuschitische Völker Süd-Äthiopiens*, mit einem Beitrag von W. SCHULZ-WEIDNER, Stuttgart 1963 (Völker Süd-Äthiopiens. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expeditionen 1950–52, 1954–56, Teil 3) [III]
WrBriMus	WILLIAM WRIGHT, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since the Year 1847*, London 1877
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyrologie und verwandte Gebiete*, Leipzig 1886–1938
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig – Wiesbaden – Stuttgart 1847ff.
ZotBNat	HERMAN ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens (Gheez et Amharique) de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1877.
ZSem	*Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, [Leipzig] 1922–35

Biblical Abbreviations

O.T.	Old Testament
Gen	Genesis
Ex	Exodus
Lev	Leviticus
Num	Numbers
Deut	Deuteronomy
Josh	Joshua
Judg	Judges
Ruth	Ruth
1 Sam	1 Samuel
2 Sam	2 Samuel
1 Kgs	1 Kings
2 Kgs	2 Kings
1 Chr	1 Chronicles
2 Chr	2 Chronicles
Ezra	Ezra
Tob	Tobit
Jdt	Judith
Neh	Nehemiah [= 2 Ezra]
3 Ezra	Apocryphal Book of Ezra
4 Ezra	Apocalypse of Ezra
Esth	Esther
1 Mac	1 Maccabees
2 Mac	2 Maccabees
Job	Job
Ps	Psalms
Prov	Proverbs
Ecc	Ecclesiastes
Song	Song of Songs
Wis	Wisdom
Sir	Sirach
Ba	Baruch
Is	Isaiah
Jer	Jeremiah
Lam	Lamentations
Ezek	Ezekiel
Dan	Daniel
Hos	Hosea
Joel	Joel
Am	Amos
Obad	Obadiah
Jon	Jonah
Mic	Micah
Nah	Nahum
Hab	Habakkuk
Zeph	Zephaniah
Hag	Haggai
Zech	Zechariah
Mal	Malachi
En	Enoch
Jub	Jubilees

N.T.	New Testament
Mt	Matthew
Mk	Mark
Lk	Luke
Jn	John
Acts	Acts
Rom	Romans
1 Cor	1 Corinthians
2 Cor	2 Corinthians
Gal	Galatians
Eph	Ephesians
Phil	Philippians
Col	Colossians
1 Thes	1 Thessalonians
2 Thes	2 Thessalonians
1 Tim	1 Timothy
2 Tim	2 Timothy
Tit	Titus
Phlm	Philemon
Heb	Hebrews
Jas	James
1 Pet	1 Peter
2 Pet	2 Peter
1 Jn	1 John
2 Jn	2 John
3 Jn	3 John
Jude	Jude
Rev	Revelation

A

Aadaa

According to context, the ↗Oromo word A. (of Arabic origin) can be translated as 'culture', 'custom', 'maxims', 'rules', 'habits', 'way of life', 'traditional laws', or 'traditions' (cp. TilDic 7). In Muslim Northern Africa, India and Indonesia *ᶜāda* is restricted to pre-Islamic "custom" or "customary law", and therefore rated as being essentially distinct from and inferior to ↗*šarīᶜa*, whereas for the Oromo, divine laws and man's laws are balanced and complement each other; as a commonly used saying puts it: *aadaa namma, aadaa Waaqa*, 'men's customs, God's customs'. In discussion A. is often paired with ↗*seera* or *hera*, that is law which has been formally declared by a recognized authority, such as a ruler or a council, to such an extent that in daily practice "it is difficult to demarcate the boundary between the two" (MHasOr 16).

Its comprehensiveness and pervasiveness make A. a key word in Oromo thought and discourse. It stands for the common cultural inheritance which Oromo stress when, from local to national levels, they discuss their shared identity and the shared *nagaa* ('peace') which spans their cultural diversities. A. can only be learned through long application and experience. The words of those elders who have become experts in A. are respected and heeded. As a proverb expresses it: *Aadaan wa miḍaasit, aada maleen wa balleesit*, 'customs arrange all things; without customs all things are destroyed'. A. and its opposite *aniti* ('not-custom') "signify moral good and evil, the discriminating criteria of human action, the basis for moral judgement" (Tablino 1999:246f.). As it is continuously interpreted and reinterpreted by the elders, "who symbolize the continuity of life and God's blessing" (Aguilar 1998:168), A. can adapt to change while remaining true to its roots. In practical day-to-day matters, such as immediate rights of access to land and water or changing economic conditions, A. can be responsive and flexible. This is so because A. is oral and based in those relevant conjunctions of memory and recollected precedents which serve to maintain *nagaa* in the present.

Lit.: MARIO I. AGUILAR, *Being Oromo in Kenya*, Trenton, NJ 1998, 168; MARIO BORELLO, *Dizionario Oromo-Italiano*, ed. by HANS-JÜRGEN SASSE – PAOLO TABLINO, Hamburg 1995 (Kuschitische Sprachstudien 10); MHasOr 16; TON LEUS, *Mammaassa Booranaa*, Yaaballoo 1999, 4; JAN PRINS, "ᶜĀda", in: *EI²*, vol. 1, 170–74; PAOLO TABLINO, *The Gabra: Camel Nomads of Northern Kenya*, Nairobi 1999, 246f.; TilDic 7.

Paul T.W. Baxter

Aari

Aari language

The A. language is also called Ari, or Šanqəllaññña (the latter, lit. 'the language of ↗Šanqəlla [black people]', is a derogatory term applied by Central Ethiopians). There are nine or ten dialects of A., such as Bako, Biyo, Galila, Šangama etc. Among them, Galila is considerably different from others. Dialect area is usually equated with a former chiefdom. The central dialect is Sido, spoken in the area of that name.

A. call their language *Aari af*. A. has been classified in various ways, but it is certain that with Banna, Hamär and Dime (↗Hamär cluster) it constitutes a group which is usually called the South Omotic (or ↗Aroid) group of the ↗Omotic sub-family of the Afro-Asiatic phylum. The number of speakers is estimated at more than 100,000.

A. has five vowels: *a, i, u, e, o*. Length is distinctive, as in *muda* 'all' vs. *muuda* 'sorrow'. Consonant phonemes are: *ʾ, p, b, b̓, t, d, d̓, k, g, q, s, z, š, ž, ts, dz, tš, čʼ, ǧ, čʼ, w, y, m, n, r, l, h*; /p/ has [p], [f] and [ɸ] as its allophones; /q/ is realised as [qʼ] or [ʁ]; /h/ is usually [ɦ] and its breathiness extends to the following vowel. Accent is not distinctive.

As to the case system, A. is an accusative-marking language and the nominative is not marked at all. The basic structure of the verb is stem+aspect+person suffix. Derived stems are formed by adding such suffixes as *-s* (causative), *-ar/-er* (passive), *-im* (reflexive).

The copula is *-(y)e* in the present tense, but its use is not obligatory. Pronouns are distinguished according to person (1/2/3) and number (sg./pl.).

Masculine and feminine forms are distinguished only in the third person singular. A. has postpositions such as *-k* 'with' or *-ken* 'for'.

The word order is Subject-Object-Verb, as in *dübina pultan aysso apla diibise*, 'Thief-the door-the breaking clothes stole (3 sg. masc.)', i.e. 'The thief broke in to steal the clothes'. The modifier usually comes after the modified item and also the relative clause is placed after the antecedent.

The ten-word list for A. is: *wollaqa* 'one', *qastan* 'two', *makkan* 'three', *noo* 'fire', *noqa* (in Sido: *loqa*) 'water', *háy* 'sun', *arpén* 'moon', *zomí* (*maqás*) 'blood', *adím* 'tongue', *atsí* 'tooth'.

A. is not a written language. Although some texts were compiled using the Ethiopic syllabary as a part of the literacy campaign, the attempt did not spread widely: only a primer (1991), the New Testament (1997) and several small books have been published in the A. language.

The study of A. only began as late as in the 1980s with the publication of Carolyn Ford's report (1985). Although we now have an excellent detailed outline of A. grammar by Richard Hayward, and other scholars' works on phonology, morphology and lexicon, we need still more data for further research.

Lit.: CAROLYN FORD, *Report on Aari Linguistic Survey, submitted to Language Academy, Ministry of Culture*, Addis Ababa 1985; ID., *Notes on the Phonology of the Aari language*, unpublished ms. submitted to the Ministry of Culture, Jinka, South Omo 1996; RICHARD HAYWARD, "Notes on the Aari Language", in: ID. (ed.), *Omotic Language Studies*, London 1990, 425–93; BendLang; HAROLD C. FLEMING, "Omotic Overview", in: *BendNonSLang* 298–323.

Yoichi Tsuge

Aari ethnography

The A. people, numbering over 100,000, inhabit the south-western spur of the highlands and adjacent lowlands of the South Omo Region of Ethiopia, to the north of the town of ↗Ginka in the former ↗Gamo Gofa Province of south-western Ethiopia.

Agriculturists, the A. cultivate different sorts of *ənsät*, sorghum, and since recently also maize, supplemented by other grains and legumes. Vegetable gardens, fruit trees and various root plants also flourish. Plentiful rains and fertile soil produce rich crops most years, even when neighbouring areas suffer drought. Cash crops are coffee and cardamom. People raise sheep (or goats in the lowlands) and cattle, as well as chickens. Mules are the favoured beasts of burden, coping well with narrow, slippery trails, but tending to succumb to disease in the lowlands. Within the past 15 years some all-weather roads have been built to reach major towns in the area.

Heavy rainfall washes iodine and other nutrients from the soil, resulting in a high incidence of goitre in the highlands. In the past, lack of access to medical help made for a high infant mortality rate, fistulas and a fair number of deaths in childbearing. Respiratory and digestive-tract diseases still claim many lives among the very young. Malaria is a growing problem in the lowlands; occasional outbreaks of meningitis and relapsing fever also occur. Immunization programs for children are lowering the rate of tetanus, measles and other diseases. A new hospital in the regional capital Ginka meets a real felt need. The A. generally do not practise female genital mutilation, nor is male circumcision culturally prescribed.

Before the coming of the Amhara rulers, the A. people were divided into chiefdoms. The chief (*baabi*) would lead in various rituals, so that he planted the first seeds, harvested the first crop, etc. The people would work in his field on certain days. They still recognise the chief of their area and his family, though he has no formal authority. The *baabi* are supported in their religious functions by a hereditary priesthood, which has the power to depose them in case of inability to fulfil their obligations.

The social organization is characterised by the duality of exogamous patrilineal moieties. They consist of several clans and lineages, which vary in number in different A. territories. At the head of the one moeity is the lineage of the chief; at the head of the other, the lineage of the priests.

Traditionally the artisans (blacksmiths, tanners, wood-carvers, potters, basket-weavers) were partially avoided by non-artisans and they did not intermarry with non-artisans, but this is changing under the influence of both the Gospel (introduced largely by Evangelical missionaries) and politics. In addition to other tools, the smiths make the *waalí*, a sickle-like instrument with wide curved blade that is useful for cutting through thick brush, lopping off small tree-limbs, etc. This tool is found in every home and coveted by neighbouring people groups. Wood-carvers make beautifully decorated chairs, bowls and other household items.

In the south and south-west the A. are neighboured by pastoralists and they raid each other's cattle. There are occasional conflicts between the south-western A. and the ↗Mursi, but for the most part the A. live at peace with their neighbours, who do not consider it bravery to kill an A. because of the A.s' non-warring, agricultural life style. To the north-west are the ↗Dime.

Amhara rulers sent by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II to rule the area became landlords and the A. were reduced to serfdom. This contributed to a decline in A. culture. With the overthrow of the monarchy in 1974, the land was reclaimed by the A. people. Their social and economic situation has improved considerably over the past quarter-century. Interest in education has increased and most towns have a school.

Most A. still follow a traditional religion. They venerate one creator-god, who lives/is in Heaven (*zaabi*), and one earth and fertility deity, female in most A. groups (*beri*), who lives in holy groves or near watercourses. The offertories are situated in the holy groves or in the granges of chiefs and clan elders. Religion includes veneration of ↗ancestors, whereas the clan-founders are often believed to have a supernatural origin (from a certain river, mountain, tree, etc.). Sickness, infertility and death may be attributed to the resentment of a deceased relative. The ancestor is appeased by the offering of a sacrifice, usually a sheep. When a person dies, a sheep may be slaughtered and its intestines "read" to find the cause of death.

As Orthodox Christian priests used to accompany or follow the Amhara rulers, there is an Orthodox church in almost every town. Protestant missions have been active in the area since the early 1950s and about 10% of the population profess Protestantism. More recently the number of mosques has increased, but few A. profess Islam.

Aari woman making pottery, photo courtesy of Alexander Naty, 1990

Lit.: ALEXANDER NATY, "Articulating the Experience of Domination: Metaphors of Powerless among the Aari People of Southern Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 501–15; GEBRE YNTSO DEKO, "The Livelihood System of the Ari of Southwest Ethiopia: The Economic Behavior of Farmers under Local and Extra-Local Contexts", *ibid.*, vol. 3, 853–66.

Carolyn M. Ford; Red.

Abä mənet ↗ Monasteries

Abaarsa

A. ('curse, scolding', GreggDic 3) is a time sanctioned ↗Oromo cultural practice used to show abhorrence of the conduct of those who persist in violating an established social norm by making him a public example and a warning. A large part of the Oromo population still adheres to A.

Only the wise, mature, impartial and pure-hearted elders in society, who have gained respect through their deeds, can handle such a ceremony. They prohibit the evil-doer from using the common burial ground, the well and

other things of great social utility. If the evil-doer is not willing to renounce his unacceptable actions after a minor reproof, then action of a serious nature follows. Thus, the elders of the society as in ↗Arsi and the ↗*abbaa gadaa* of ↗Boorana at the Gumii Gaayoo (the general assembly of the *gadaa* administration) administer A. When they perform A., the Arsi elders mostly use loaded words such as *salṗaḍu* 'be light', *haṗaḍu* 'be thin', *aǧaayi* 'stink', *haḍaayi* 'be sour' and Boorana elders also use *ʗti* 'be an outcast', *badi* 'disappear'.

Src.: GreggDic 3; oral communication with Oromo elders: BORBOR BULEE, age 50 from Booranaa, KINFEE ḌINSAA UTAALAA, age 70, and ABUNEE WARǦEE, age 42, from Arsi.

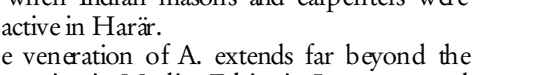
Aberra Nefa

Abādir ʿUmar ar-Riḍā

A. (ابادر عمر الرضى), the most celebrated saint of ↗Harär, is the main figure in ↗Yaḥyā b. Naṣrallāh's *Fatḥ madīnat Harar*, which tells us the story of the town's foundation and its early history. According to the *Fatḥ*, A. with several other saints came from the Ḥiǧāz to Harär in 1216, where he was elected as *šayḫ* by the surrounding tribes. In the following years he fought many battles against the infidel king Karnibāl b. Mahrawāl, his brother Sayaḍār, his son Ǧurniyāl and his daughter Markaniš, who were anachronistically designated as "Portuguese" and "Italians". All the battles took place in the close vicinity of Harär.

A. is also mentioned in the lists of the *amīrs* of Harär. Here, different reigns are ascribed to him, all in the 11th cent. Aḥmad aš-Šāmī in his *Ǧadwal aš-Šāš waš-Šāmī* (ms. 276 in IES, Addis Abäba) has even earlier dates for his rule: 945/6–64. These early dates, however, are not very convincing because the genealogy of A. lists 24 generations between Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq (d. 634) and A. This makes the dates of the *Fatḥ* more probable than those of the lists of *amīrs* and the *Ǧadwal*.

Inside the walls of Harär it is not only the tomb of A. which is visited by the Hararis and the Oromo, but also the Bēt Taʿarrus Abādir, where he is said to have married a Harari woman. The wooden door of A.'s tomb bears a Hindi inscription dated 1892. It may be that the whole tomb was constructed only at the end of the 19th cent. when Indian masons and carpenters were very active in Harär.



The entrance to the shrine (tomb) of Abādir in Härar, photo courtesy of Wolbert Smidt, 2000

The veneration of A. extends far beyond the Harär region in Muslim Ethiopia. It was attested to by Cerulli in ↗Limmu Ennarya. The saint's fame finds expression also in songs in his praise in Harari and Oromo. One of the songs brings him in connection with ↗*ʗt*, proving the sanctity of the drug.

Src.: AḤMAD AŠ-ŠĀMĪ, *Ǧadwal aš-Šāš waš-Šāmī*, Addis Abäba, IES ms. 276; EWALD WAGNER (ed., tr., comment.), *Legende und Geschichte. Der Fatḥ Madīnat Harar von Yaḥyā Naṣrallāh*, Wiesbaden 1978 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 46, 3); ID., "Arabische Heiligenlieder aus Harar", *ZDMG* 125, 1975, 28–65, here 47–58; ID., "Eine Liste der Heiligen von Harar", *ZDMG* 123, 1973, 269–92, here 271; RICARDO DE SANTIS, "Piccoli testi harari", *RSO* 18, 1940, 386–97, here 397.

Lit.: RUDI PARET, "Eine fragwürdige arabische Chronik von Harar", in: *PICES* 4, 1, 421–43; EWALD WAGNER, "Die Chronologie der frühen muslimischen Herrscher Äthiopiens nach den Harariner Emirslisten", in: BRIGITTA BENZING – OTTO BÖCHER – GÜNTER MAYER (eds.), *Wort und Wirklichkeit. Studien zur Afrikanistik und Orientalistik Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 1, Meisenheim 1976, 186–204; ID., "Genealogien aus Harar", *Der Islam* 51, 1974, 97–117; RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON, *First Footsteps in East Africa or an Exploration of Harar*, vol. 2, London 1894, 14; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar. Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig

1888, 218; LUIGI ROBECCHI-BRICCHETTI, *Nell'Harrar*, Milano ³1896, 131–35; ID., "Ricordi di un soggiorno nell'Harrar", *Bollettino della Società geografica italiana* 28, 1981, 23–45, here 43ff.; ENRICO CERULLI, *Studi etiopici*, 1: *La lingua e la storia di Harar*, Roma 1936, 48ff. [repr. in: ID., *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971, 321ff.]; ID., *Etiopia occidentale*. (*Dallo Scioa alla frontiera del Sudan*). *Note del viaggio 1927–28*, Roma 1930 (Collezione di opere e di monografie a cura del Ministero delle Colonie 6), 129f.; EMILE FOUCHER, "Une Inscription hindi au sanctuaire de Sheikh Abadir (Harar)", *QSE* 5, 1984, 96–99; EWALD WAGNER, "Abādir ʿUmar ar-Riḍā", in: *DicEthBio* 1.

Ewald Wagner

Abägaz

Originally, in the 17th cent., A. (**አበጋዝ**, also **አበ፡ ጋዕዝ**, *abä gaᶜəz*, lit. 'commander who has a train of his own'), was not so much a title or military rank, as a temporary grade given to an officer sent with an independent task. After accomplishing it, the officer joined the main army and was not called A. any more. The first case of the use of this term dates back to 1609, as it is recorded in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Susanyos (↗Awnabyos, ↗Yolyos). However, since the end of the 17th cent., when Gondärine kings were losing effective control over southern territories, they started to use this word as a title for their provincial governors, rather independent as they were. Thus, A. turned into "a titular epithet indicating the status and function of a military officer filling an administrative post usually on regional or district level" (Bairu Tafla in *PICES* 4, 597ff.). During the revival of the Ethiopian empire, the military commander-in-chief of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II obtained the title **የጦር፡ አበጋዝ** (*yäṭor abägaz*, 'A. of the army') and was one of the highest Emperor's officials till 1907, when the post of Minister of War was introduced.

Src.: PerChron ch. 39; KaneDic 1295; *blatten geta* MAḤTÄMÄ ŚELLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **ዝክረ፡ ነገር** (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba ²1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 53f.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Civil Titles and Offices in the reign of Emperor Menelik II, 1889–1913", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 597–612, here 597ff.; BTafA 869.

Sevir Chernetsov

Abägaz

A. (**አበጋዝ**), *abeto* (↗*Abetohun*) and ↗*aläqa* from Šäwa, lived in the second half of the 18th cent. In 1784 he met another aristocrat, *däğğazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Mikaᵓel Ɜšäte, in the monastery of Maḫdärä Maryam, where he had found asylum. Both mourned the decay of the royal power in the country and the destruction of royal chronicles in a fire in the capital city of Gondär. They decided to restore the historiographic heritage of Ethiopian kings by making copies of the manuscripts kept in numerous monastery libraries. Ḫaylä Mikaᵓel Ɜšäte was the initiator and sponsor of the project, while A. was the immediate executor. Thus a large historiographic compilation was created. In its colophon A. ascribed the entire merit of its creation to his friend and inserted a special chapter devoted to him, "The History of *däğğazmač* Ḫaylu".

The next period of disastrous turmoil which resulted in the destruction of many manuscripts confirmed the foresight of A. and Ḫaylä Mikaᵓel Ɜšäte. Thanks to their efforts the ancient historiographic heritage survived. In scientific literature their compilation is named after Ḫaylä Mikaᵓel Ɜšäte, and the name of the modest and industrious A. remains relatively unknown.

Lit.: TEKLE-TSADIK MEKURIA, "Histoire abrégée de Haylou Esheté (Degiazmatche)", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 189–213; MANFRED KROPP, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däğğazmač Ḫaylu. Entstehung und handschriftliche Überlieferung des Werks*, Frankfurt am Main – Bern – New York – Paris 1989 (Heidelberger Orientalische Studien 13), 9, 13, 22–25, 32–37.

Sevir Chernetsov

Abäkäräzun of Däbrä Gärzän

A. (**አበከረዙን**, also Abäkəräzun, b. 1394/95, d. 1476), originally named Ɜsṭifanos, was a native of the Aksum region, son of Täsfanä Mäsqäl. When his mother became a widow, she brought him to Tämben. He studied at the monastery of Ḫaygʷəmze. The *abunä* ↗Bärtälomewos made him a *diyaqon* at the age of 15. At the age of 17, he received the *askema* from *abba* ↗Samuᵓel in Däbrä Qʷäyaṣa and took the new name of A. Later he became the confrater of the religious leader ↗Ɜsṭifanos and then his disciple. At the age of 33, he was expelled from the monastery for his fidelity to Ɜsṭifanos, who was imprisoned.

With several of his confraters he established himself near the river Täkkäze, close to the monastery of Zeranaqʷa. The Stephanite community was founded on 7 September 1428, under *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq. *Abba* Ɜsṭifanos, whose release he secured, joined him there. Soon after they moved to Yəbara, then to Ṭafat and later to Bäräka, on the borders of Šire. A., while on a mission to the

court of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, was ordained priest by *abunä* Gäbrəʾel.

Facing an imminent persecution, A. was elected head of Ǝsṭifanos' disciples. Ǝsṭifanos was arrested, A. and his fellow monks had to flee. Ǝsṭifanos died while in exile. First A. and his followers found refuge at ↗Mäṭära, but then travelled much, visiting regularly groups of deported ↗Stephanites. After 14 years and four months of absence, A. returned to the convent, called Kokäwa (**ኮኮዋ**) in the manuscript, probably erroneously spelled for Käswa (**ኰስዋ**), another name of Däbrä Gärzän (or Gärəzän), the main centre of the Stephanites, where Ǝsṭifanos had resided in 1434.

He stayed there for three years and then had to flee again. A. died at the age of 81 years on 28 *Gənbot* [23 May] 1476. He was buried on 29 *Gənbot*.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, (ed., tr.), *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum. I. Acta Sancti Abakarazun II. Acta Sancti Takla Hawaryat*, Louvain 1910 (CSCO 56, 57 [SAe 24, 25]), 5–64 (text) = 1–57 (tr.).

Lit.: ROBERT BEYLOT, "Sur quelques hétérodoxes éthiopiens, Estifanos, Abakerazun, Gabra Masih, Ezra", *Revue d'histoire des religions* 201, 1, 1984, 25–36.

Robert Beylot

Abäqte

A. (**አበቅቴ**, sometimes **አበቅቱ**, 'epact'), derived from the Greek ἐπακτή 'brought about, acquired' (cp. LesDic 5), is also denoted as **አበቅቴ ፡ ወርኀ**, *abäqte wärḥ* 'lunar epact' (in contrast to 'solar epact', ↗*ṭəntyon*). Thus, A. is a number serving along with *ṭəntyon* and ↗*mätqəʾ* to support the calendar calculations. The earliest manuscript in which the use of the term is attested can be dated probably to the 14th cent. (UhPal 108ff.).

The number of days in the lunar year amounts to 354 (12 months each of 29 and a half days), instead of the 365 days of the solar year. This difference is of fundamental importance for calculating the festivals of the lunar year: "*mätqəʿ* and A. are the foundation of the whole computus", as is stated in a chronographic work (BritMus, ms. Add. 24,995, fol. 21v). Every solar year is 11 days longer than its lunar counterpart. In the cycle of 19 lunar years (**ዓውደ ፡ አበቅቴ**, *ʿawdä abäqte*), seven lunar months each of 30 days were added to the lunar calendar to keep it within the framework of the solar one. The difference between the solar year and the lunar year can be marked by the A.-number.

Tables were indispensable for the calendar calculation and they appear in the manuscripts; they also recur constantly today in the tables of Chaîne (1925) and of Conti Rossini (1948). Here is an example for A.-numbers, which actually are repeated in every 19-year cycle:

Year of the 19-year (= lunar-) cycle	Model year	A.'s calculation (minus-days of the lunar year)	A. in the sources
Year 1	1728/29 A.D.	0	0
Year 2	1729/30 A.D.	0+11= 11	11
Year 3	1730/31 A.D.	11+11= 22	22
Year 4	1731/32 A.D.	22+11=33-30*= 3	3
Year 5	1732/33 A.D.	3+11= 14	14
Year 6	1733/34 A.D.	14+11= 25	25
Year 7	1734/35 A.D.	25+11=36-30= 6	6
Year 8	1735/36 A.D.	6+11= 17	17
Year 9	1736/37 A.D.	17+11= 28	28
Year 10	1737/38 A.D.	28+11=39-30= 9	9
Year 11	1738/39 A.D.	9+11= 20	20
Year 12	1739/40 A.D.	20+11=31-30= 1	1
Year 13	1740/41 A.D.	1+11= 12	12
Year 14	1741/42 A.D.	12+11= 23	23
Year 15	1742/43 A.D.	23+11=34-30= 4	4
Year 16	1743/44 A.D.	4+11= 15	15
Year 17	1744/45 A.D.	15+11= 26	26
Year 18	1745/46 A.D.	26+11=37-30= 7	7
Year 19	1746/47 A.D.	7+11= 18	18
[Year 1	1747/48 A.D.	18+12**=30-30= 0	0]

* "30" for the 30 days of the month of the solar year.

** 12 days are necessary in the transition from one 19-year cycle to the next in order that the lunar year and solar year can begin concurrently and in order that both A. and *mätqəʿ* have the figure "0".

Using the A.-number one can easily find the place of every year within the cycle, which is one of the most fundamental parameters for calculating other dates of the Ethiopian Calendar.

Here is an example of traditional chronography as found in the ms. London, BriMus, Orient. 578 (cp. also UhPal 492, Chaîne 1925:168ff.): "This book is written in the (lunar) year (of the rule) of our *nəguś* Fasilädäs [r. 1632–67], in the 13th year after he reigned [= started to reign], from the creation of the world in the 7138th year of grace, with *mätqəʿ* 18, with A. 12, with *ṭəntyon* 3 … [= 1646 A.D.]". In this case A. 18 corresponds to the 19th year in the cycle.

↗Calendar; ↗Chronography; ↗Computus

Src.: LesCDic 5; WrBriMus 322f., no. 398 [Add. 24,995], fol. 21v; 122, no. 188 [Orient. 578].
Lit.: MURAD KAMIL, "The Ethiopian Calendar", *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Egypt* 12, 1950, 91–113; MARIUS CHAÎNE, *La chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1925, here 104ff., 168ff.; OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus*, Wien 1979, here 187–92; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Tabelle comparative dell'calendario etiopico col calendario romano,* Roma 1948; UhPal 108ff., 492.

Siegbert Uhlig

Abärgälle

A. (**አበርገሌ**, also Abärgälla) is one of the low lying districts of central Təgray. It was a constituent of the old ↗Tämben *awraǧǧa*.

Historically A. seems to have formed a province since early times (perhaps the 14th cent.). It was governed by a ↗*šum* in the reign of Ləbnä Dəngəl and Susənyos (16th–17th cent.). According to the chronicle of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs I, the people of A. joined the rebellion, which was lead by Fares and Zäyoḥannəs and suppressed by *abeto* Dəlbä Iyäsus in 1678 (GuiIohan 25ff.).

Nowadays A. is bounded by Ǝndärta in the east, Säqoṭa in the south and *qolla* Tämben, in the northern and western directions. It assumes a unique position mainly for its trilinguistic makeup. Its inhabitants constitute the sole ↗Agäw endave in Təgray, but the majority speaks Təgrəñña and some Amharic as well. In terms of religion, however, they are predominantly adherents of Christianity. Very few of them practice Islam.

Agriculture forms the main stay of A. economic life. As elsewhere in most districts of Tämben, social services are hardly developed. The first schools and health centres of the calling are just emerging. This was partly attributed to the region's relative geographical remoteness from the centre. This seclusion and strategic position at the cross-roads of Wällo, Təgray and Gondär, seemed to have made it a safe abode for political dissidents for over centuries. It hoisted series of protracted armed encounters between the chiefs of these regions including that of ↗Yäǧǧu.

Src.: GuiIohan 25ff.; interviews with *ato* BÄLAY GIDÄY, age 67, Addis Abäba, June 2001; *abba* AYYÄLÄ TÄSFAY; *ato* QIRQOS GÄBRA MÄDḪƎN.
Lit.: HuntGeogr s. index; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note sugli Agau. 1. Appunti sulla lingua khamta dell' Averghellé", *Giornale della Società asiatica italiana* 17, II[a], 1904, 183–242; TADDESSE GABRE IGZIABHER, *Power Struggle in Tigray During the Zamana Masafint*, B.A. thesis, Haile Selasse I University 1972; TSEGAY BERHE, *A History of ᶜAgamä, 1822–1914*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1996.

Tsegay Berhe G. Libanos

Abärra Gəzaw

Däǧǧazmač A.G. (**አበራ፡ ግዛው**, "horse name" **አባ፡ ስበር** Abba Səbär, b. ca. 1900, d. 1936) was a royal bodyguard officer and ↗Resistance fighter. He was a native of Märḥabete, who entered the service of *ras* Täfäri Mäk[w]ännən (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) in his youth. He received his military training when the Royal Bodyguard was established in the 1920s and was subsequently raised to the position of ↗*šaläqa*. At the time of the Fascist invasion of Ethiopia (↗Italian war, 1935–36), he commanded the rapid field force known as *fätno däraš* and fought on the northern front. Following the defeat of the Ethiopian army, he retired to Harär and began to organize guerrilla fighters. He was killed in action in the district of Wäbärra on 19 October 1936. His remains were brought to the capital and enshrined in the patriots' cemetery at Trinity Cathedral in 1945.

Lit.: *Addis Zämän*, 13 *Ṭərr* 1937 A.M. [21 January 1945 A.D.]; HAILE SELASSIE I, *My Life and Ethiopia's Progress, 1892–1937*, ed., tr., by EDWARD ULLENDORFF, Oxford 1976, 227; MahHorse 249; KÄBBÄDÄ TÄSÄMMA, **የታሪክ፡ ማስታወሻ** (*Yätarik mastawäša*, 'Historical Memoirs'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], [2]1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.], 145, 452.

Bairu Tafla

Abärra Kaśa Ḫaylu

A.K. (አበራ፡ ካሣ፡ ኃይሉ, b. 1860, d. 1911), a nobleman of Ḫamasen, was a grandson of ↗Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən, *däǧǧazmač* of ↗Ṣäᶜazzäga. As a youth, he lived at the court of his grandfather. In 1876 he survived the Battle of Wäkədəbba, where his grandfather and father, as well as more than 1,500 of their men, were killed at the hands of *ras* ↗Wäldä Mikaᵓel Sälomon.

In the late 1880s he joined the Italians at Massawa, where he was appointed commander of a military contingent. When the Italian colonial administration began to remove Eritrean notables from office, he rebelled taking many of the *askari* under his command with him to the ᶜAnsäba valley. An Italian officer, Captain Lionello Bettini, pursued him at the head of a larger *askari* unit, until he and many of his men were killed at Wäldä Mädḫanit (to the south-west of ᶜAd Täkälezan) on 18 March 1892.

The Italians held the ᶜAnsäba region responsible for the death of their captain and summarily executed many village chiefs. A.K. himself escaped to Təgray, from where he went to Addis Abäba. In 1894 *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II took A.K. with him on the military expedition in Wälamo (↗Wälaytta), where he once again demonstrated his bravery, and he was subsequently given the title of *däǧǧazmač*. Mənilək is said to have later remarked that A. was equal to a thousand of his own men. In 1895 the Emperor sent him to the north at the head of a contingent of mobilized Təgray soldiers to impede the Italian advance. He participated in the campaign of ᶜAdwa (↗ᶜAdwa, battle of), after which he was appointed governor of ↗Adyabo, which bordered the Italian colony of Eritrea. The Italians negotiated his removal and he was kept in Addis Abäba for the rest of his life. He was buried at the Uraᵓel church in the presence of *ətege* Ṭaytu.

Src.: JOHANNES AXEL KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega*, vol.1: *Textes Tigrigna*, Roma 1912 (Archives d'études orientales 5:1), 254–61; CARLO ZAGHI, "L'Italia e l'Etiopia alla viglia di Adua nei dispacci segreti di Luigi Capucci", *Gli annali dell'Africa italiana* 4, 2, 1941, 517–45; MahHorse 249; *Addis Zämän*, 20 *Miyazya* 1980 A.M. [28 April 1988 A.D.].

Bairu Tafla

Abärra Täklä Giyorgis

Ras A.T. (አበራ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ, fl. 1850–1900) was the son of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II, and the governor of ↗Bägemdər during the reign of his father (1868–71).

In his father's campaign in Təgray against *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Mərča (↗Yoḥannəs IV), A.T. commanded men from the regions of Wadla, Dälanta, Gayənt and Bägemdər. At the Battle of ↗ᶜAssäm in July 1871 his forces were stationed in front of the royal army. After the defeat of his father, he did not assume any office. He lived in Wag and Bägemdər until his death in ca. 1900, and not much is known about him and his descendants.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, *A Chronicle of Emperor Yoḥannes IV, 1872–89*, Wiesbaden 1977 (AeF 1), 99, 101 [n. 152], 111; WUDU TAFETE KASSU, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, C. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 144.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Abatä Bʷayaläw

Ras A.B. (አባቶ፡ ባያለው, "horse name" አባ፡ ይትረፍ Abba Yəträf, b. 1868, d. 1918) was the son of *däǧǧazmač* Bʷayaläw Nəgusu of Gəśśe and *wäyzäro* Aṭnafäwärq Amäde (Abba Wato) of Wällo. He was brought up as a page at the court of *aṣe* Mənilək II, who is said to have confided secret missions to him as early as the mid-1880s. At the coronation of the sovereign in 1889, he was promoted to the status of *liqä mäkʷas* and given the Sibu region, which he governed through a proxy. He fell temporarily out of royal favour in 1893 when he was implicated in a plot and was sent to administer the district of Gədəm in eastern Šäwa.

In the ᶜAdwa campaign (↗ᶜAdwa, battle of), A.B. distinguished himself as an oustanding fighter, tactician and artillery officer. He also undertook the transport of the captured heavy weapons from the battlefield to the imperial capital, a feat which was greatly admired, as the task had to be accomplished despite the absence of roads and bridges. He was subsequently appointed governor of Kämbata with the title of *däǧǧazmač*.

In the subsequent years A.B. was described by foreign travellers as one of the most influential notables of the empire. In 1909 he was appointed governor of Wag and Lasta with the title *wag śəyyum* (↗*Wag šum*) and became overlord of the greater part of northern Ethiopia. As he was an outsider, his overlordship was resented by local notables and he was faced in battle by *däǧǧazmač*

Abati ↗ Dorze

Abba

A. (**አባ**) derived from *ab* 'father' is an honorific title applied to religious leaders such as monks, abbots, bishops and the patriarch. The term symbolises the relationship of spiritual kinship believed to exist between a clergymen and his disciples or followers. It is also, of course, indicative of the clear hierarchical nature of such relations with the A. having authority over his sons and daughters and is hence modelled on familial relations common but by no means limited to Ethiopia. A. is frequently used as a prefix to the name of a religious leader i.e. *abba* Yoḥanni, although, often "our father" (↗*Abunä*) is preferred.

↗Abbaa; ↗Āw

Lit.: LesCDic 2; KWKDic 194; THMDic 746.

Steven Kaplan

Abba Bäzbəz Kaśa ↗ Yoḥannəs IV

Abba Elyas

A.E. (**አባ፡ ኤልያስ**) is a homiletic text in the possession of the Betä Ǝsraʾel. It discusses the ↗Sabbath, human frailty and the prohibition against idolatry. It is not connected in any way to either the Hebrew or the Coptic apocalypses of Elijah. Indeed, the Elyas in question is not the biblical prophet, but a preacher (**መክቡብ**, *mäkbab*), perhaps a monk. The text contains Christian elements including citations from the New Testament. Leslau (1951:42) believed these to be later additions to an original Betä Ǝsraʾel composition, but Halévy (1902:xxxiii) was probably correct in viewing them as evidence of the works of Christian provenance. It may also be a composite work drawing from both Christian and Betä Ǝsraʾel. Based on the internal evidence and the single existing manuscript it is not possible to date the work.

↗Gəʿəz literature; ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel

Src.: WOLF LESLAU, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven – London 1951, 40–49; JOSEPH HALÉVY (ed., tr.), *Teʾezâza Sanbat* (*Commandements du Sabbat*), *accompagné de six autres écrits pseudépigraphes admis par les Falachas ou Juifs d'Abyssinie*, Paris 1902, xiii–xvii, 41–50, 165–72.
Lit.: STEVEN KAPLAN, "The Literature of the Beta Israel (Falasha): a Survey of a Biblical-Hebraic Tradition", *Hristiansky Vostok* new ser. 1 [7], 1999, 113–14.

Steven Kaplan

Abatä Bʷayalaw (in the foreground, right) at the Addis Abäba railway station, photo courtesy of IES, Addis Abäba

↗Abraha Arʾaya, whom he defeated at Wäfla (↗Koräm) in September 1909. In 1910 Mənilək (i.e. his regent plenipotentiary) granted A.B. the title *ras*.

During the succeeding years A.B. became involved in succession struggles of the period, aspiring in 1911 to the imperial regency, and, although briefly reinstated in Kämbata, he spent much of the period at Mäqdäla in the custody of *ras* (later *nəgus*) ↗Mikaʾel of Wällo. In 1916 he was released by *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, who hoped to gain his support, but he joined the new regime instead. He was immediately appointed governor of Wällo and fought the deposed prince alongside *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis. He died in October 1918 and was buried at Däbrä Libanos, Šäwa.

Src.: GueCopMen 271, 621–29; FELIX ROSEN, *Eine deutsche Gesandtschaft in Abessinien*, Leipzig 1907, 196f.; PAUL MÉRAB, *Impressions d'Éthiopie* (*L'Abyssinie sous Ménélik*), vol. 2: *La capitale et ses environs, la cour et le peuple, une page d'histoire contemporaine* (*1900 à 1914*), Paris 1922, 70ff.; HANS JANNASCH, *Im Schatten des Negus. Vierundzwanzig Jahre in Abessinien*, Berlin 1930, 35f.; HerTar 50; MahHorse 251f.; *Addis Zämän*, 23 *Mäggabit* 1980 A.M. [1 April 1988 A.D.].

Bairu Tafla

Abba Wəqaw Bərru

Däğğazmač formerly *liqä mäkʷas*, A. (**አባ፡ ውቃው፡ ብሩ**, d. 1941) was a native of Šäwa, courtier and commander of the palace guards during the reign of Empress ↗Zäwditu. A. was reportedly a nick-name given to him by *aṣe* Mənilək II, at whose court he had spent his childhood and adolescent years, because of his phenomenal physical prowess. Following the deposition of *ləğ* Iyasu, A. was one of the emissaries sent to the provinces to explain the political change. In 1928, resentful of the steady corrosion of Empress Zäwditu's power by the heir to the throne, *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), A. led a mutiny of the palace guards under his command. Reassured personally by the Empress of his own safety, he surrendered, only to be tried and sentenced to life imprisonment. He was freed during the Italian occupation (↗Italian war 1935–36). But, by then, his political career had effectively come to an end.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855–1974*, London – Athens – Addis Ababa 1991, 134f., 144; KÄBBÄDÄ TÄSÄMMA, **የታሪክ፡ ማስታወሻ** (*Yätarik mastawäša*, 'Recollection of the History'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.]; MahHorse 252; MÄRSAᶜE ḪAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **የዘመን፡ ታሪክ፡ ትዝታዬ፡ በንግሥ ተ፡ ንግሥ ታት፡ ዘውዲቱ፡ ዘመነ፡ ማንግሥት** (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətayye bänəgəśtä nəgəśtat Zäwditu zämänä mängəśt*, 'My Memory of the History of the Time during the Reign of *nəgəśtä nəgəśtat* Zäwditu'), Addis Abäba 1938 A.M. [1945/46 A.D.]; HAILE SELLASIE I, *My Life and Ethiopia's Progress, 1892–1937*, ed., tr. by EDWARD ULLENDORFF, New York – London 1976, 159ff., 265.

Bahru Zewde

Abbaa

A. 'father' is a resonant and pervasive key word in Oromo traditional discourse. An A. is always expected to be respected and obeyed and, in his turn, always to be caring and responsible. As a kinship term it is used as the name of the relationship and as a term of address and reference. It always implies sociological paternity, but not necessarily physiological paternity; for example, a wife may bear a child to a deceased husband, who will be recognized as its A. Children may be adopted. A male parent is customarily addressed and referred to by his friends and neighbours as A., followed by the name of his eldest son or, if there is no son, his eldest daughter. A. is frequently used as a courteous term of address by members of a junior generation to members of a senior generation (cp. ↗*Abba*). The senior male of a household or family (*warra*) is known as its A. and he is responsible for the care and good behaviour of all its members.

A. is also used to indicate "ownership" of stock, of man-made wells or of property such as clothes, tools or stools, but that ownership is not absolute or unrestricted. The use of A. indicates clearly and firmly that the holder is entrusted with the responsibility for the control and maintenance of the objects or the resources; a "father of a well" (*abbaa eella*), for example, would not be allowed to destroy it, nor would a "father of the cattle" (*abbaa looni*) be permitted to squander his herd and irresponsibly impoverish his heirs. A man who attempts to behave irresponsibly with important resources is restrained as a madman. The word *haada* 'mother' is used very similarly.

Crucially, A. is part of the title of most, though not all, political and ritual offices, e.g. ↗*abbaa bokkuu*, ↗*abbaa dulaa*, *abbaa fuño*, ↗*abbaa gaba*, ↗*abbaa gadaa*, ↗*abbaa gandaa*, ↗*abbaa kella*, ↗*abbaa lafa*, ↗*abbaa mizan*, ↗*abbaa muudaa*, ↗*abbaa qorro*, ↗*abbaa seera*.

The use of A. indicates that an office-holder's power is accompanied by responsibility, which is an inescapable part of the social and religious order, just as power and responsibility inevitably accompany simple domestic fatherhood.

Lit.: MARIO BORELLO, *Dizionario oromo-italiano*, ed. by HANS-JÜRGEN SASSE – PAOLO TABLINO, Hamburg 1995 (Kuschitische Sprachstudien 10), 2f.; GraggDic 4; TON LEUS, *Borana-English Dictionary*, Yabello 1995, 7f.; KARL TUTSCHEK, *Lexicon der Galla Sprache*, 3 vols., München 1844/45, vol. 1, 6f.

Paul T.W. Baxter

Abbaa Bagiboo I

A.B. I (b. 1802, d. 1861, r. 1825–61) was the second king of ↗Limmu Ǝnnarya, the most important and the richest Oromo ↗Gibe state during the first half of the 19th cent. He was born in 1802 in Sappa, the capital, where he grew up and received a rudimentary form of Islamic education. As a young man, the tall, well-built, handsome, eloquent and gifted A.B. was known as Ibsaa ('the light').

A.B. spent many years learning the art of war. During those years of training A.B. realized the importance of organization, information and wise use of resources. It was also during those

years that he acquired his popular name A.B. after his war horse Bagibo. In 1823, he was made the crown-prince and married the daughter of the king of ↗Käfa.

In 1825 A.B. staged a coup d'état and removed his famous father ↗Abbaa Gomol I from power. After seizing power, A.B. left his father in his *massera* ('royal residence') at Sappa and founded a new capital at Saqqa, which became the political nerve centre of Limmu Ǝnnarya and the commercial capital of the Gibe region. During the first half of the 19th cent. all the important caravan routes met at Saqqa, where merchants from various nationalities traded with each other. A.B. was tolerant in matters of religion, and allowed the establishment of Catholic missions in his state. Although Muslim, he practiced traditional Oromo religion and sent gifts to the ↗*abbaa muudaa*.

During his long reign A.B. built 15 royal residences, of which the most elegant and splendid one was built at Garuqqe, near Saqqa. The Garuqqe royal residence was the busiest industrial centre in his kingdom, where the famous goods of Limmu Ǝnnarya were produced and radiated in different directions. It was at this royal residence where important celebrations were held, the king welcomed his European visitors including the d'↗Abbadie brothers and Cardinal ↗Massaja. It was also at this royal residence where A.B. entertained foreign diplomats and local dignitaries at his numerous lavish feasts. Through war, diplomacy, clever use of his immense wealth and political marriage, A.B. became the first Oromo king, who had the means and the ambition to unite the Oromo of the Gibe region and beyond. By 1840, he was at the height of his power, controlling even the region of Saddo in Western Šäwa. However, A.B. failed to unite the Oromo in the Gibe region and beyond because of the rise of the rival kingdom of ↗Ğimma Abbaa Ğifaar, the expansion of the Amhara kingdom of Šäwa and his lack of an arsenal of modern weapons.

After 1841, instead of continuing with his war against his neighbours, A.B. devoted his energy, diplomatic skills, and great wealth to the maintenance of peace and stability in the Gibe region, earning the reputation of a patient and wise peacemaker "the new Solomon of the Galla [Oromo]" (s. Massaja 1978, vol. 2, 371). Political marriage became a powerful weapon in his diplomacy of peace. He himself married more than 12 women from the neighbouring ruling houses. More than 20 of his sons followed his example, and more than 30 of his daughters were given in marriage to the powerful wealthy men of the Gibe states and beyond. No other king in the Ethiopian region used political marriage as A.B. did for maintaining peace, spreading his fame and popularity within and beyond the Gibe region. No other king in the Ethiopian region used gift-giving as an arsenal of diplomacy as A.B. did. He sent generous gifts to the Amhara leaders of ↗Goğğam and Šäwa, and even *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. Gift-giving was the mechanism through which A.B. consummated marriage alliances, negotiated treaties and avoided war. When gift-giving failed to produce the desired results, he used diplomatic offensive. For instance in 1858 A.B.'s inspiring leadership stirred the spirit of resistance against *aṣe* Tewodros's governor of Šäwa. He was able to discourage Tewodros's governor from attacking thus assuring the independence of the Gibe region for the next two decades. He was a char-

Abbaa Bagiboo I, engraving from Massaja 1885–95, vol. 4, 183

ismatic figure and a wise leader, who symbolized the hope for Oromo unity in the Gibe region and beyond. That hope for Oromo unity died with the great leader in 1861.

Src.: ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del'Caffa*, Roma 1886, vol. 2, 154, 157–60, 163, 166, 205, 289; GUGLIELMO MASSAJA, *I miei trentacinque anni di missione nell'alta Etiopia*, 12 vols., Milano 1885–95, vol. 4, 14–17, 82ff., 144, vol. 6, 16f.; ID., *Lettere e scritti minori, 1836–66*, Roma 1978, vol. 2, 371ff., 380; JOHANN LUDWIG KRAPF, *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours during an Eighteen Year' Residence in Eastern Africa*, London 1860, 64f.; WILLIAM CORNWALLIS HARRIS, *The Highlands of Æthiopia*, 3 vols., London ²1844, vol. 3, 54–57; CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE, "On the Countries South of Abyssinia", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 13, 1843, 254–69;

Lit.: MORDECHAI ABIR, *Ethiopia: the Era of the Princes. The Challenge of Islam and the Re-Unification of the Christian Empire, 1769–1855*, London 1968, 78f., 80, 82ff., 88–93; GULUMA GEMEDA, *Gomma and Limmu: the Process of State Formation Among the Oromo in the Gibe Region, c. 1750–1889*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1984, 74–84; MHasOr 162–95.

Mohammed Hassen

Abbaa Bagiboo II

A.B. II (b. 1867, r. 1882–86) was the fourth king of ↗Limmu Ennarya. He received basic Islamic education in the court of his father ↗Abbaa Gomol II. As a young man, A.B. was not trained in the art of war and administration. He was neither a gifted orator nor an inspiring leader. However, he possessed a considerable share of his grandfather's ambition, though lacking his wisdom, bravery, political skill and material resources. A.B. adopted the throne name of his illustrious grandfather, ↗Abbaa Bagiboo I.

A.B. succeeded to the throne in 1882, at the young age of 15. He was inexperienced in the art of governance and was manipulated by his mother and influential court dignitaries. They surrounded him with many wives and concubines and kept him distracted from administration.

A.B.'s ambition was to reverse his father's policy and restore the economic prosperity and political greatness Limmu Ennarya enjoyed during the reign of his grandfather. However, he did not take any measure with which to revitalize Limmu Ennarya's administration. A.B. had neither the energy nor capable advisors to succeed in this. He not only failed to create a strong military force, with which to assert his authority, but also failed to reform his administration. A.B. was not prepared to face the Amhara military expeditions from both Goǧǧam and Šäwa. When *ras* Däräso Ṭabo, the ablest Oromo general of *nəguś* Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam invaded the Gibe region, A.B. submitted to him without resistance. This was the first blow to the independent existence of Limmu Ennarya. When *ras* ↗Gobäna Daḏi drove *ras* Däräso out of the Gibe region, A.B. surrendered to him.

Though A.B. had nominal autonomy, he was not able to protect his people from Amhara soldiers who plundered his land and subjected its population to abject poverty. In 1886, the independent existence of Limmu Ennarya came to an end, with A.B.'s removal from power and replacement by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye as the first Amhara governor of Limmu Ennarya. The unfortunate A.B. was exiled to the neighboring state of Ǧimma, where he spent his last days in the custody of ↗Abbaa Gifaar II.

Lit.: GULUMA GEMEDA, *Gomma and Limmu: the Process of State Formation among the Oromo in the Gibe Region, c. 1752–1889*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1984, 141, 148, 155, 160, 164–69; AUGUSTO FRANZOJ, *Continente Nero*, Novara 1885, 273f., 278; ALPHONES AUBRY, "Une mission au royaume de Choa et dans les pays Gallas (Afrique Orientale)", *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* 14, 1888, 481–97; JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale; journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 280; BTafA, s. index.

Mohammed Hassen

Abbaa Balloo ↗ Guummaa

Abbaa bokkuu

A.b., ('father of the ↗*bokkuu*') is an Oromo title and office. *Bokkuu* is a common fighting stick, short with a thick and heavy end, a club ending with a knob (Leus 1995:113). In the ritual ↗*gadaa* generation class context the *bokkuu* is a symbol of authority. Among most Oromo groups the A.b. is the leader of the generation class in power. He hands over the *bokkuu* to the leader of the next generation dass every eight years. Hence in this context *bokkuu* can be translated with 'sceptre', as a unique symbol of the continuity of power (Salviac 1901; Cerulli 1922; MHasOr 1990), although not associated

with permanent kingship. Among the Sabbo-Gona Oromo, better known as ↗Boorana, the most prominent position within the *gadaa* context is hold by the ↗*abbaa gadaa* ('father of the *gadaa*'). He works in close collaboration with two A.b., one from each moiety (Asmarom Legesse 1973:91). The symbolic object which is ritually handed over is called *balli*.

Src.: TON LEUS, *Borana-English Dictionary*, Yabello 1995, 113; MARTIAL DE SALVIAC, *Un peuple antique au pays de Ménélik: les Galla (dits d'origine gauloise), grande nation africaine*, Paris 1901; ENRICO CERULLI, *The Folk-Literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia*, Cambridge, MA 1922 (Harvard African Studies 3).

Lit.: MHasOr; ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada: Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York 1973, 91.

Marco Bassi

Abbaa dulaa

A.d. (lit. 'father of the war') is an Oromo title. Traditionally the A.d. is the leader of a specific military campaign against non-Oromo. He is elected from among the fighters just before the expedition (Asmarom Legesse 1973:77f.) and loses his ritual and organizational authority on termination of the campaign. In the Oromo highlands, after the Oromo split into separate confederacies, a more formal and permanent position of A.d. seems to have developed in connection with the ↗*gadaa* system (Knutsson 1967:173, 182; MHasOr 102f., 111f.). With the 19th-cent. social transformation and decline of the *gadaa* system several A.d. emerged in the Oromo highlands in competition with one another for local supremacy (Massaja 1889, vol. 6, 69). The title in some cases became hereditary and the process ultimately led to the rise of the Oromo monarchies in the Gibe region (MHasOr 120f.; Lewis 1965:28–31, 39, 105).

Lit.: ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada. Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York 1973, 77f.; KARL ERIC KNUTSSON, *Authority and Change. A Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*, Gøteborg 1967, 173, 182; MHasOr 102f., 111f., 120f.; GUGLIELMO MASSAJA, *I miei trentacinque anni di missione nell'alta Etiopia*, vol. 6, Milano 1889, 69; HERBERT SAMUEL LEWIS, *A Galla Monarchy: Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia 1830–1932*, Madison 1965, 28–31, 39, 105.

Marco Bassi

Abbaa fuño ↗ Abbaa gandaa

Abbaa gaba

A.g. ('father of the market') was an important official in the Oromo ↗Gibe states. The A.g. was appointed either by the king or by the ↗*abbaa mizan*, who was in charge of foreign affairs and all business matters. He was appointed on the basis of his maturity, political wisdom, knowledge of business matters, fairness in settling disputes, positive attitude towards trade and traders and ability to control people and difficult situations. The A.g. was responsible for maintaining law and order in market-places on market-days and collecting market-dues. Every market-centre had its own A.g., who allocated places to the traders to set up their stalls or lay out their goods on the ground and assigned different sections of the market to different products. He expanded or contracted these sections as the needs demanded.

Src.: ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del'Caffa*, 3 vols., Roma 1886; TASAW MERGA, *Senna Umata Oromo: Jalgaba Jarra Kudha Jahafti hama dhumiti Jarra Kudha Sagalfanti*, ms. 1976.

Lit.: MORDECHAI ABIR, "Southern Ethiopia", in: RICHARD GRAY – DAVID BIRMINGHAM (eds.), *Pre-Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900*, London 1970, 119–37; HERBERT SAMUEL LEWIS, *A Galla Monarchy: Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia 1830–1932*, Madison 1965, 95; MHasOr 144f. (Lit.).

Mohammed Hassen

Abbaa gadaa

In the Oromo ↗*gadaa* system the term A.g. ('father of the *gadaa*') designated the leader for an eight-year period of the ruling *gadaa* class of a localized "tribal" segment of the Oromo, who acted as president or senior councillor of the highest assembly (↗*Čaffee*). In addition to his ritual obligations the main task of the A.g. consisted in the proclamation of the current laws of the new *gadaa* period and the heading of the assembly (d'Abbadie 1880:12ff.; Paulitschke 1896:117f.; MHasOr 14ff.). He shared with other office-holders the responsibility for juridical disputes and negotiations with neighbouring groups or state authorities (Van de Loo 1991:47).

The actual power of an A.g. varied between different Oromo groups and throughout the course of time. Many accounts rather refer to a first among equals attending to the public opinion formed after long discussion in the assembly (d'Abbadie 1880:12ff.; Asmarom Legesse 1973:93ff.). The leadership was in eight-year

perspective a rotating one between different *gadaa* groups, all having their own hereditary families. Though the A.g. could be elected out of several candidates, it tended to be the A.g.'s son, who succeeded his father 40 years later (VSAe II, 188; Asmarom Legesse 1973:207ff.).

Customarily, the entire ruling *gadaa* class as well as the historical eight-year period of their rule have been called after their leader. The office of A.g. is in different sources sometimes referred to as ↗*abbaa bokkuu*, ↗*hayyuu* or *luuba*.

Lit.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, "Sur les Oromo, grande nation africaine", *Annales de la Société Scientifique de Bruxelles* 4, 1880, 12ff., 167–92; BeckHuntAlm 109–29; ENRICO CERULLI, *The Folk-Literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia*, Cambridge, MA 1922 (Harvard African Studies 3); ID., *Etiopia occidentale. (Dallo Scioa alle frontiere del Sudan). Note del viaggio 1927-1928*, vol. 2, Roma 1933; VSAe II, 188; MHasOr 14ff.; ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada: Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York 1973, 93ff., 207ff.; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, vol. 2: *Die geistige Kultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl*, Berlin 1896, 117f.; MARTIAL DE SALVIAC, *Un peuple antique au pays de Ménélik: les Galla (dits d'origine gauloise), grande nation africaine*, Paris 1901; JOSEPH VAN DE LOO, *Guji Oromo Culture. Religious Capabilities in Rituals and Songs*, Berlin 1991, 47; PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER – URI ALMAGOR (eds.), *Age, Generation and Time: Some Features of East African Age Organisations*, London 1978.

Andrea Nicolas

Abbaa gandaa

A.g. is derived from the Oromo words *abbaa* 'father' and *ganda(a)* 'village, community, neighbourhood, vicinity' (GraggDic 4, 166; TilDic 2, 246).

Each of the ↗Gibe states was ruled by a king who was assisted by a "council of state". For administrative, judicial and military purposes each state was divided into provinces headed by a governor, ↗*abbaa qorro* ('father of the district'); provinces, in turn, were divided into five to ten districts, *gandaa*, each with its own *abbaa* who was responsible for day to day administration and ensuring that the "social pyramid was maintained by the labour and produce of the free population" (MHasOr 1990:97). Under the A.g., but appointed by different criteria and with a certain degree of independence, were *abbaa fuño* ('father[s] of the cords'), who acted both as restraining middlemen and collectors of the salt tax and other tributes.

Src.: BTafA 870; GraggDic 4, 166; TilDic 2, 246.

Lit.: GULUMA GEMEDA, *Gomma and Limmu: the Process of State Formation among the Oromo in the Gibe Region, c. 1750–1889*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1984, passim; MHasOr 96f.; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Galla of Ethiopia: the Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero*, London 1955 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa, Northeastern Africa 2), 55f.; HERBERT SAMUEL LEWIS, *A Galla Monarchy: Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia, 1830–1932*, Madison 1965, 90, 124.

Ahmed Hassan Omer

Abbaa Ǧifaar I

A.Ǧ. (Abbaa Jifaar, r. 1830-55), was the first king of ↗Ǧimma. While young he was known as Sanna. His father, ↗Abbaa Magaal, was a famous warrior who defeated many rival war leaders, captured the great market of ↗Hirmaata and the surrounding fertile area from the Badi group and created the nucleus of the kingdom of Ǧimma. The tall, well-built, brave and daring Sanna was a born warrior. He gained considerable experience in the wars of his father, who died before establishing the kingdom.

Sanna had to dispute the succession to his father's authority with his brother Abbaa Rago, whom he easily defeated and imprisoned. He soon created a well-disciplined army, with which he opened the campaign for the consolidation of the kingdom of Ǧimma. His military ability was matched by his diplomatic skill, which kept his ten rival war leaders so divided that he was able to defeat them one after the other and establish the kingdom of Ǧimma 1830.

It was in the course of this war of conquest and the creation of the kingdom that Sanna earned his name of A.Ǧ., after his famous horse, which became both the name of the king and that of the kingdom (↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar). After creating the kingdom, A.Ǧ. realized that it needed wealth and an ideology to nourish the unity of the people and consolidate his dynasty's grip on his state. Wealth came from agriculture and participation in the lucrative trade of the ↗Gibe region and beyond, while Islam served him as a powerful ideology. A.Ǧ. accepted Islam and invited the ↗*ğäbärti*, Muslim traders from northern Ethiopia, to spread their religion and conduct their business in his kingdom, at both of which they were very successful. Through military conquest, sound economic policy based on agriculture and trade,

and diplomacy, A.Ǧ. transformed his land into a powerful and prosperous kingdom within and beyond the Gibe region. After an energetic reign of 25 years, A.Ǧ. bequeathed to his successor a new capital, a new religion and administrative and political innovations.

Src.: ABBAA ǦOOBIR ABBAA DULAA, the last king of Ǧimma, unpublished ms. [in possession of the author]; GUGLIELMO MASSAJA, *I miei trentacinque anni di missione nell'alta Etiopia*, vol. 6, Milano 1890, 5f.; ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del'Caffa*, 3 vols., Roma 1886.

Lit.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Géographie de l'Éthiopie, ce que j'ai entendu, faisant suite à ce que j'ai vu*, Paris 1890; MORDECHAI ABIR, "Southern Ethiopia", in: RICHARD GRAY – DAVID BIRMINGHAM (eds.), *Pre-Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900*, London 1970, 119–37; ID., "The Emergence and Consolidation of the Monarchies of Enorea and Jimma in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century", *JAH* 6, 1965, 2, 205–19; HERBERT SAMUEL LEWIS, *A Galla Monarchy: Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia, 1830–1932*, Madison 1965, 41ff.; MHasOr; TESSEMA TA'A, *The Political Economy of Western Central Ethiopia: from the Mid-16th to Early 20th Centuries*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University 1986, 87f.

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Abbaa Ǧifaar II, photo by Garabed Ebeyan, photo courtesy of the IES, Addis Abäba

Abbaa Ǧifaar II

A.Ǧ. (Abbaa Jifaar, b. 1861, d. 1932) was the most famous Oromo king of the ↗Gibe region. His mother, ↗Genne Gummiti, was the daughter of the king of Gumma, and his father, ↗Abbaa Gomol, was the fourth king of ↗Ǧimma. A.Ǧ. succeeded to the throne in 1877 at the time when the persecution of Muslims in Wällo was very severe and when pressure from the neighbouring Amhara kings of Goǧǧam and Šäwa was felt in the Gibe region.

A.Ǧ. was able to harness the situation in Wällo to help avert the destruction of his kingdom and welcomed Muslim refugees, some of whom were learned men, who expanded the community of scholars and brought lustre to his capital ↗Ǧiren. A.Ǧ. also supported materially the activities of Muslim religious orders. During his long reign, Ǧiren remained the commercial emporium of south-western Ethiopia and a famous centre of Islamic learning. It is claimed that by the 1880s Ǧimma had around 60 Islamic schools (*madrasa*), which explains why Ǧimma is still regarded as the best centre of Islamic learning for all Oromo in Ethiopia. Along with his support for Islamic education, and working for the prosperity of his people, A.Ǧ. showed some political wisdom by peacefully submitting to Mənilək, the *nəgúś* of Šäwa. While other Oromo states in the Gibe region were destroyed, only Ǧimma escaped their fate. Through peaceful submission to *nəgúś* Mənilək, A.Ǧ. secured for himself a good deal of internal autonomy. Consequently, from 1882, when A.Ǧ. submitted to Mənilək, till 1930, when Ǧimma's autonomy was revoked by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I, no Amhara governors were appointed nor were churches built in Ǧimma. In exchange for his kingdom's internal autonomy A.Ǧ. was required to pay annually 300,000 Maria Theresa thalers in cash or in kind.

Of all the conquered territories of southern Ethiopia, it was Ǧimma that bore the brunt of the highest tax burden from 1882 to 1930. In 1930, *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase increased this, so that ↗Abbaa Ǧoobir, the new king, was unable to pay it. Ḫaylä Śəllase, using this as an excuse, appointed the first Amhara governor of Ǧimma in 1930. After the death of A.Ǧ. in 1932, Ḫaylä Śəllase abolished the kingdom and with that the century-long history of Ǧimma came to an end.

Src.: ABBAA ǦOOBIR ABBAA DULAA, the last king of Ǧimma, unpublished ms. [in possession of the author], 11, 33f., 40; ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere*

del'Caffa, Roma 1886, vol. 2, 267ff., 305f.; GUGLIELMO MASSAJA, *I miei trentacinque anni di missione nell'alta Etiopia*, 12 vols., Milano 1885–95.

Lit.: RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History,* London 1965, 101f., 173, 175; JULES BORELLI, *Ethiopie méridionale*, Paris 1890; RICHARD ALAN CAULK, "Territorial Competition and the Battle of Embabo, 1882", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 65–88; ENRICO CERULLI, *The Folk-Literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia,* Cambridge, MA 1922 (Harvard African Studies 3), 20, 46; ID., *Etiopia occidentale*. (*Dallo Scioa alle frontiere del Sudan*). *Note del viaggio 1927–1928*, vol. 2, Roma 1933, 94ff.; HAILE MARIAM GOSHU, *The Kingdom of Abba Jiffar II (1861–1934)*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1970, passim; HERBERT SAMUEL LEWIS, *A Galla Monarchy: Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia, 1830–1932,* Madison 1965, 45f.; MHasOr; TESSEMA TA'A, *The Political Economy of Western Central Ethiopia: from the Mid-16th to Early 20th Centuries*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University 1986, 93–99.

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Abbaa Gomol I

A.G. I (r. 1780s–1825, d. 1837) was the first king of ↗Limmu Ǝnnarya. As a young man, A.G., who was then known as Bofo, became a famous ↗*abbaa dulaa*. During the second half of the 18th cent., Limmu Ǝnnarya was characterized by the struggle among the various *abbaa dulaa*. The *abbaa dulaa* fought with each other for control of land, market centres and caravan routes. It was out of this struggle that two rival *abbaa dulaa* emerged: Bofo, who by that time had become a formidable war leader, and adopted his popular name A.G. from his war horse Gomol, and Abbaa Rebu. Abbaa Rebu, having failed to defeat A.G., tried to come to terms with the young warrior by marrying him to his daughter. This marriage alliance, however, did not bring peace between the two rivals: Abbaa Rebu refused to recognize the supremacy of his son-in-law until he was defeated and captured by the latter.

A.G. became a patient and a talented leader, who earned the title of a "wise prince" (Massaja 1978:371). He was magnanimous towards his father-in-law and forgave him his rebellion. Abbaa Rebu became "not only one of his most devoted subjects, but also his principal advisor" (MHasOr 104f.).

A.G. was the founder of a dynasty and was the first Muslim king of the ↗Gibe region. He was converted to ↗Islam probably during the 1790s by *šayḫ* Saʿīd Naṣrallāh, who appears to have been among the first generation of Muslim traders from northern Ethiopia who settled in Limmu Ǝnnarya during the second half of the 18th cent. A.G.'s conversion to Islam not only forged ideological unity with numerous Muslim traders and preachers in his capital, Sappa, but also facilitated the establishment of Muslim education, where children of the king and the nobility were exposed to Islamic ideology and acquired a rudimentary form of Islamic literacy.

During his long reign, A.G. conducted wars against his neighbours for the purpose of expanding the frontiers of his state. He also established strong diplomatic and commercial relationships with several neighbouring states, including the kingdom of Goǧǧam to the north and that of Käfa to the south. A.G. was overthrown in 1825 by his son ↗Abbaa Bagiboo. He died in 1837 and was buried in Sappa, where his tomb became a shrine (MHasOr 165).

Src.: papers of Antoine and Arnauld d'Abbadie, mss., Paris, BN, Département des Manuscrits Orientaux, Nouvelles Acquisitions, vol. 21, 300, fol. 26, 199, 569–72; GUGLIELMO MASSAJA, *Lettere e scritti minori*, vol. 2, Roma 1978, 371f.

Lit.: MORDECHAI ABIR, *The Emergence and Islamisation of the Galla Kingdoms of the Gibe and North Ethiopian Trade with These Kingdoms, 1800–1850*, ms., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1962–63, 2f.; ID., *Ethiopia: the Era of the Princes. The challenge of Islam and the Re-Unification of the Christian Empire 1769–1855*, London 1968, 78f.; ID., "The Emergence and Consolidation of the Monarchies of Enarea and Jimma in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century", *JAH* 6, 2, 1965, 209–10; WILLIAM CORNWALLIS HARRIS, *The Highlands of Æthiopia*, vol. 3, London 1844, 53f.; CHARLES WILHELM ISENBERG – JOHANNES LUDWIG KRAPF, *Journals of the Rev. Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf, Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, Detailing Their Proceedings in the Kingdom of Shoa…*, London 1968, 14f.; MHasOr 103–06, 153ff., 162–65.

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Abbaa Gomol II

A.G. II (r. 1861–82) was the third king of ↗Limmu Ǝnnarya. The third son of ↗Abbaa Bagiboo I, while young he was known as Abbaa Bulgu. A timid and docile man, he was never involved in his brother's attempt to overthrow his father in 1847. And yet Abbaa Bagiboo I never trusted him with the golden ring or the local title of *donačaw* ('the crown prince'). Abbaa Bulgu was insulted and hated by everyone at the court of his father, who even prohibited him from eating the best quality *tef* bread. Only Abbaa Šamal, the famous ↗*abbaa mizan* of

Limmu Ǝnnarya, protected Abbaa Bulgu from the wrath and suspicion of his father by vouching for the loyalty of the son. It was only on 21 September 1861, three days before his death, that Abbaa Bagiboo gave his gold ring to Abbaa Bulgu, who succeeded to him as the third king of Limmu Ǝnnarya on 24 September 1861.

After his succession, Abbaa Bulgu adopted A.G. as his throne name and set about reorganizing his father's liberal administration to his own fancy. He inadvertently weakened his administration by replacing the experienced and able officials of his father by fanatic Muslims, who lacked administrative skills. Of Abbaa Bagiboo's capable officials, only *abbaa mizan* Abbaa Šamal was maintained in the same office by A.G. The obvious reason for this was to reward the worthy Abbaa Šamal who had protected the future king. Surrounded by ideologically driven Muslim *šayḫs*, A.G. declared himself to be the king of Limmu and "the father of the Muslims" (Massaja vol. 6, 13). His obsession alienated him from the majority of his people, who never were fanatic Muslims.

He lacked the diplomatic skills of his father and the bravery of his grandfather. His inept leadership and exaggerated beliefs in the power of Islamic prayer, deprived his soldiers from getting adequate training and preparation for war. Consequently, his soldiers were not only easily defeated on the battlefields, but also some of the peoples who were conquered by his father and integrated into his kingdom in the 1830s, rebelled and gained their independence from Limmu Ǝnnarya in the 1860s and 1870s.

A.G. not only lost territory but also "made mistakes which hastened the commercial ruin of his once prosperous land". The merchants of Limmu Ǝnnarya, burdened by heavy taxation and angered by A.G.'s administration, left his kingdom to prosper in ↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar. In short, during the reign of A.G., Ǝnnarya lost the economic prosperity, territorial integrity, military power and political prestige that it enjoyed during the reign of Abbaa Bagiboo. Blinded by his fanaticism, A.G. not only crippled the prestige and the economy of Limmu Ǝnnarya, but also he, too, suffered a similar fate "having been amputated after he had suffered a serious fall" (Guluma Gemeda 1984:140).

Lit.: GUGLIELMO MASSAJA, *I miei trentacinque anni di missione nell'alta Etiopia*, 12 vols., Milano 1885–95, vol. 6, 13f., 100, 283f.; ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del'Caffa*, Roma 1886, vol. 2, 172; GULUMA GEMEDA, *Gomma and Limmu: the Process of State Formation Among the Oromo in the Gibe Region, c. 1750–1889*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1984, 140f.; MHasOr 191f., 195, 197.

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Abbaa Ǧoobir

A.Ǧ. (Abbaa Joobir, b. ca. 1900, Ǧiren, d. 1988, Mecca) was educated and brought up in Ǧiren, the capital of the Kingdom of ↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar. His father, Abbaa Dulaa, was the eldest son of ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar II. His mother, ↗Genne Gummiti, was from the Dagoye dynasty of the Kingdom of Gumma. The mother of Abbaa Ǧifaar II was from the same royal family.

A.Ǧ. received the best possible Islamic education under many *ʿulamāʾ* (Muslim scholars) whom Abbaa Ǧifaar II brought from several famous centres of Islamic learning. From his knowledge of the Arabic language, Islamic law and theology, and Oromo and Ethiopian history and politics, it appears that he was a well-read and well-informed articulate man who was interested in politics.

He took wives from the ruling families of Gibe and the surrounding area, by whom he had numerous children. Many of his descendants now live outside Ethiopia. Tall, good-looking, well-built and well-educated, A.Ǧ. is said to have possessed a considerable share of his famous grandfather's political vigour and ambition, though lacking his political wisdom. A.Ǧ.'s father, Abbaa Dulaa, was a deeply religious man, who was not interested in politics and political matters. Consequently, when Abbaa Ǧifaar II fell seriously sick in 1928, it was A.Ǧ. who took over the reins of power in Ǧimma. After two years of training A.Ǧ. was crowned King of Ǧimma in 1930.

He could not have become king at a worse time. Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase was consolidating and centralizing his power and could not allow Ǧimma's autonomy, based on Abbaa Ǧifaar II's agreement of 1882 with *aṣe* Mənilək II, to continue. Though the tax Ǧimma paid under the agreement in order to maintain its internal autonomy was already very high, Ḫaylä Śəllase raised it in 1930, so that A.Ǧ. was unable to pay any more. This allowed Ḫaylä Śəllase to appoint *daǧǧazmač* Wäldä Amanuʾel as the first Amhara governor of Ǧimma and to entrust Amhara officials with the task of supervising and con-

trolling Ğimma's customs and revenues, thus effectively ending Ğimma's celebrated internal autonomy. Thus, when Abbaa Ğifaar II died in 1932, the Kingdom of Ğimma was abolished and Ğimma became an *awrağğa* of the ↗Käfa region. A.Ğ. was detained at ↗Afqära prison in Mänz from 1932 to 1935.

It is believed that A.Ğ. had submitted to the Italians secretly in writing even before the Italian occupation (↗Italian war, 1935-36). The Italians freed A.Ğ., returned him to power in Ğimma and used his name, his fame and his hatred of Amhara administration as powerful propaganda for "de-Amharization". During the short-lived Italian occupation, A.Ğ. was the most prominent Oromo political leader and head of the "Oromo-Sidama governorate", one of the six autonomous regions into which the Italian East African Empire was divided (↗Africa Orientale Italiana). The Italians followed a pro-Oromo and pro-Muslim policy, for which A.Ğ. worked tirelessly. The Italians started an Oromo language radio program in Ğimma, which A.Ğ. used extensively to expose the harshness of the Amhara administration towards the Oromo and the Muslims.

Like *ras* Ḫaylu of Goğğam and *ras* Śəyyum Mängäša of Təgray, A.Ğ. played a key role in the Italian colonial administration. He visited Italy as a guest of the government, together with other dignitaries from the Horn of Africa. He visited Egypt and travelled in the Middle East in support of the Italian pro-Muslim policy in Ethiopia. When in 1941 Ḫaylä Śəllase was restored, A.Ğ. was removed from power in Ğimma.

Ras ↗Barru Wäldä Gäbrə'el, the first Amhara governor of Ğimma after 1941, left A.Ğ. in peace. However, the second Amhara governor of Ğimma, *ras* ↗Mäsfən Səläši, accused A.Ğ. of massacring Amhara in 1936, and consequently A.Ğ. was imprisoned in Addis Abäba for two years. He was released in 1946 for lack of satisfactory evidence and returned to Ğimma. From 1946 to 1976, A.Ğ. led a quiet life, during which he studied history, geography, literature and Muslim science. During this time he produced his long manuscript on the history of the Kingdom of Ğimma and the Oromo, which is a protest against Ethiopian historiography that either ignored or distorted Oromo history. He also wrote *Notes on Oromo History and Islam in Ethiopia* and *Dalā'il al-ḫayrāt*, based on the Sufi doctrine of the holy *šayḫ* Abū l-ʿAbbās at-Tiğānī of Fez, Morocco. None of his literary works has yet been published. In 1976 A.Ğ. went to Mecca on pilgrimage and remained there in exile till his death. He was buried in Mecca, Saudi Arabia.

Src.: ABBAA ĞOOBIR ABBAA DULAA, the last king of Ğimma, unpublished ms. [in possession of the author]; ID., *Notes on Oromo History and Islam in Ethiopia*, ms.; ID., *Dalā'il al-ḫayrāt*, ms.; interview with ABBAA BIYA ABBAA ĞOOBIR, the former Ethiopian ambassador to Egypt.

Lit.: ALBERTO SBACCHI, *Ethiopia under Mussolini, Fascism and Colonial Experience*, London 1985, 160ff.; ID., *Legacy of Bitterness: Ethiopia and Fascist Italy, 1935–1941*, Lawrenceville 1997, 137f., 141, 157; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 233f.

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Abbaa kella

A.k. ('father of the entrance gate') was an important official who combined the role of customs official and chief intelligence officer in the Oromo ↗Gibe states. The A.k. served under the ↗*abbaa mizan*. The A.k. was appointed by the king alone, on the basis of his unquestioned loyalty, his diplomatic skill, knowledge of the politics of the area and experience in the import and export business. The A.k. had full responsibility for ensuring that the entrances to the capital were guarded by day and night. No one entered or left a kingdom without his knowledge or permission. The men who served under an A.k. counted the incoming and outgoing merchants, diplomats and visitors. They inspected traders' merchandise and collected customs dues from them. An A.k. also gathered information about neighbouring states' intentions, troop movements and intended attacks. The A.k. provided this vital information to the king, who acted upon it in order to minimize the risk of surprise attack.

Src.: ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del'Caffa*, Roma 1886, vol. 2, 228; GUGLIELMO MASSAJA, *I miei trentacinque anni di missione nell'alta Etiopia*, 12 vols. Milano 1885–95, vol. 4, 145; TASAW MERGA, *Senna Umata Oromo: Jalgaba Jarra Kudha Jahafti hama dhumiti Jarra Kudha Sagalfanti*, ms. 1976, 144ff.

Lit.: MORDECHAI ABIR, "Southern Ethiopia", in: RICHARD GRAY — DAVID BIRMINGHAM (eds.), *Pre-Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900*, London 1970, 119–37; HERBERT SAMUEL LEWIS, *A Galla Monarchy: Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia 1830–1932*, Madison 1965, 108f.; MHasOr 145 (Lit.).

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Abbaa lafa

A.l. ('father of land') was a new institution that developed among the Oromo in the ↗Gibe region during the 18th cent. During the pastoralist period only wealth in cattle had counted, land being the common property of the whole clan. With the transformation of the Oromo mode of production from pastoralism to sedentary agriculture that took place in the 17th–18th cent., land not only gained economic value, but it also generated intense struggle among them for its possession. Thus, A.l. appeared: a new class of land-owning nobility.

The rise of the A.l. institution had three immediate consequences for the Oromo in the Gibe region. First, the emergence of A.l. indicated the transition from collective ownership to private ownership, and the instutionalization of feudal relations. The process was a bloody one, as when the war leaders realized that the acquisition of more land was the key to greater wealth and the surest path to political supremacy, fights broke out. This can be illustrated by one of the episodes recorded by Guglielmo Massaja, when the three ↗*abbaa dulaa* (who were at the same time A.l.) of Lagamara defeated those of Čala, plundered and punished their followers, making the Čala peasants to their tenants (cp. Massaja 1885–95, vol. 4, 68f.). Second, with the emergence of A.l., the authority of the ↗*čaffee* assembly was challenged and effectively undermined, as the decision power passed into the hands of the dominating A.l. The decisions were thus taken in favour of the A.l., sometimes against the interest of a larger group. Wars, for example, were waged in the name of the assembly but actually for the benefit of a wealthy A.l. (MHasOr 61). Third, it was out of the struggle among the rival A.l. that the institution of monarchy developed in the Gibe region. In short, all the Gibe states were the creation of war leaders, who were also wealthy A.l.

Control of land gave an A.l. sufficient surplus for maintaining a permanent military and police force necessary to defeat their rivals, consolidate their power, centralize their administration and make themselves ↗*mooti* ('kings'). All Gibe kings were made in wars for land, and for all of them war was the primary issue of their administration for control of more lands. It was thus the birth of the institution of A.l. that facilitated the process of the formation of states in the Gibe region.

Src.: GUGLIELMO MASSAJA, *I miei trentacinque anni di missione nell'alta Etiopia*, 12 vols., Milano 1885–95, vol. 3, 52f.; vol. 4, 53f., 68f., 171–74; ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del'Caffa*, Roma 1886, vol. 2, 161, 164, 270.
Lit.: MHasOr 61, 87–90, 93–96, 119f.; HERBERT SAMUEL LEWIS, *A Galla Monarchy: Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia, 1830–1932*, Madison 1965, 49f.; JAN HILDEN, "Man and Land in Wallaga, Ethiopia", *Working Papers, Department of Social Anthropology, Göteborg University*, 10 November 1977, 8, 12.

Mohammed Hassen

Abbaa Maale

A.M. (fl. ca. 1830–40s) was the most powerful chief of the Oboo Oromo in north-western Šäwa during the 1830s and 1840s. He was a son of a prominent ↗*abbaa dulaa*, who, when the ↗*čaffee* assemblies lost in importance, transformed himself into a hereditary leader of the Saggo clan (one of the ↗Sälale Oboo clans), probably around 1830, and established a large headquarter at Wogiddi.

At the beginning of his career A.M. appears to have opposed the Šäwan expansion, lead quite intensively by *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase, and may have even fought against his Amhara neighbours. However, by 1837 he became Śahlä Śəllase's main ally. Śahlä Śəllase married A.M.'s sister, and A.M. accepted Christianity "the King acting as his godfather" (Ege 1978:89). Ideological unity between Śahlä Śəllase and A.M. opened a new chapter in their relationship, and A.M. became an effective instrument of Šäwan expansion. In return, Śahlä Śəllase supported A.M.'s expansion at the expense of other Oromo chiefs. As a result, A.M. emerged as the most powerful Christianized Oromo chief, a key figure in the power structure of the expanding Šäwan Amhara state.

A.M. was not only an instrument in Śahlä Śəllase's conquest of the Oromo, but also in their conversion to Christianity. The reward for his exceptional service was power, wealth and a luxurious court. According to Ege (1978:180), the reference to A.M. as "the 'king of the West' was an exaggeration, but not much": A.M. was a king without a crown, and the luxury of his court was inferior only to that of Śahlä Śəllase.

Lit.: SVEIN EGE, *Chiefs and Peasants: the Socio-Political structure of the Kingdom of Shawa about 1840*, M.A. thesis, Bergen 1978, 64–92, 173–97; CHARLES T. BEKE, "Route from Ankober to Dima", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 12, 1842, 245–58; WILLIAM CORNWALLIS HARRIS, *The Highlands of Æthiopia*, London 1844, vol. 3, 40f.

Mohammed Hassen

Abbaa Magaal

A.M. (r. ca. 1800–30) was the eldest son of Abbaa Faro, who created the nucleus of the state that became the kingdom of ↗Ğimma. The state of Ğimma was born out of the struggle between two major clans: the Badi and the Diggo. Both clans had their separate ↗*ċaffee* assemblies. Abbaa Faro was an elected ↗*gadaa* official of the Diggo clan. He transformed his status from an elected into a hereditary leader and used his power to make himself the wealthiest man in the land. Abbaa Faro used his wealth to win friends, neutralize enemies and, above all, to create a powerful military force with which he established the supremacy of the Diggo clan. It was in his father's military force that A.M. received his practical military training and became a famous warrior. After the death of Abbaa Faro, around the beginning of the 19th cent., A.M. succeeded his father as the undisputed leader of the Diggo clan. The latter had double advantages over the Badi clan, who lacked a single leadership and were fighting more with each other than against their common enemy. The Diggo had a united and capable leadership in A.M., "… who coordinated their efforts, marshalled their resources, galvanized them into action, and took advantage of the Badi's double weaknesses" (MHasOr 111). A.M. easily captured from the Badi group the fertile land around the great market of Hirmaata. It was on this land that A.M. established ↗Ğiren, which became the capital of Ğimma. Hirmaata, near Ğiren, became the centre of trade and the source of great wealth for Ğimma. However, A.M. was not destined to complete the process of the consolidation of the Kingdom of Ğimma as he was overtaken by death. That task was left to his son and successor Sanna, popularly known as ↗Abbaa Ğifaar I.

Src.: ABBAA ĞOOBIR ABBAA DULAA, the last king of Ğimma, unpublished ms. [in possession of the author], 33f.; GUGLIELMO MASSAJA, *I miei trentacinque anni di missione nell'alta Etiopia*, 12 vols., Milano 1885–95, vol. 6, 5f. **Lit.**: TESSEMA TA'A, *The Political Economy of Western Central Ethiopia: From the Mid 16th Century to the Early 20th Centuries*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University 1986, 87f.; MHasOr 111f.

Mohammed Hassen

Abbaa mizan

A.m. ('father of the balance') was the second-most-powerful official after the king in the Oromo ↗Gibe states. He had the combined functions of treasurer and minister of foreign affairs. As treasurer an A.m. supervised the king's treasury, accounts, storehouses, private domains and royal workshops. Through officials such as the ↗*abbaa gaba* and the ↗*abbaa kella*, and the men who served under them, the A.m. supervised market-centres and merchant villages. As a foreign minister, he was responsible for relations with foreigners and foreign merchants. In short, an A.m. was the channel of communications between the king and foreign visitors and dignitaries, as he had to combine the commercial interests of his king with the well-being of and hospitality for traders.

Together with the king or the queen, an A.m. participated in all important decisions that affected the safety and prosperity of the state within the Gibe region. While all other top offices were filled by the landed aristocracy, the office of A.m. was always filled by a meticulous and capable trader who had thorough knowledge of business matters. The criteria for an appointment to the office of an A.m. included: strength of character, organizational capacity, the maturity to act wisely and the sensitivity to handle traders and deal with their problems.

Src.: ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del'Caffa*, Roma 1886, vol. 2, 256, 259, 412f., 527; TASAW MERGA, *Senna Umata Oromo: Jalgaba Jarra Kudha Jahafti hama dhumiti Jarra Kudha Sagalfanti*, ms. 1976, 144ff. **Lit.**: MORDECHAI ABIR, "Southern Ethiopia", in: RICHARD GRAY – DAVID BIRMINGHAM (eds.), *Pre-Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900*, London 1970, 119–37; MHasOr 143–46 (Lit.); HERBERT SAMUEL LEWIS, *A Galla Monarchy: Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia 1830–1932*, Madison 1965, 124f.; RICHARD PANKHURST, *Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800–1935*, Addis Ababa 1968, 351.

Mohammed Hassen

Abbaa muudaa

A.m. ('father of anointment') was the ↗Oromo spiritual leader, prophet and guardian of the laws of ↗*Waaqa*. Because he was represented as the eldest son of Orma, the Oromo apical ancestor, he was given the senior position within a wide range of Oromo clans and lineages. As a person, he symbolized moral quality, as well as the peace and unity of the people. He was equated with the highest ritual authority, ↗*qaalluu*, and therefore enjoyed a supernatural relationship with snakes, with whom he lived, and with lions, who would never harm him. The blessings of the A.m. were thought to bring rain and fertility for people and

cattle. Every eight years ↗*gadaa* pilgrims went on a long journey to the A.m. for the ↗*muuda* ceremony. The *qaalluu* is reported to have had the ultimate authority to oversee the election of all *gadaa* leaders, i.e. all the principal heads of the Boorana-Oromo political system (Asmarom Legesse 1973:48). The fact that the position of A.m. was held for life and was inherited by the holder's eldest son, set aside the normal political rules of the *gadaa* system, where positions were changed every eight years.

After migration, and the separation of the highland and lowland Oromo, some groups acquired their own spiritual authority. The ↗Boorana, ↗Guğği and ↗Arsi are each reported to have their own *qaalluu*. All other Oromo groups (from the Harär, Šäwa, Wälläga and Gibe regions) sent their pilgrims to the spiritual centre of their ancestors' land. Most sources place the seat of the A.m. in the region of Bale. In the Dallo territory of the Bale region, the A.m. is reported to live among a largely Muslim population (VSAe II, 470). There are also statements that the Oromo of Harär went to visit the A.m. at a place called Mormoro, while others went to Haroo Walaabuu or Wolabu at the foot of Mount Walal. Asmarom Legesse (1973:90) locates the *muuda* ceremony of the Boorana *qaalluu* "at the shrine of Oda" (*odaa* 'sycamore tree') in the territory of Liiban.

Lit.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, "Sur les Oromo, grande nation africaine", *Annales de la Société Scientifique de Bruxelles, Quatrième Année 1879–1880*, Bruxelles 1880, 167–92; PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER — URI ALMAGOR (eds.), *Age, Generation and Time. Some Features of East African Age Organisations*, London 1978; MARTIAL DE SALVIAC, "Les Galla ou Oromo: L'Abba Mouda (Suite), (I)", *Etudes Franciscaines* 3, 1900, 632–52; JOSEPH VAN DE LOO, *Guji Oromo Culture. Religious Capabilities in Rituals and Songs*, Berlin 1991; ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada. Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York — London 1973; VSAe II (Lit.); MHasOr 6–9 (Lit.); KARL ERIC KNUTSSON, *Authority and Change. A Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*, Göteborg 1967.

Andrea Nicolas

Abbaa qorro

A.q. was a title in the ↗Gibe states accorded to provincial governors appointed by the kings and their councils of state to exercise authority between them and the village heads *abbaa gandaa* (MHasOr 1990:96f.). In imperial times A.q., often came to mean simply 'landlord' or 'feudal lord' (Gragg 1982:332; TilDic 395; Borello 1995:345). A.q. probably derives from the honorific title given to respected elders who knew how to adjudicate disputes over land use and land rights (Leus 1995:679).

Src.: MARIO BORELLO, *Dizionario oromo-italiano*, ed. by HANS-JÜRGEN SASSE – PAOLO TABLINO, Hamburg 1995 (Kuschitische Sprachstudien 10), 345; GENE B. GRAGG, *Oromo Dictionary*, Michigan – Chicago 1982, 332; TON LEUS, *Borana Dictionary*, Yabello 1995, 679; MHasOr 96f.; TilDic 395.

Paul T.W. Baxter

Abbaa seera

A.s. ('father of law') was an important official within the Oromo ↗*gadaa* socio-political system, who memorized a list of important articles and maxims and provided them when the ↗*čaffee* assembly was in session. The A.s. knew the basic principles of the "Oromo democracy", under which all top *gadaa* officials, including the A.s., were elected. The criteria for election included oratory, knowledge of Oromo law, history, custom and tradition, bravery, past military achievements and the wisdom required for settling disputes. The duty of the A.s. was to memorize the results of the *čaffee* assembly's deliberations and furnish them when needed. Among the *gadaa* officials, the A.s. played an important role when the *čaffee* assembly made the law and assisted the ↗*abbaa gadaa* in its implementation.

The A.s. furnished relevant articles of the law, ideas and precepts that guided their interpretation and precedents from previous cases, on the basis of which both parties of the disputants argued their cases and resolved disputes amicably and peacefully. The symbol of the law resided in the ↗*bokkuu*, a wooden sceptre, which was used as an emblem of authority by the *abbaa gadaa*, while the law itself was kept in the living "Constitution" — the memory of the A.s. The law reigns permanently, while the A.s., as its custodians, come and go. In short, the A.s. was an important official, who memorized the law and assisted the *abbaa gadaa* in guarding it and implementing it.

Lit.: ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada: Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York – London 1973, 202–32; ID., *Oromo Democracy: An Indigenous African Political System*, Lawrenceville 1999, 195–236; BTafA s. index; ENRICO CERULLI, *The Folk-Literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia*, Cambridge, MA 1922 (Harvard African Studies 3), 177–81; ID., *Etiopia occidentale. (Dallo Scioa alla frontiera del Sudan). Note del viaggio, 1927–1928*, 2 vols., Roma 1930–33; MARTIAL DE SALVIAC, *Un peuple*

antique au pays de Ménélik: les Galla (dits d'origine gauloise), grande nation africaine, Paris 1905, 184–97.

Mohammed Hassen

Abbäbä Arägay

Ras, formerly *balambaras*, A.A. (**አበበ፡ አረጋይ**, b. ca. 1903, d. 1960) was a native of Ǧərru in northern Šäwa. His mother, Askalä Gobäna, was daughter of *aṣe* Mənilək II's redoubtable general, *ras* ↗Gobäna Daṭi. His father, Arägay Bäčäre, had risen to the post of *nəburä əd* of Aksum.

A.A. joined the city guards of ↗Addis Abäba when they were established in 1930. Appointed commander of the Arada police, he was charged with ensuring peace and security in the capital when *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase left for the northern front in 1935. Subsequent to the Italians' triumphant entry into the capital in May 1936, A.A. organized a center of armed resistance in his native district and soon emerged as the leader of the patriotic forces in northern Šäwa. He participated in the ill-coordinated offensive of July 1936 to liberate the capital (↗Italian war 1935–36).

He was promoted to the rank of *ras* by ↗Mälakä Ṣäḥay Iyasu, who had been elected "*nəguś*" by the patriots of Bulga. He was also made honorary chairman of the **የጥንታዊት፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ጀግኖች፡ ማኅበር** (*Yäṭəntawit Ityopya ǧägənočč maḫbär*, 'Association of the Patriots of Old Ethiopia'), created for the purpose of fostering unity among the disparate patriotic groups. Conscious of his power and influence, the Fascist authorities were lulled into engaging in peaceful negotiations with him. He was, however, only buying time and broke off the negotiations once he had recouped his strength.

He welcomed *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase at the head of his 15,000 troops as the latter made his triumphant entry to the capital on 5 May 1941. A.A. was soon appointed mayor of Addis Abäba. It was, however, as Minister of War, provincial governor and suppressor of rebellions (first in Sidamo, then in Təgray) that he made his mark. Returning in 1947 from Təgray, which he had been administering with a heavy hand in the wake of the ↗Wäyyane rebellion, he served successively as Minister of Interior, Minister of Defence and Chairman of the Council of Ministers. He was one of the ministers and dignitaries killed in the course of the abortive ↗Coup d'état of 1960.

Lit.: MahHorse 250; TESHOME AGIRO, *Ras Ababa Aragay*, B.A. thesis, History Department, Addis Ababa University 1976; SALOME GEBRE EGZIABHER, "Ababa Aragay", in: L. H. OFOSU-APPIAH (ed.), *The Encyclopedia Africana. Dictionary of African Biography*, vol. 1: *Ethiopia-Ghana*, New York 1977, 42; ID., "The Ethiopian Patriots, 1936–1941", *EthObs* 12, 2, 1968, 63–91; BAHRU ZEWDE, *A History of Modern Ethiopia: 1855–1974*, London – Athens – Addis Ababa 1991, 162f., 170–74.

Bahru Zewde

Abbäbä Biqila

A.B. (**አበበ፡ ቢቂላ**, b. 20 November 1927, Wayyu *wäräda*, Däbrä Bərhan *awraǧǧa* in southern Šäwa, d. 27 October 1973) was named after his God-father *ato* Biqila, who took care of him as his real father had died before he was born.

A.B. joined the Imperial Bodyguard at the age of 25, where he demonstrated his talents in athletics and rose to the rank of captain. In 1960 at the Olympics held in Rome, running barefoot he won the gold medal in the Marathon in a record time of 2 hours 15 minutes 15.2 seconds. He repeated this feat four years later in 1964 at the Tokyo games with a time of 2:12:12.2. A.B. entered his third Marathon race at the Mexico games in 1968, but had to drop out due to a sprained ankle. On 22 March 1969 he had a car accident, which paralysed him from the waist down and confined him to the wheelchair. A.B. was sent to the Stoke Mandeville Hospital in London, for treatment and returned home after a year. After his injury he participated in international paraplegic games competing in archery and

Abbäbä Arägay, photo courtesy of the IES, Addis Abäba

1940–41, he trained Ethiopian exiles there, and led them during the invasion of southern Ethiopia. He was then appointed Commandant of the Army, and played an important role in suppressing the ↗Wäyyane rising in Təgray in 1942–43. He became a Crown Councillor, and his daughter married Crown Prince ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase.

Src.: *Ethiopian Herald*, 13 June 1949.

Lit.: HAILE SELLASSIE I, *My Life and Ethiopia's Progress, 1892–1937*, ed., tr. by EDWARD ULLENDORFF, vol. 2, Oxford 1976, fn. 197; GEBRU TAREKE, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest. Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge – New York 1991 [Lawrenceville ²1996], chapter 4; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: A New Political History*, New York – Washington – London 1965, ²1969.

Christopher Clapham

Abbäbä Biqila, from *Paris Match*, 31 December 1960, 23

other events. A.B. was also one of the founders and first president of the Ethiopian Paraplegic Association. Captain A.B., the first athlete to win the marathon gold medal twice in the history of modern Olympiad died at the early age of 46.

A bronze statue was erected in honour of his heroic and monumental achievement at St. Joseph Cemetery in Addis Abäba where his body was laid. He is a celebrated hero both at home and abroad, and his name appeared among the top ten in a list of the top hundred athlets of the millennium prepared by the International Athletic Committee.

↗Sports

Lit.: *The Ethiopian Herald*, 26 and 27 October 1973; *EthObs* 5, 1, 1961, 88; *Addis Zämän*, 15 *Ṭəqəmt* 1966 A.M. [25 October 1973 A.D.]; *Paris Match* no. 612, 31 December 1960, 23 (ill.).

Berhanu Gebeyehu

Abbäbä Damṭäw

Major-General *däğğäč* A.D. (**አበበ፡ ዳምጠው**, b. 1892, d. 4 June 1949, Däbrä Libanos), a 20th-cent. Šäwan nobleman and army officer, was the son of *fitawrari* Damṭäw and brother of *ras* ↗Dästa Damṭäw. He was educated at the ↗Mənilək II Secondary School, and served in eastern and southern Ethiopia before the war. A.D. fought the Italians on the southern front in 1935–36 and spent the occupation in Jerusalem. As imperial liaison officer in Kenya in

Abbäbä Gäbre

Fitawrari A.G. (**አበበ፡ ገብሬ**, b. 14 March 1909, Harär, d. 17 July 1977, Addis Abäba) was a prominent 20th-cent. official. His parents originated from Märḥabete and his father Gäbrä Wäldä Maryam was custodian of the treasury of *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel. After attending a traditional church school in Harär, A.G. entered the Täfäri Mäkʷännən School in Addis Abäba, where he studied for some years. He then left for the Sudan and joined the ↗Sudan Interior Mission School, where he completed his secondary education. From there he proceeded to Alexandria, Egypt, for further education. In 1930 he returned home and was assigned as interpreter and assistant to Frank de Halpert, who was then adviser to the Minister of the Interior on administrative territorial divisions. He worked very closely with the adviser until 1935.

A.G. took an active part in the war against the Italians (↗Italian war, 1935–36) and was wounded in 1936. During the five years of Italian occupation of Ethiopia he was a **የውስጥ፡ አርበኛ** (*yäwəsṭ arbäñña*, a person working for or living among the enemy and secretly helping the fighting patriots). In 1942 A.G. married *wäyzäro* Wäynitu Ḫaylä Kəbrät.

A.G. served his country in the executive, judicial and legislative branches of the Imperial Ethiopian Government for over three decades. He started his career in 1941 as a civil servant, heading the Administrative Divisions Mapping Section in the Ministry of the Pen. He was promoted to the rank of Director-General of the Land Administration, Concessions and Agreements Department of the Ministry of the

Abbäbä Gäbre, photo from the author's collection

Interior, where he served from 1941 to 1948. He was then appointed in 1948 as Vice-President of the Imperial Supreme Court, where he served as a presiding judge for three years in 1949–51. He was transferred from the bench to the administration as *awrağğa* governor of ↗Kullo Konta, and subsequently of ↗Awsa, with the traditional title of *qäññazmač*.

He was provincial Governor of both provinces in 1952–59. He was then given the honorific title of *fitawrari* and promoted to a higher position, *andärase* (Viceroy) of the ↗Bale Governorate-General, where he served from 1959 to 1962. Thereafter, he was appointed Vice-Minister (1962–65), and then Minister of State (1966–67) in the Ministry of Justice.

After such a long and varied period of service, he was given a portfolio as the Minister of Land Reform and Administration. He held this political position in 1968–70. Finally, he was appointed by the emperor in 1971 as Senator. He was a member of Parliament until the ↗Revolution. He also served in the 1960s as Ethiopian Commissioner in the demarcation of the Ethio-Sudanese border (↗Boundaries).

A.G. was held without trial as a political prisoner by the *Därg* from 5 July 1974 to 3 September 1976. Less than two years after his release, he died of illness and was buried at Addis Abäba, Holy Trinity Cathedral compound.

Src.: *Nägarit gazeta*: Proclamations: legal notice no. 123, 1949; general notices nos. 148, 1952; 243, 1958; 322, 1963; 371, 1967; 390, 1969; 426, 1972; letters of appointments; interviews with A.G.'s wife *wäyzäro* Wäynitu and his son *ato* Märəde Abbäbä in 1999.

Lit.: ABERRA JEMBERE, *Legal History of Ethiopia 1434–1974: Some Aspects of Substantive and Procedural Laws*, Leiden 1998; ID., *An Introduction to the Legal History of Ethiopia 1434–1974*, Münster — Hamburg — London 2000.

Aberra Jembere

Abbäbä Käbbädä

A.K. (አበበ፡ ከበደ, b. 1932, Arsi, d. 1978, Addis Abäba) was a 20th-cent. diplomat and official. His father, *fitäwrari* Käbbädä Wäldä Giyorgis, was a celebrated patriot. Like with many of patriots' children in those days, *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I paid for A.K.'s schooling. A.K. attended the Täfäri Mäkʷännən School in Addis Abäba. The Bible study group A. formed as a student in Täfäri Mäkʷännən School continued as a Sunday school through the years at the Məskayä Ḫəzunan Mädḫane ᶜAläm Church before it was transformed into the Tämro Mastämar ('to learn and teach') Association in 1946/47 and became an active participant in the "anti-illiteracy" campaign of the pre-revolutionary period. It also assisted in the organization and running of that Church; the modern school attached to this Mädḫane ᶜAläm Church, initially meant as one source of revenue for it, is today one of the prominent senior secondary schools not only in Addis Abäba but also in the country.

After completion of a two-year teachers training programme at the Harär Teachers Training School, he became a teacher of handicrafts at the Kokäbä Səbah Ḫaylä Śəllase I Day School in 1954–55. After further education in the USA, he was assigned to the Ministry of Education where he was put in charge, first, of the department that supervised the teaching of handicrafts in the government schools, and, was later appointed as Director of the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Theatre (the National Theatre).

He was then appointed as cultural attaché in the Ethiopian embassy in London in 1959. This led to his selection and appointment, on March 3, 1962, as the chief administrator of the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Foundation. Under A.K.'s direction the foundation not only became effective in the performance of its diverse welfare responsibilities, but also made a beneficial impact on the development and provision of overall social services. For instance the establishment of the St. Paul Hospital, The Bäläččäw Clinic for women, St. Mary's Hospital in Aksum, and Schools for Orphans and for the Blind in Säbätta and the Täwaḫədo Ṭəbäb ('complementing skills') Umbrella and Battery making Factory which provides employment for the blind and other disabled men and women, which were all either established or transformed by the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Foundation under A's direction. He was also instrumental in the realization of the dream

of the Emperor by playing a key role in the establishment of the Ḫaylä Səllase I Prize Trust in 1963; he was the Emperor's representative on the Board of Trustees.

A.'s responsibility as administrator of the Emperor's personal foundation inevitably meant he was well known to the Emperor. This led to his execution in July 1978 by the *Därg* (↗Revolution), which believed he knew the whereabouts of the Emperor's "huge funds in some Swiss banks" and that he was refusing to assist in their recovery.

↗Theatre

Lit.: ገድለ፡ ሰማዕታት ፡ ኢትዮጵያ (*Gädlä sämaᶜətat Ityopya*, 'The Contendings of Ethiopian Martyrs'), published by a Committee of relatives of those massacred by the *Därg*, Addis Abäba 1991.

Asfaw Damte

Abbäbä Wäldä Giyorgis

One of the founders of modern Ethiopian art, A. (**አበበ፡ ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ**) was born in Harärge in 1897. He studied art for 18 years in Marseilles and Paris, where he held several exhibitions. On his return to Ethiopia in 1940 he created numerous sculptures for the former Parliament building, Addis Abäba Municipality, Mənilək II Secondary School and the Church of Addis ᶜAläm.

Lit.: TAYE TADESSE, *Short Biographies of Some Ethiopian Artists*, Addis Ababa 1991, 16f.; ESSEYE MEDHIN, "Zerihun Yetmgeta. An Ethiopian Modernist", *http://www2.h-net.msu.edu/~zerihun/esseye.html*.

Red.

Abbadie, Antoine d', and Arnauld d'

Antoine Thompson d'A. (b. 10 January 1810, Dublin, d. 19 March 1897, Paris), a French-Basque academic and explorer, together with his younger brother Arnauld-Michel d'A. (b. 24 July 1815, Dublin, d. 13 November 1893, Ciboure) explored between 1837 and 1848 areas of what are now Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti and northern Somalia. Antoine is known in the field of Ethiopian Studies as a distinguished geographer, ethnographer, and linguist, who in 1892 became head of the French Academia of Science. Arnauld was more of a warrior in the name of Christ. Both were fervent Catholics and patrons of Basque cultural nationalism.

The d'A. brothers were children of a French-Basque father (Arnauld-Mikael Abbadie d'Arrast), and an Irish mother (Elizabeth Thompson of Park). The father, a wealthy trader with strong monarchist and Catholic convictions, settled in Ireland after the French revolution. In 1820 the family moved to Toulouse, then in 1828 to Paris.

Antoine studied geology, mineralogy, zoology and astronomy. He was exposed to romantic imaginations of the "Orient", the travelogues of Africa, and the search for the roots of the Basques. In 1837 he and his brother started towards Northeast Africa. In 1838 Antoine returned for a year to Europe, to collect scientific instruments for his geographical and astronomical researches. He also contacted the Vatican to promote the sending of Catholic missionaries (↗Lazarists 1840, ↗Capuchins 1846) to the region. After returning to Abyssinia in 1840, research began in the core areas (Təgray, Gondär, Lake Ṭana, Goğğam), and expanded towards the South (1843–44, 1846), among the Gudru-Oromo (↗Guduru), and in the kingdoms of Ǝnnarya and Käfa. In 1846 the d'A. brothers reached the river ↗Omo, which they falsely believed to be the source of the White Nile. After their youngest brother Charles (1821–1901) was sent by their mother to look for them, they all returned to France in 1848. In 1884 Antoine returned by steamboat to the Red Sea, to Massawa and Aden, where he encountered Arthur ↗Rimbaud.

From 1849 onwards Antoine established his reputation as a founder of Ethiopian Studies in France. His outstanding monographs were the *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens* 1859, based on his collection of Gəᶜəz manuscripts, and the comprehensive *Dictionnaire de la langue amariñña* (Paris 1881). Among his ethnographic works, the description of the political and social institutions of the Gudru-Oromo is particular detailed (cf. 1880). Antoine exchanged letters and information with regional rulers (Rubenson 1987, 1994), with Catholic missionaries (↗Massaja, de ↗Jacobis, ↗Cahagne) and many travellers.

As for Arnauld, between 1833 and 1837 he took part in the French campaign in Algeria. In Ethiopia he became known under the *nom de guerre* of *ras* Mikaᵓel, and actively participated in the campaigns of *däğğazmač* ↗Goššu Zäwde of Goğğam against *ras* Ali Alula of Gondär and against the Oromo. He also secured the research activities of his brother through military means. Between 1850 and 1853 he returned to Ethiopia,

annulled by the Vatican in 1864, and Arnauld married a young American, Elisabeth Virgina Young (1840–1923) which contributed to a lasting schism between the two brothers. After Arnauld failed as a royalist candidate for the department of Bayonne during the national elections of 1876, he retired at Ciboure. There he died in 1893, as a result of a carriage accident.

In the seven Bascophone provinces of France and Spain, Antoine was the leading patron of the "Floral games", performance of oral poetry and rural sports, that spread between 1852 and 1899. With his seminal study *Géographie d'Ethiopie* (Paris 1890), Antoine imagined a multi-ethnic political unit even before Mənilək II had conquered it. In the field of Basque cultural nationalism his slogan "zizpiak bat" ('seven are one') provided a lasting rally for the mono-ethnic unity of the seven Bascophone provinces. The later days of his life Antoine spent in the castle of Hendaye.

Src.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens appartenant à Antoine d'Abbadie*, Paris 1859; ID., *Dictionnaire de la langue amariñña*, Paris 1881 (Actes de la Societe philologique 10); ID., *Géographie de l'Éthiopie, ce que j'ai entendu, faisant suite à ce que j'ai vu*, Paris 1890; ID., *Harmæ Pastor*, Lipsiae 1860 (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 2, 1); ID., "Sur les Oromo, grande nation africaine, désignée souvent sous le nom de 'Galla'", *Annales de la Société scientifique de Bruxelles* 4, 1880, 167–92; ID., "Abyssinie. Sources du Nil", *Revue de l'Orient* 1846, 73–83; ARNAULD D'ABBADIE, *Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute-Ethiopie* (*Abyssinie*), vol. 1, Paris 1868 [repr. Città del Vaticano 1980 (Studi e testi 286)]; vols. 2–4 ed. by JEANNE-MARIE ALLIER, Città del Vaticano 1980, 1983, 1999 (Studi e testi 287, 304, 391); CRAbb.

Lit.: GUILHEM D'ABBADIE D'ARRAST, *Épopée d'Arnauld d'Abbadie d'Arrast*, Périgueux 1982; ACADÉMIE DE LA LANGUE BASQUE (EUSKALTZAINDIA), *Antoine d'Abbadie 1897–1997, Congrès International, Hendaye*, Sare 1997, Donostia 1998; AURELIA ARKOTXA-SCARCIA, "L'orient comme virtualité dans le carnet de 1835 d'Antoine d'Abbadie", *Lapurdum* 2, 1997, 83–89; SVEN RUBENSON, *Correspondence and Treaties 1800–1854*, Evanston – Addis Ababa 1987 (Acta Aethiopica 1); ID., *Tewodros and his Contemporaries 1855–1868*, Lund – Addis Ababa 1994 (Acta Aethiopica 2); IÑIGO SAGARZAZU, *Abbadie*, Hondarribia 1997; PATRI URKIZU (ed.), *Antoine d'Abbadie, Recueil des textes ethnographiques, géodésiques, linguistiques et littéraires*, Donostia 1997.

Thomas Zitelmann

Château Antoine d'Abbadie (built 1860–70), Hendaye, entrance hall in Ethiopian style, 1st floor, wallpainting: Oromo assembly, © Académie des Sciences

in support of Goššu, but did not cross the Täkkäze into Təgray. After Goššu died in 1852 in a battle against Kaśa Ḫaylu (*aṣe* ↗Tewodros II), Arnauld returned home. Three years later he was involved in the Lebanese civil war as a leader of the Maronite forces against the Druze. Following the great Druze uprising against the Maronites in 1858–59, he settled in Jerusalem, with the plan to establish a hostel for Ethiopian pilgrims. When this plan failed, he returned permanently to France.

In 1868 Arnauld published the first part of his travel account *Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute-Ethiopie* (*Abyssinie*) in Paris. The second and the third volumes, based on his manuscripts, appeared only in 1980 and 1983 in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. In his writings he gave precise descriptions of everyday civil and military life, and portrayed many contemporaries.

While Arnauld was in Ethiopia, he married Wälättä Rufaʾel, a relative of Goššu. A daughter, Maïten de Kaïsowane, received Catholic education at Beyrouth, but died at the age of 17. A son, Wäldä Mikaʾel, born ca. 1850, was not recognized by him. This Abyssinian marriage was

ᶜAbbās b. Abūñ b. Ibrāhīm

ᶜA. (عبا بن ابون بن ابراهيم d. 1544) was a nephew of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Aḥmad Grañ). Since 1531 ᶜA. participated in Aḥmad Grañ's wars. In 1532 he fought in ↗Däwaro and placed

the whole province under Muslim rule. For this achievement he was honoured with the title ↗*baḥər nägaš*. In 1534, after several battles which swayed to and fro, he conquered Säraye and killed its governor Täsfa Lᵊul. In recognition of this success Aḥmad Grañ appointed his nephew *wazīr*, in succession to the *wazīr* Adole, who had lost his life in the same conquest. ᶜA. now was the second-in-command in the state after Aḥmad Grañ.

After the death of Aḥmad Grañ and the dissolution of his empire, ᶜA. was able to establish his own dominion in ↗Bale, ↗Fäṭägar and Däwaro, from where he attacked the *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos. Gälawdewos, however, fought back. In October 1544, ᶜA. was defeated and killed.

Src.: BassHist passim, esp. 317f., note; MANFRED KROPP (tr., ed.), *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minās*, Louvain 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]), 15, 29, 30 (text) = 14, 34 (tr.); DombrChr 39, 47 (text) = 162, 175 (tr.).

Ewald Wagner

Abbate

A. (**አባቴ**) is a title of courtesy used in Amharic and Təgrəñña to address a monk (usually elderly) or the prior of a monastery. The term signifies literally 'my father'. *Aṣe* ↗Tewodros II used it at least once in his correspondence to address a monk coming from Jerusalem. The term is comparable with the title ↗*abba*. The forms *abbataccən* (Amh.) or *abbona* (Tgn.) 'our father' refer to a bishop or a widely respected monk.

Src.: DTWDic 77; THMDic 748; BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Austria. A History of their Relations*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 35), 351; KWKDic 194f.

Bairu Tafla

Abbay

The history of the A. (**አባይ**, also ᶜAbay, ᶜAbawi, Ethiopian name for the Blue ↗Nile) revolved mainly around the myth that, by controlling the river, Ethiopia could deprive Egypt of its life-blood. The 600 m deep, 1,000 km long gorge also played a visible role in Ethiopia's home affairs.

The fact that the A. (together with the Täkkäze and the Baro, s. also Gämma, Gudär, Mugär, Wänčət) provides 86 % of the unified Nile waters reaching Egypt, was established only in 1920. But the notion that Ethiopia's rains create the floods which irrigate Egypt was spread from ancient times. The Egyptian fear that Ethiopia might block the river was a major factor in the long, multifaceted Ethiopian-Egyptian relationship. While Egypt depended on Ethiopia for its waters, Ethiopia depended on the Egyptian Coptic Church as the source of patriarchal Authority and for her metropolitan. This mutuality has shaped events ever since the 11th cent. It reached an early crisis during the time of the Zagʷe *aṣe* ↗Lalibäla, whom the Egyptians suspected diverting the river, even though his kingdom never reached the A. (he controlled only the Täkkäze). It was *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I who first occupied the basin of the A. and began spreading Christianity there.

The emperors of the Solomonic dynasty, especially Dawit II, Yəsḥaq, and Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, went on asserting Ethiopia's control of the river as a tool in her international relations. They also worked to cement this concept of mastering the Nile in religious terms, identifying the A. with the biblical ↗Gihon and adapting the ↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam* to sanction their ownership of the waters. The medieval European myths of Christian Ethiopia helping in destroying Islam, added to the importance of the A. in the Ethio-Egyptian dialogue.

Though the threat of blocking the A. proved very effective for centuries in safeguarding the appointment of Egyptian metropolitans, in practice, a divertion, or even the use of the A. waters, was never attempted. Moreover, when the British, beginning in 1902, envisioned an all-Nile water-control system and wanted to build a dam at Lake Ṭana, at the source of the A., Ethiopia's rulers refused. *Ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) was suspicious of British en-

croachment and rejected the idea until just before Mussolini's invasion of 1935. In the late 1950s, Egypt began building the Aswan High Dam (inaugurated in 1971), creating Lake Nasser. In so obtaining control over the waters Egypt claimed full rights over all of it and allocated some of it to the Sudan. Ethiopia, the actual source of most of the waters, was ignored in the 1959 Egyptian-Sudanese agreement. The Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase reacted by breaking, in the same year, the historical Church affiliation with Egypt and by airing, with American help, new irrigation and damming plans (the five-years study was published in 1964).

Under Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam (↗Revolution), especially during the 1977–78 Ogaden War, Ethiopia returned to direct threats about blocking the A. However, a more constructive Ethiopian – Egyptian dialogue has begun in the 1990s. While Egypt still insists on her "historic rights" over all the waters, Ethiopia persists in demanding her "equitable share" in a river she had once thought to dominate.

In home affairs the A. has hardly played a positive role. The deep gorge and the mighty annual floods constituted a formidable obstacle. Rather than irrigating land and bridging between regions and people, the unrestrained river stole waters away and prevented communication. Its loop turned Goǧǧam into a semi-independent region, often in defiance of any central government. It was very much due to Goǧǧam's centrifugal tendencies that *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən turned down the British plans of the 1920s to modernize the all-Nile system. Ethiopia's own initiatives at water-control, irrigation and electrification, like the 1964 published American-advised plan, have never materialized. By the assessment of the World Bank (1997 Report), the waters of the A. are Ethiopia's main natural resource. However, its development, in Ethiopia or in an all-Nile, all-regional context, is still elusive.

Src.: BruNile.

Lit.: HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Cross and the River: Ethiopia, Egypt and the Nile*, Boulder 2002; HAGGAI ERLICH – ISRAEL GERSHONI (eds.), *The Nile – Histories, Cultures, Myths*, Boulder 1999 (Lit.); HAGGAI ERLICH, "Introduction", in: *ibid.*, 3–16; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Ethiopia's Alleged Control of the Nile", in: *ibid.*, 17–24; PAUL HENZE, "Consolidation of Christianity around the Source of the Blue Nile", in: *ibid.*, 25–38; NEHEMIA LEVTZION, "Arab Geographers, the Nile, and the History of Bilad al-Sudan", in: *ibid.*, 71–78; EMERI VAN DONZEL, "The Legend of the Blue Nile in Europe", in: *ibid.*, 121–30; UOLDELUL CHELATI DIRAR, "The Nile as a Gateway for Missionary Activity in Abyssinia", in: *ibid.*, 139–51; BAIRU TAFLA, "The Father of Rivers: The Nile in Ethiopian Literature", in: *ibid.*, 153–70; ROBERT COLLINS, "In Search of the Nile Waters, 1900–2000", in: *ibid.*, 245–68; WORLD BANK (ed.), *Ethiopia and the Nile*, Washington DC, June 1998.

Haggai Erlich

Abbay

This French publication of the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS) was named *Documents pour servir à l'Histoire des civilisations éthiopiennes* until its eighth issue. The first volume, dated 1970, was an initiative of the R.C.P. [Recherche Coopérative pour le Programme] 230 (Archaeology), whose director was Jean Chavaillon. The rate of publication was approximately 700 copies once a year, and the main subjects were Ethiopian prehistory, archaeology and megaliths. The publication of the London Conference of June 1978, in volume nine (published a few months afterwards), opened the review to a more interdisciplinary approach. Progressively the number of copies increased, and the review opened itself to other fields of research: history, history of art, anthropology, integrating first French scholars from the CNRS, then other French and foreign scholars. The last volume was the 13th, published in 1987. The preparation of the 14th edition was begun in the mid-1990s, but has never been completed.

Src.: *Abbay* 1970 ff., ISSN 0244–8327.

Anaïs Wion

Abbay Gulǧa

The son of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Gulǧa Nablä, *azmač* A.G. (አባይ፡ ጉልጋ, b. 1906, Təḳul, western Säraye) was educated at Italian St. George School in ↗Mändäfära (*scuola arte e mesteri "San Giorgio"*). Shortly after attaining his school-leaving certificate he became head of one of the most important border districts neighbouring ↗Adyabo in Təgray, a region with a troublesome reputation (possibly ↗ʿAddi Ḵʷala). He was thus involved in the attempt to contain cross-border outbreaks of violence (presumably in the early 1930s).

Following the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, he was appointed interpreter of the residence of ↗Ənda Śəllase in 1935. His other appointments included that of *fitäwrari* in 1923, and *azmač* in 1938. He won a seat as a representative in the first Eritrean Assembly, elected in March 1952,

for the region of Zaʾid Akkolom, Dämbälas, Məssəyan, Kunno Räda and Mədri Fälasi. Through much of the 1950s he was active in Eritrean politics, although he took no part in the 1956 election for the second Assembly. His function ended when the Federal Assembly was abolished in 1962.

Lit.: ErDizBio 1.

Richard Reid

Abbay Habtä Ṣəyon

A. (**አባይ፡ ሀብተ፡ ጽዮን**, b. 1869, d. 29 January 1914, Asmära) was among the last notables of Ḥamasen to hold the office of *baḥri nägaśi* (↗*baḥər nägaš*). Officially promoted by the Italians, he inherited the office from his uncle, *baḥri nägaśi* Gʷərade Zärʾay from Ǝnda Asmaʿa, one of four leading clans of ↗Asmära. The decline of this office lead to the loss of effective executive power, but A. became the spokesperson and the head of the indigenous population of Asmära, concentrated in its old quarters. Tradition describes him as wise, sociable and hospitable. It seems that thanks to his services the relationships with the Italian colonial administration, tense from time to time, stayed harmonious on the whole (s. also the entry on his son ↗Ḥarägot Abbay).

Lit.: ErDizBio 1.

Wolbert Smidt

Abbayya

Lake A. (**አባያ**, 1,160 km², 1,268 m A.S.L.), which the Italians called Lake Margherita in honour of their Queen, lies in a valley overlooked to the west by the Guge Mountains (4,200 m A.S.L.). This shallow small inland sea (60 km long, 20 km wide and 13 m deep) receives the waters of the Bilate river which runs down from the Gurage Mountains and ends in a delta where cotton is cultivated at a former state-farm. Its water abounds in fish and is filled with colloids from the thermal springs along its banks, particularly in the south on the edge of the promontory known as the "Bridge of Paradise".

The town of ↗Arba Mənč is located on this narrow plateau which separates A. from Lake ↗Čamo and gives access to the 700 km² of the Näčč Śar National Park. Until the opening in the 1960s of the road from Soddo, which has now been paved, the shores of the lake were sparsely populated due to trypanosomiasis, which is still endemic today. Since then, farmers from the densely populated mountains of ↗Dorze country have tended small irrigated orchards (bananas, mangoes, papayas and citrus fruit). They also work on the big cotton plantation, in the fish canning plant (tilapia and cat-fish) and in the crocodile farm near Arba Mənč.

Tourists are attracted to the area by megaliths on the northern shore of the lake, by trips to the islands and to the game-rich National Park and can enjoy the magnificent view over the two lakes from the hotels of the town. With good transport facilities to and from Addis Abäba, A. and Čamo have become major tourist attractions and are used as a base for further trips into the country of ↗Konso and the ↗Omo Valley.

↗Gamo Gofa; ↗National Parks

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *Ethiopia. Statistical Abstract 1999*, Addis Ababa, March 2000; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988; *Guida*, s. index.

Lit.: JACQUES BUREAU, *Les Gamo d'Éthiopie, étude du système politique*, Paris 1981, 17f.; ALAIN GASCON, "Les 'bastides' d'Éthiopie. Les villes fortes de Menilek dans le sud de l'Éthiopie et l'urbanisation contemporaine", in: BENOÎT ANTHEAUME – FLORENCE PINTON (eds.), *Tropiques. Lieux et liens*, Paris 1989, 435–44; ID., *La Grande Éthiopie, une utopie africaine. Éthiopie ou Oromie, l'intégration des hautes terres du Sud*, Paris 1995; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Galla of Ethiopia. The Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero*, London 1955 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa. North Eastern Africa, 2); GEOFFREY CHARLES LAST, *A Geography of Ethiopia for Senior Secondary Schools*, Addis Ababa 1963; MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *An Atlas of Ethiopia*, Asmera ²1971; ID., *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972.

Alain Gascon

Abbe Bet and Ali Bet

Ab. B. (**አቤ፡ ቤት** or Abbay Bet) and Al. B. (**አሊ፡ ቤት**) are areas in the south of ↗Wärrä Himäno in Wällo, the former being westward, the later eastward. These territories are named after the lineage of their eponymous Oromo conquerors, Abbe (Abbay) and Ali, of the Čiffa group. Usually paired together in the oral traditions, they seem to have formed a distinct political unit, part of the "seven houses" (i.e. dans) of Wällo (*Säbat bet Wällo*), before being absorbed into the Wärrä Himäno polity, at the beginning of 19th cent. In the modern Ethiopian state, both territories remained *wärädas* of Wärrä Himäno *awraǧǧa*, up to the administrative reorganization after 1991.

Lit.: HUSSEIN AHMED, *Islam in Nineteenth-Century Wällo, Ethiopia*, Leiden – Boston – Köln 2001, 123–26; ZÄRGAW ASFÄRRA, *Some Aspects of Historical Development in 'Amhara/Wällo' (ca. 1700–1815)*, B.A. thesis, Haile Selassie I University 1973, 4.

Eloi Ficquet

Abbe Gubäññа

A.G. (**አቤ፡ ጉበኛ**; b. 25 *Säne* 1925 A.M. [1 July 1933 A.D.], Koränč Abbo *qäbäle*, ↗Ačäfär *wäräda*, Baḥər Dar *awraǧǧa*, d. 2 *Yäkkatit* 1972 A.M. [10 February 1980 A.D.]) was an important 20th-cent. author. His father was Gubäññа Ambayye and his mother Yəgardu Bälay. After twelve years of traditional church education in Goǧǧam and Bägemdər the student of Gəʿəz and *qəne* joined the so-called *färäñǧ* or *zämänawi* ('modern') government school.

He then worked as a journalist at the Ministry of Information, beginning in 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.], and later as an employee at the Ministry of Health, after which he opted to earn his living by writing. He became a versatile writer. Between 1949 A.M. and 1969 A.M. [1956 to 1977 A.D.] he published 21 books in Amharic and two in English. Eight have come out as novels, five as plays, three are collections of poetry. The rest have miscellaneous contents, including translations of the biographies of some great leaders and of persons who have transformed or improved world social systems, short notes on how to write creative works, a book on the ownership of land and another for teaching literacy.

Among Ethiopian writers of his period A.G. stands out as one who directly confronted Ḫaylä Śəllase I's regime. He openly criticized what he considered to be the social, economic, political and religious ills of the society in his newspaper articles and his books. For example, in his play **የሮም፡ አወዳደቅ** (*Yärom awwädadäq*, 'The Fall of Rome'), published in 1953 A.M. [1960 A.D.], just before the ↗Coup d'état, he warned "people" (meaning the rulers) who do not learn from the fate of Rome, to face the same tragedy if they fail to take corrective measures at the right time. In **የፓትሪስ፡ ሉሙምባ፡ አሳዛኝ፡ አሟሟት** (*Yäpatris Lumumba asazzañ amm*^{w}*amm*^{w}*at*, 'The Tragic Death of Patrice Lumumba'), a kind of documentary play published in 1954 A.M. [1961/62 A.D.], he condemned the plot against Lumumba.

Two political novels have also given him a special place in the history of ↗Amharic literature. The character in **አልመለድም** (*Alәwwälläd*ə*mm*, 'I will not be Born', 1955 A.M. [1962/63 A.D.]) refuses to be born into a community teeming with injustice and corruption. It is reported that the book was banned and then collected and burnt after only 800 copies of the novel were sold. In his other novel **ምልክዓም፡ ሰይፈ፡ ነበልባል** (*Məlkəʿam säyfä näbälbal*, 'Məlkəʿam [the name of the main character], Sword-of-Flame', 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.]), a bestseller whose 25,000 copies were sold in a short time, he advocated a constitutional monarchy. Here, political change is generally envisaged through election and non-violent means. That is perhaps why the chief character in the novel is reported to have written two books entitled **ክርስትያንትና፡ ሶሻሊዝም** (*Krəstyanənnätənna sošalizəm*, 'Christianity and Socialism'), and **ደሞ፡ የለሽ፡ ጦርነት** (*Däm yälläš*

ID., የፓትሪስ፡ ሉሙምባ፡ አሳዛኝ፡ አሟሟት (*Yäpatris Lumumba asazzañamnʷammʷat*, 'The Tragic Death of Patrice Lumumba'), Addis Abäba 1954 A.M. [1961/62 A.D.]; ID., አንድ፡ ለናቱ (*And lännatu*, 'His Mother's Only Child'), Addis Abäba 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]; ID., አልወለድም (*Alwwälläddəmm*, 'I will not be Born'), Addis Abäba 1955 A.M. [1962/63 A.D.]; ID., ምልክዓም፡ ሰይፉ፡ ነበልባል (*Məlkəʿam säyfä näbälbal*, 'Məlkəʿam, Sword-of-Flame'), 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.]; ID., ፖለቲካና፡ ፖለቲከኞች (*Polätikanna polätikäññočč*, 'Politics and Politicians'), Addis Abäba 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.]; ID., *Defiance*, Addis Abäba 1975. Lit.: ASFAW DAMTE, አንዳንድ፡ ነጥቦች፡ ስለአቤ፡ ጉበኛ፡ ጽሁፎች (*Andand nätəbočč säläʾabbe Gubäñña ṣəhufočč*, 'Some Notes on Abbe Gubäñña's Writings'), *Yäkkatit*, issues for *Ṭərr* 1974 [January 1982 A.D.], *Yäkkatit* 1974 [February 1982 A.D.], *Mäggabit* 1974 [March 1982 A.D.], *Gənbot* [May 1982]; ELYAS AYYALNÄH, የአቤ፡ ጉበኛ፡ ብዕራዊ፡ ተጋድሎ (*Yäʾabbe Gubäñña bəʿərawi tägadəlo*, 'Abbe Gubäñña's Battle of the Pen'), Addis Abäba 1991 [1998/99 A.D.]; THOMAS LEIPER KANE, *Ethiopian Literature in Amharic*, Wiesbaden 1975, 15, 190ff., 219, 256; REIDULF MOLVAER, *Black Lions: the Creative Lives of Modern Ethiopia's Literary Giants and Pioneers*, Lawrenceville NJ 1997, 181–84; PAUL B. HENZE, *Layers of Time. A History of Ethiopia*, London 2000, 267, 283f.

Fekade Azeze

Abbe Gubäñña, photo courtesy of Paul Henze (1972)

ṭorənnät, 'Bloodless War').

He prepared to run for Parliament in *Säne* 1957 A.M. [June 1965 A.D.] to struggle against the status quo in a form different from before. He was, however, arrested and imprisoned from a polling station due to sure signs of his being elected. He was then exiled to Gore, Illubabor, and Močča for over three years.

His controversial play ፖለቲካና፡ ፖለቲከኞች (*Polätikanna polätikäññočč*, 'Politics and Politicians') was performed at Hagär Fəqr Theater towards the end of 1968 A.M. [1975/76 A.D.] and published in 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.], depicting what the author conceived as the opportunistic behaviour of leftist politicians. Political expression is the main factor which contributed to his fame. The banning of *Aləwwälläddəm* and the rumoured fate of *Məlkəʿam säyfä näbälbal* may have given these novels and their author some overrated literary fame. Generally speaking, A.G.'s works would be better remembered for some of the atypical ideas they try openly to impart to their readers than for the literary quality they manifest in portrayal of character, handling of theme and subject matter, and their narrative technique.

Src.: ABBE GUBÄÑÑA, የሮም፡ አወዳደቅ (*Yärom awwädadäq*, 'The Fall of Rome'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960 A.D.];

Abbe Mäḥammäd

Ato A.M. (አቤ፡ መሐመድ; b. 1889) was a *cavaliere* in the Italian colonial army and a representative in the Eritrean Assembly elected in 1952.

A.M. was born in Abganana in ↗Ḥalḥal, of the ↗Bilin group Bet Ṭaqʷe. He descended from the ʿAd Zaʾid family, of which his paternal grandfather, Kaḥsay Hədad, was sub-head until his death in 1928. He enlisted in the Fourth Battalion of the Corpo Truppe Coloniale (Colonial Troop Corps) in 1908 and participated in the Libyan campaign in 1912; he was briefly stationed in Rome before returning to Eritrea. He was sent to Libya again with the Eritrean Corps in 1915, 1919 and 1922.

A.M. was then promoted to ↗*šumbaš* for merit in war and was discharged in 1932, after which he was appointed district head of the Bet Ṭaqʷe (Ḥalḥal section). His other honours included a decoration for military service; appointment in 1931 as "barambaras" (↗*Balambaras*), and then *bey* (1933); and Cavaliere dell'Ordine Coloniale della Stella d'Italia in 1934.

He was President of the Native Court of Ḥalḥal (Bet Ṭaqʷe) from 1942. He was elected representative to the first Eritrean Assembly in 1952 for the Bilin sub-group Bet Ṭaqʷe, without publicly declaring his political affiliation. In 1956 he was re-elected within the Kärän divi-

sion to the second Assembly. He stayed in the Eritrean Assembly until it was abolished in 1962.

Lit.: ErDizBio 2.

Richard Reid

Abbəyye

Märəd azmač A. (አብዬ), known also as Qädame or Qädame Qal, was the ruler of the emerging principality of ↗Šäwa from about 1719 till 1743, a period of territorial expansion and administrative consolidation. He was the third representative of the Šäwan dynasty, after ↗Nägaśi Krəstos Wärädä Qal and ↗Səbəstyanos. A. maintained close links to ↗Mänz, the original home of the dynasty, facilitated by the fact that his mother was from Dobba and his wife was from Mamma Mədər in eastern Märḥabete and southern Mänz respectively. The centre of the principality at this time was the upper Yəfat escarpment, between the Ğäwəha and Awadi rivers, with the strongholds of Aya Bär, Ayne and Doqaqit. But in cooperation with the Muslim ruler of lower Yəfat, A. continued the campaigns against the ↗Karrayyu Oromo and pushed the border of the principality to the Ayrarra river, south of Ankobär, and established a new stronghold at ↗Ḥarr Amba to control the newly conquered territory. He resisted and allegedly defeated an attack by imperial forces. The prisoners taken at this time and other immigrants from Gondär contributed to Šäwa through their competence in administration and in crafts. It is likely that the typical ↗land-tenure system of Šäwa was developed during his rule.

Lit.: ASFA-WOSSEN ASSERATE, *Die Geschichte von Šawā (Äthiopien) 1700–1865*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 53), 41f., 81–84 (Lit.); BTafA 431, 509–13; SVEIN EGE, *Class, State and Power in Africa. A Case Study of the Kingdom of Shäwa (Ethiopia) about 1840*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 46), 22–25 (Lit.); VOLKER STITZ, *Studien zur Kulturgeographie Zentraläthiopiens*, Bonn 1974 (Bonner Geographische Abhandlungen 51), 100 [map], 105f. (Lit.).

Svein Ege

Abbičuu

The A. (Abəčču, Abbiichuu) belonged to the ↗Tuulama, the Oromo group that inhabits the plains between Däbrä Bərhan and Addis Abäba. The A. were the northernmost Tuulama, situated between the Gälan and Wayyu Oromo and the Amhara territories of Wägda and Angoläla. They belonged to the Dači confederation but were often at war with the leading tribe of the Dači, the Gälan. The ↗*gadaa* organization of the Tuulama had lost most of its political significance by the mid-19th cent., or perhaps before.

In the early 17th cent. the A. inhabited the highlands as far north as Mofär Wəha, i.e. about present-day Mäzäzo town. The A. were at war with the early Šäwan rulers. They were forced to submit, but there were frequent revolts. Under the rule of ↗Ammənḥa Iyäsus there was a great massacre of the A. in the highlands west of Ankobär. The survivors fled south of the Čača river, and the highlands north of Däbrä Bərhan were settled by Amhara peasants. The A. were pushed southwards and conflict arose with their southern neighbours, the Gälan.

Later the A. cavalry became one of the strongest units in the Šäwan army. ↗Śahlä Śəllase supported the A. against the Gälan and won over their chief, Märäč, who became the ↗*abägaz* of the tributary Oromo and the southern frontier. When Śahlä Śəllase died, they again rebelled but soon submitted to his successor, ↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot. When Mənilək (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) escaped from Mäqdäla, the leader of the A., ↗Gobäna Dači, joined his forces. Gobäna was later promoted to *ras* and became a leading general in the early Mənilək period, and the Tuulama cavalry played a major role in the expansion of the kingdom to the west and the south.

Lit.: ASFA-WOSSEN ASSERATE, *Die Geschichte von Šawa (Äthiopien) 1700–1865*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 53), 30, 78, 85, 105; BTafA 495, 519, 523, 535ff.; SVEIN EGE, *Class, State and Power in Africa. A Case Study of the Kingdom of Shäwa (Ethiopia) about 1840*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 46), 25–28, 199 (Lit.); VOLKER STITZ, *Studien zur Kulturgeographie Zentraläthiopiens*, Bonn 1974 (Bonner Geographische Abhandlungen 51), 87, 146, 215ff., 100 [map] (Lit.).

Svein Ege

Abbo ↗ Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus

ᶜAbdalkarīm ᶜAbdarraḥīm ↗ Nāʾib family

ᶜAbdalkarīm b. Muḥammad

ᶜA. (عبد الكريم بن محمد), the 14th *amīr* of the ↗ᶜAlī b. Dāʾūd dynasty, ruled the city state of ↗Harär from 16 June 1825 to 7 July 1834.

In May 1825, ᶜA.'s brother and predecessor ↗ᶜAbdarraḥmān b. Muḥammad had to fight the ↗Oromo who refused to pay taxes. ᶜAbdarraḥmān feared a coup d'état by his brother during his absence, so he imprisoned ᶜA. before leaving the town. Though assisted by 60 to 70 Arab mercenaries under the command of Ḥaydar ᶜAssāl al-ᶜAwlaqī, the campaign was a failure: The mercenaries fled back to Harär, and ᶜAbdarraḥmān was captured by the Oromo and imprisoned in Fadis, southwest of Harär.

After the imprisonment of his brother, ᶜA. arranged his own release from prison with the collaboration of his close friend ᶜAbdarraḥmān who later became *qāḍī*. ᶜAbdarraḥmān forged the handwriting of the *amīr* ᶜAbdarraḥmān in a message saying that only his brother ᶜA. could free him from his prison in Fadis. This message was made known to the authorities of the city through a woman who came from the Fadis area. Based on the message ᶜA. was released from prison and installed as *amīr* after an interregnum of 23 days.

Assisted by the citizens, ᶜA. tried to massacre his brother's Arab mercenaries. However, they defended themselves gallantly and were able to march to ↗Zaylaᶜ with all honours. There may be a connection between this event, related by Burton (1894, vol. 2, 18, n. 2), and a notice, given by Alfred Bardey (1897), that during ᶜA.'s reign, the Turks who in the time of *amīr* ↗Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (r. 1794–1821) came from Zaylaᶜ and occupied several fortified places belonging to Harär, were all massacred by the Harari. Perhaps, it was an act of revenge because the Turks had given asylum to the Arab mercenaries. Paulitschke (1888:227), however, mentions revolting Arab merchants instead of the Turks as having been massacred.

While the oral tradition tells us that ᶜA. campaigned against Fadis and freed his brother ᶜAbdarraḥmān, a document preserved by Aḥmad aš-Šāmī in his *Ğadwal aš-Šāš waš-Šāmī* says that ᶜAbdarraḥmān was able to escape without help. At any rate he returned to Harär and tried to regain the throne. After a year of futile opposition to his brother, he secretly left the town in 1826 to seek assistance from the tribes east of Harär. In February 1827 he appeared at the tomb of *āw* Abdāl, east of the wall of Harär. He was defeated however, by his brother ᶜA., captured soon afterwards and imprisoned in Harär where he died in fetters.

It seems that ᶜAbdarraḥmān was not the only member of the ruling family who opposed ᶜA. In 1841, Harris was told by Harari merchants in Alәyyu Amba that during ᶜA.'s reign an emigrant member of the dynasty in Muḫā (↗Yemen) incited a group of Arabs to besiege Harär. It was said that the town was saved only by an explosion of an ammunition magazine in the Arab camp. The Arabs lost many fighters and had to retire.

ᶜA. is still remembered in Harär for his wise decisions. He died without children and was succeeded by his nephew ↗Abū Bakr b. *afṭāl garād* ᶜAbdalmannān b. Muḥammad.

Src.: WILLAM CORNWALLIS HARRIS, *The Highlands of Ethiopia*, London ²1844, vol. 1, 382; RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON, *First Footsteps in East Africa or an Exploration of Harar*, London 1894, vol. 2, 18, n. 2 [Burton must have interchanged by mistake ᶜAbdarraḥmān and ᶜAbdalkarīm]; ALFRED BARDEY, "Notes sur le Harar", *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive* 12, 1897, 130–180; EWALD WAGNER, "Three Arabic Documents on the history of Harar", *JES* 12, 1, 1974, 213–24; ABDULMUHAIMIN ABDUNASIR, *A History of Harar*, ms; oral tradition; AḤMAD AŠ-ŠĀMĪ, *Ğadwal aš-Šāš waš-Šāmī*, ms.
Lit.: PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar. Forschungsreise nach den Somal- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888, 227; ID., *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, Berlin 1893–96, vol. 2, 244; RENÉ BASSET, "Chronologie des rois de Harar (1637–1887)", *JA* 11, 3, 1914, 245–58; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli Emiri di Harar dal secolo XVI alla conquista egiziana (1875)", *RSE* 2, 1942, 3–19 [repr. in: ID., *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971, 365–82]; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "L'Emirato di Harar secondo un documento inedito", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 1974, 481–500; MUHAMMAD HASSAN, *The Relation between Harar and the surrounding Oromo between 1800–1887*, Senior Essay, Addis Ababa University 1973.

Ahmed Zekaria

Abdälla

A. (አብደላ) was a very wealthy 18th-cent. merchant and ↗*näggadras* of various towns and customs posts during the periods of *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Śəḥul and *ras*↗Wäldä Śəllase.

According to Pearce (1922) he had the title of ↗*bašša* and was a *näggadras* and administrator of a Muslim town in Səmen Hawaza (mispronounced by Pearce as "Arwozen") and, later, of ᶜAdwa. Sometime in March 1785 A. was imprisoned together with *däğğazmač* ↗Wäldä Gäbrəʾel (the son of Mikaʾel Saḥul), and a certain Fəśśəḥa from Gambella.

A. had two sons called "Sardoc" (as Pearce puts it, actually probably Sandaq or Sadiq) and Zaynu. The latter eventually succeeded his father as *näggadras* of ᶜAdwa.

Src.: NATHANIEL PEARCE, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce, written by himself during a Residence in Abyssinia from the years 1810 to 1819*, 2 vols., London 1831; HENRY SALT, *A Voyage to Abyssinia, and Travels into the Interior of that Country, executed under the orders of the British government in the years 1809 and 1810*, London ²1967; HERBERT WELD BLUNDELL, *The Royal chronicle of Abyssinia, 1769–1840*, Cambridge 1922.

Merid Wolde Aregay

ᶜAbdallāh ᶜAbdarraḥmān ᶜUṯmān Sayyid

Ato ᶜA.ᶜA. (عبد الله عبد الرحمان عثمان يد) was a ↗Muslim League activist in Eritrea from the late 1940s and a member of the Eritrean Assembly, elected in 1952. He was born in Tiᶜo, in the central coastal ↗ᶜAfar region of Eritrea, in 1919 into a family of the Abuna tribe, a sub-clan of the Hamadlu group. He studied at the Italian School in Tiᶜo from 1936 to 1939 and from 1939 he was in the service of the *qāḍī* of Tiᶜo, during which time Eritrea passed from Italian to British rule. In 1947 he became the Chancellor of the ↗*šarīᶜa* Court of Tiᶜo. The mid- and late 1940s saw the emergence of Eritrean political parties with competing visions of the territory's future, and ᶜA.ᶜA. became active in the Muslim League. From 1949 he was advisor to the local section of the Muslim League; during this period he was also a student of *šarīᶜa* law. Following the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia, elections were held in March 1952, and ᶜA.ᶜA. became the representative in the newly-formed Eritrean assembly for the constituency of northern Dankalia (↗Dänkäl). Although further elections were held in 1956, many Eritreans became disillusioned with Ethiopia's gradual violation of the federal agreement. ᶜA.ᶜA. later went into exile in Saudi Arabia, where he died in the early 1990s.

Lit.: ErDizBio 2.

Richard Reid

ᶜAbdallāh az-Zaylaᶜī

ᶜA. (عبد الله الزيلعى, full name Ǧamāladdīn Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh b. Yūsuf az-Zaylaᶜī, i.e. originating from Zaylaᶜ), was a famous Ḥanafī jurist (*faqīh*, *muftī* and author of books) in Cairo during the rule of the Mamluk *sulṭān* an-Nāṣir b. Muḥammad. He became politically active when a legation from the Ethiopian ruler arrived at the court of the *sulṭān*. Apparently, he wanted to neutralize the mission's influence. ᶜA. asked the *sulṭān* to cause the Coptic patriarch to write a letter to the Christian ruler of Ethiopia forbidding him to commit excesses against his Muslim subjects. The patriarch composed an eloquent letter, but nothing is known about its effect.

ᶜA., who must still have had a good knowledge of his homeland, was also the main informant of Ibn Faḍlallāh al-↗ᶜUmarī for the latter's geographical account on the Muslim states Ifat, Däwaro, Arabäbni, Hadiyya, Šarḫa, Bale and Darä in south-east Ethiopia. This account was partly copied by al-↗Maqrīzī in his *Ilmām bi-aḫbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabaša min mulūk al-Islām* and by al-↗Qalqašandī in his *Ṣubḥ al-aᶜšā*. ᶜA. died on December 1, 1360.

Src.: IBN FAḌLALLĀH AL-UMARĪ, *Routes toward Insight into the Capital Empires. Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. by FUAT SEZGIN, Frankfurt am Main 1988 (Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science. Ser. C: Facsimile Editions 46, 4), vol. 4, 16–30; ID., *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, vol. 1: *L'Afrique moins l'Égypte*, tr. by MAURICE GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES, Paris 1929, 1–31; biographies of ᶜA. can be found in several Arabic biographical works, e. g.: ABŪ L-MAḤĀSIN YŪSUF IBN TAĞRĪBIRDI, *Annals Entitled Nujûm az-zâhira fî mulûk Miṣr wal-Kâhira*, ed. by WILLIAM POPPER, vol. 5: *746–800 A.H.*, Berkeley 1932 [1936] (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology 5), 180.

Ewald Wagner

ᶜAbdallāh *bey* al-Ġūl

ᶜA. (عبد الله الغول) was an Egyptian official in the service of the Egyptian military administration in ↗Massawa (1865–85). ᶜA. *bey effendi* al-Ġūl remained in government service until the Egyptian evacuation and the Italian takeover in 1885. Then he stayed in Massawa and traded in coffee, ivory, hides, wax and civet with the Yemen and Ethiopia. He was awarded the title of *cavaliere* by Colonel Saletta for his assistance to the Italian authorities at the beginning of their occupation of the port. He served as President of the native court of Massawa. His son, Aḥmad *effendi* al-Ġūl (Ital. Ahmed Effendi El Gul), owned much property in real estate and was one of the richest and most prominent merchants in Massawa.

Lit.: ErDizBio 2; GHADA HASHEM TALHAMI, *Suakin and Massawa under Egyptian Rule, 1865–1885*, Washington D.C. 1979; ŠAWQĪ ᶜAṬĀ'ALLĀH AL-ĞAMĀL, *Siyāsat Miṣr fī al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar fī n-niṣf aṯ-ṯānī min al-qarn at-tāsiᶜ-ᶜašar* ('Egypt's Policy in the Red Sea in the Second Half of the 19th Century'), Cairo 1974, here 37–116.

Jonathan Miran

ᶜAbdälqadər Käbirä

Grazmač ᶜA. (ዓብደልቃድር፡ ከቢረ, known also as Abdul Qader or ᶜAbdälkadir Muḥammad Käbirä, b. 1902, Däset, Dänkäl, d. 1949, Asmära) was an interpreter and businessman, and one of the most distinguished Eritrean politicians. He acquired the rudiments of reading and writing Arabic at an early age, and he attended the Ferdinando ↗Martini elementary school in Massawa where he attained knowledge of Italian and some other skills. He subsequently worked as a clerk and interpreter in Massawa and ↗Asmära. From 1930–34, he worked as an interpreter for the Italian diplomatic mission at Hudeida and later in Ethiopia. He then established his own business in Asmära where he resided for the rest of his life.

In May 1941, he became a founding member of the ↗Maḫbär fəqri hagär, of which he was the first vice-president, and held this office until 1946. He also participated actively in almost every demonstration and written protest that took place against the oppression and discrimination practised and/or tolerated by the ↗British Military Administration in Eritrea. After the infiltration of the Maḫbär fəqri hagär by Ethiopia, ᶜA. dissociated himself from the organization – together with such politicians as ↗Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam, *däggazmač* ↗Ḥasän Ali, *šayḫ* ↗Ibrāhīm Sulṭān – and founded perhaps the largest political party in Eritrea, known as ar-Rābiṭa al-Islāmīya, in December 1946. He was immediately elected to head the Asmära branch of this organization. Three years later, he was elected by the Independence Block, with which his party was coalescent, as a delegate to the United Nations where the Eritrean case was about to be discussed. He was assassinated by his opponents in Asmära shortly before his scheduled departure in the last week of March 1949. He was survived by a few sons and daughters.

Lit.: ErDizBio 2; KilHDic 27; *Ḥaddas Erətra*, 15 *Näḫase* [=August] 1992 A.D.

Bairu Tafla

ᶜAbdannāṣir

Gärad ᶜA. (عبد الناصر, d. 1534) was one of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's ("Grañ") most devout followers and most successful officers. He distinguished himself in the battle of ↗Šämbəra Kʷäre in 1529 and in several other fights. He became Aḥmad Grañ's *dəwādār* (an important office in Mamluk Egypt, the functions of which in Muslim Ethiopia are not known), then commander of the troops with firearms and finally, after he had conquered it in 1532, governor of ↗Gänz. He married the sister of one of the ↗Hadiyya chiefs who voluntarily surrendered to the suzerainty of Aḥmad Grañ. ᶜA.'s alliance with the Hadiyya made him a saint of the Muslim ↗Gurage and other groups. He is venerated up to this day under the name *sayyid* or *ḫāǧǧī* Nāṣir[allāh].

The last campaign that ᶜA. joined was the one against Təgray. During this campaign a plague broke out, to which ᶜA. fell victim in 1534.

Src.: BassHist I, II, esp. 63ff.

Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Geschichte der Hadiya Süd-Äthiopiens: Von den Anfängen bis zur Revolution 1974*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 50), 102f., 111–14.

Ewald Wagner

ᶜAbdarraḥmān b. Muḥammad

ᶜA. (عبد الرحمان بن محمد), the 13th *amīr* of the ↗ᶜAlī b. Dāʾūd dynasty, ruled the city-state of ↗Harär from 4 January 1821, when he succeeded his brother Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (r. 1794–1821), to 24 May 1825. His rule was not very effective, so that the Oromo refused to pay taxes. ᶜA. had to subdue them. Assisted by his 60 or 70 Arab mercenaries under the command of Ḥaydar ᶜAssāl al-ᶜAwlaqī, a member of the well known ᶜAwlaqī family from Ḥaḍramawt, he attacked the Oromo in May 1825. Running short of ammunition, however, the Arabs lost 20 of their number and retired to Harär. ᶜA. himself was captured by the Oromo and imprisoned in Fadis, 25 km south-west of Harär.

Before starting his campaign, ᶜA. had imprisoned his brother ↗ᶜAbdalkarīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr to prevent a coup d'état during his absence. After ᶜA.'s imprisonment in Fadis, ᶜAbdalkarīm was released from the Harär prison by a ruse and took over the rule of the town after an interregnum of 23 days.

At the end of July 1825, ᶜA. either escaped from Fadis or was freed by his brother, who had attacked the village. He returned to Harär, where he tried to regain the throne and therefore opposed his brother. After a year of unsuccessful opposition he secretly left the town and went to the Somali tribe of Bersub, east of Harär, and later to Ilaʾoda, near Baabiillee. In February 1827, he appeared at the tomb of Abdāl before the easternmost gate of Harär. After a fight with his brother, he had to flee to the fort of Suddo, near

Baabiillee. There, he was captured and brought to Harär on 4 March 1827. He was imprisoned by ᶜAbdalkarīm and died in fetters.

Lit.: RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON, *First Footsteps in East Africa, or, An Exploration of Harar*, vol. 2, London 1894, 18, n. 2 [Burton must have interchanged by mistake ᶜAbdarraḥmān and ᶜAbdalkarīm]; RENÉ BASSET, "Chronologie des rois de Harar (1637–1887)", *JA* ser. 11, 3, 1914, 245–58; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli Emiri di Harar dal secolo XVI alla conquista egiziana (1875)", *RSE* 2, 1, 1942, 3–19 [repr. in: ID., *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971, 365–82]; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "L'Emirato di Harar secondo un documento inedito", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 1974, 481–500; EWALD WAGNER, "Three Arabic Documents on the History of Harar", *JES* 12, 1, 1974, 213–24.

Ewald Wagner

ᶜAbdaššakūr b. Yūsuf

ᶜA. (عبد الشكور بن يو ف), the 11th *amīr* of the ↗ᶜAlī b. Dāʾūd dynasty, ruled the city state of ↗Harär from June 1783 to 18 November 1794. He was the son of the 8th *amīr* Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr (r. 1747–55) and the brother of his predecessor Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (r. 1782–83). His mother was ᶜAlawiya bint Saᶜīd ᶜAlī. He had four daughters (Ahmed Zekaria 1997:20f.). There are some doubts about his male offspring because he was succeeded by his nephew Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (r. 1794–1821). Nevertheless there is a high probability that the 17th *amīr* ↗Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbdaššakūr (r. 1856–75) was really his grandson (Tedeschi 1974:497). Perhaps, ᶜAlī was too young for the throne when ᶜA. died in the age of 54.

Though ᶜA.'s reign lasted only eleven years, he achieved much for his town. Already in the third year of his rule (1785–86) he reformed the administration of the city state by reintroducing the register (*siǧill*) and the chancery (*dīwān*) which had been long abandoned. When he did so, the *qāḍī* of the town, Aḥmad b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Naṣraddīn, interfered with the intention of fixing the powers of the *qāḍī* in these institutions (Wagner 1974:216–19). The reconstruction of the *dīwān* and the *siǧill* benefited Harär resulting in a continuous judicial system which produced written records, making it possible for us not only to analyze the legal system, but also to study the socio-economic conditions of the city for the last 200 years.

According to common oral traditions of the city and his account book which is still extant, ᶜA. was considered one of the richest men in Harär (Ahmed Zekaria 1997). He was also known for the reintroduction of coin minting in Harär (Ahmed Zekaria 1989). There are many mosques associated with his name. One in Šayḫ Ḥusayn in Bale (s. *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn) is dedicated to ᶜAbdalqādir al-Ǧīlānī, which shows ᶜA.'s relations with the religious brotherhood of the Qādirīya (Cerulli 1936:44). Finally, he expanded his domain of control to some trading posts such as Sar Amba and ↗Alәyyu Amba (BTafA 855).

↗Coinage; ↗Islamic brotherhoods

Lit.: RENÉ BASSET "Chronologie des rois de Harar (1637–1887)", *JA* ser. 11, 3, 1914, 245–58; ENRICO CERULLI, *Studi etiopici, 1: La Lingua e la storia di Harar*, Roma 1936; ID., "Gli Emiri di Harar dal secolo XVI all conquista egiziana (1875)", *RSE* 2, 1, 1942, 3–19; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "L'Emirato di Harar secondo un documento inedito", *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 481–500; EWALD WAGNER, "Three Arabic Documents on the History of Harar", *JES* 12, 1, 1974, 213–24; AHMED ZEKARIA, "Some Notes on the Account-Book of Amir 'Abd al-Shakur b. Yusuf (1783–1794) of Harar", *Sudanic Africa* 8, 1997, 17–36; ID., "Harari Coins: a Preliminary Survey", *JES* 24, 1991, 23-46; BTafA 855.

Ahmed Zekaria

Abdiisaa Aagaa

A.A. (አብዲሳ፡ አጋ, b. 1911 A.M. [1918/19 A.D.], d. 1969) was born and completed elementary schooling in Näǧǧo, Wälläga. A.A.'s father, Obbo Aagaa, killed his elder brother in a land dispute and was tried and executed, leaving his son fatherless. A.A. entered the Army Academy in Harär, then known as *Yäqädamawi Ḫaylä Śəllase ṭor təmhərt bet* ('Ḫaylä Śallase I Military School') and completed his training in 1928 A.M. on the eve of the ↗Italian war (1935–36).

A.A. joined an army unit heading for the Wälläga front. At Bonayya in Wälläga he and others set fire to a group of Italian planes, destroying all but one. The next day, however, A.A. was wounded and captured. He spent three months recovering from his wounds, after which he was sent to prison, first in Ǧimma and then in Addis Abäba. He was briefly released but re-arrested following the failed assassination of Rodolfo ↗Graziani. He and others were sent through Massawa to Mogadishu, whence, after a short stay in a prison house, they were deported to Italy.

When ↗World War II broke out, A.A. and some other prisoners escaped into the Sanbicini mountains (near Naples), from where they harassed local Italian units, until they were able to join the Allied Forces. A.A. was then appointed leader of a unit of 380 patriots. After the capitu-

lation of the Italian forces he spent about three months with the Allied Forces fighting the German army and was known as “Antonio” or Major Abdiisaa. He was repatriated in 1945 and served in the Ethiopian Army till his death, reaching the rank of *šambäl* .

Lit.: MÄRSƎᶜE ḤAZÄN ABBÄBÄ, **በኢጣሊያ ፡ በረሃዎች ፡ ሻምበል ፡ አብዲሳ፡ አጋ፡ በአርበኝነት ፡ ጀብዱ ፡ የሰራ ፡ የኢትዮጵያዊ ፡ ታሪክ** (*Bäʾiṭalia bärähawočč šambäl Abdisa Aga bäʾarbäñənnät ǧäbdu yäsärra yäʾityiopyawi tarik*, ‘The History of *šambäl* Abdiisaa Aagaa, an Ethiopian who Performed Acts of Valour as a Guerrilla Fighter in the Wildernesses of Italy’), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.].

Kebede Hordofa Janko

Abdul Räsul

A. (**አብዱል፡ ረሱል**, from Arab. ᶜAbdarrasūl, formerly Abdul Naser) is a town situated on one of the hilltops stretching below the mountain chains of Ankobär, approximately 8km south of the ↗Argobba town of ↗Alәyyu Amba on the right bank of Däräqe river. It is part of the *wäynä däga* ecological zone of north-east Šäwa for its altitude is not less than 1,620 m A.S.L.

According to local tradition, this site was bequeathed its name from its founding father named Abdul Naser (Arab. ᶜAbdannāṣir). With the passage of time, however, the name was changed to A. Although the exact date of its foundation is not clear, local tradition gives a rather picturesque description indicating, without doubt, that it preceded the foundation of its northern neighbour of the town of Alәyyu Amba. The local Islamic sources (*Taʾrīḫ al-Islām fī l-Ḥabaša*) fix the period of its emergence as far back as the 14th cent.

There are about 3,000 ↗graves or tombstones on the site of A. They are known, throughout the Argobba inhabited areas of northern Šäwa in general, as *tulul* or *tulula*. In the case of A., almost all of them are concentrated at Hudad, a suburb of A. about one km east of A. The height of some of these flat graves or tombstones ranges from 150–200 cm whereas their thickness also varies between 25–30 cm. The art of cutting or carving several designs on each *tulul* clearly indicates how skilful its masons were.

Starting from the end of the 17th cent. A. was the largest slave market town in the kingdom of Šäwa. Slaves were not dealt at Alәyyu Amba, Ankobär. It was at the Šäwan market of Roge and mainly at A. itself where merchants from various places such as Harär, Zaylaᶜ and Tağūra used to collect their “stock of human merchandise” (Darkwah 1975:166). Harari, Somali and ᶜAfar merchants were the most important dealers. Transactions were made now and then along the distance trade routes; quite a number of slaves changed hands before reaching the kingdom of Šäwa. The final outcome of this was an increase in slave prices whenever they changed hands. When these slaves finally reached at A. their cost was twice as much as their price in the markets of ↗Ǧiren, ↗Hir-maataa, Saqqa and ↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar in the south-western Ethiopian region. A. had continued to exist throughout the long history of the slave trade in Ethiopia in the 19th and early 20th cent. It was one of backbones of the Šäwan economy particularly in the first half of the 19th cent., during the reign of ↗Śahlä Śәllase and later under the Argobba governor of Ifat, Walasma Abägaz (d. 1884), who was very loyal to the court of the then Šäwan *nәguś* Mənilәk II. With the general decline of the slave trade, in the early 20th cent., the slave market of A. also declined. Its final demise, however, came during the Italian Occupation of Ethiopia. According to the local Islamic sources, it was burned by the ↗Resistance forces in 1937, a few days before the Italian troops reached the area. The major Italian objective, in and around A., was to break part of the patriotic movement which was getting stronger, in the banks of the rivers of Däräqe near A. itself, and Awadi north of it in Mafud Qolla.

Src.: *Taʾrīḫ ʿabd ar-rəsūl wal-awfāt* ('A story of Abdul Räsul and Ifat'), ms. in possession of *šäyḫ* Mohammed Swalih (d. 1993), 79–103; *Taʾrīḫ al-Islām fī l-Ḥabaša* ('A History of Islam in Abyssinia'), ms. in posession of the late *šäyḫ* Hando Sadiq, Šäwa Robit.

Lit.: ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, Roma 1886, vol. 1, 490f.; AHMED HASSEN OMER, *A Historical Survey of Ethnic Relations in Yefat and Temmuga, North-East Shawa (1889–1974)*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1994, 92–104; REXFORD HENRY KOFI DARKWAH, *Shewa, Menilek, and the Ethiopian Empire, 1813–1889*, London 1975, 166, 169, 175; **ሰሜን፡ ሸዋ ፤ የታሪክና፡ የባህል፡ አምባርት** (*Sämen Šäwa yätarikənna yäbahəl əmbərt*, 'Northern Šäwa: the Core of History and Culture'), Addis Abäba 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.], 22f.

Ahmed Hassen Omer

ᶜAbdullāhi ᶜAlī Ṣādiq

Ḥāǧǧī ᶜA.ᶜA. (عبد الله على صادق) was a successful businessman of ↗Harär where he is also said to have been politically influential. His early life is rather obscure and foreign travellers do not seem to mention him before 1900. He was in any case a well-established businessman with connections in Zaylaᶜ, Aden and other commercial centres of the southern part of the Red Sea at the beginning of the 20th cent. He helped *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (the future Emperor ↗Ḥaylä Śəllase I) to cultivate good relations with various Islamic communities in Harär and its surroundings and was given the title of *raʾīs al-muslimīn* ('the head of the Muslims'). He also won the confidence of Emperor Mənilək II's court so that he was occasionally sent as a secret envoy to the Somali leader, ↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan ("Mad Mullah"), and officially to the Ottoman court and Europe.

In 1904, ᶜA.ᶜA. was sent to Istanbul to discuss with the *sulṭān* the question of the Ethiopian cloister in Jerusalem (↗Dayr as-Sulṭān). For some obscure reason, he stayed there too long without any explanation so that Mənilək replaced him with a Christian envoy, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Mäšäša Wärqe, before his return. Two years later, he was sent to Paris together with an Armenian businessman, Sarkis Terzian, to make some purchases for the royal court, but he toured Germany, Austria-Hungary, the United States, Japan and India pretending to be an accredited official of the Emperor.

He was arrested by the British authorities in India after he was involved in an embezzlement case and he was consequently sent to Ethiopia where he faced a court charge of counterfeiting the Imperial seal. He was imprisoned for a time, but his wealth and prestige in Harär remained unscathed. When *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu made Harär his main base, during the first years of the World War I, he married one of ᶜA.ᶜA.'s daughters, a circumstance which brought him closer to the royal house. ᶜA.ᶜA. served as Iyasu's regular envoy to the Somali leader Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan. ᶜA.ᶜA. survived the demise of Iyasu and died of illness in the mid-1920s in his home town.

Lit.: LUDWIG RITTER VON HÖHNEL, *Mein Leben zur See, auf Forschungsreisen und bei Hofe; Erinnerungen eines österreichischen Seeoffiziers (1857–1909)*, Berlin 1926, 256; SARKIS TÄREZIYEN [TERZIAN], "The Balance Disclosing Truth and Falsehood", in: JOHN INGLIS EADIE, *An Amharic Reader*, Cambridge 1924, 35–62; ALEME ESHETE, "A Page in the History of the Ogaden: Contact and Correspondence Between Emperor Minilik of Ethiopia and the Somali Mahdi, Muhammad Abdullah Hassan (1907–1908)", in: *PICES* 7, 301–14, here 310f.; CHRIS PROUTY ROSENFELD, *A Chronology of Menilek II of Ethiopia, 1844–1913. Emperor of Ethiopia, 1889–1913*, East Lansing 1976 (Occasional Papers Series 4), 228; HEINRICH SCHOLLER, *The Special Court of Ethiopia 1920–1935*, Stuttgart 1985 (AeF 15), 99, 222ff.; HAGGAI ERLICH, *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, Boulder 1994, s. index.

Bairu Tafla

ᶜAbdullāhi b. Muḥammad

A. (عبد الله بن محمد, d. 1920s) was the last *amīr* of ↗Harär who was in power for less than two years from 1885 to 1887.

He was made *amīr* by the evacuating Egyptian forces, which administered the city-state of Harär between 1875–85. A. tried to return to the

ᶜAbdullāhi b. Muḥammad, engraving based on a photograph, from Paulitschke 1888:193

old system of closed-door policy by reducing the presence and influence of foreigners in the city. He sent circulars to the officials ordering them to maintain chastity and expand Islamic teaching. Foreigners who were living in the city did not favour him and they conspired against him by collaborating with and spying for *nəguś* (later Emperor) ↗Mənilək who wanted to expand towards the sea. The advanced force which were led by Wäldä Raguʾel ("Abba Säyṭan") was defeated by the Harärian army. In the second round Mənilək and A. confronted each other at the battle of ↗Č̣älänqo on 6 January 1887. Mənilək won the day by using the intelligent report effectively to control the advanced armament, the small cannon. A. fled from the battle front and later he submitted to *nəguś* Mənilək. For a short time, he was assigned as an assistant to *däğğazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel, the governor of the newly occupied region of Harärge.

A. spent his last days living an ascetic life and was buried at the shrine of ↗Abādir ᶜUmar ar-Riḍā.

↗Porro expedition

Lit.: MUHAMMAD HASSAN, *The Relation Between Harar and the Surrounding Oromo Between 1800–1887*, M.A. thesis, Haile Sellasie University 1973; ABDULMUHAIMIN ABDUNASIR, *A History of Harar*, ms.; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar. Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888, 193 (ill.).

Ahmed Zekaria

ᶜAbdur

ᶜA. is a small locality on the west coast of the ↗Buri Peninsula of Eritrea. During 1998–99 Acheulian-type bifacial handaxes and Middle Stone Age stone tools dating to 125,000 years before the present were discovered within the ᶜA. Reef Limestone, an emerged coral reef terrace near ᶜA. Acheulian-type handaxes and Middle Stone Age obsidian blade and flake tools were found together *in situ* within a Pleistocene marine context containing edible shellfish species and located near fossil remains of terrestrial mammals. Archaeological, geological, and paleontological evidence from the ᶜA. Reef Limestone suggests that early humans who exploited marine environments inhabited the Red Sea coast of Africa at least 125,000 years ago.

Lit.: HUGUES FAURE – COLETTE ROUBET, "Découverte d'un biface Acheuléen dans les calcaires marins du golfe Pléistocène de l'Afar (Mer Rouge, Éthiopie)", *Comptes Rendu de l'Académie de Sciences* [*Paris*] 267, 1968, 18–21; ROBERT C. WALTER – RICHARD T. BUFFLER – J. HENRICH BRUGGEMANN et al., "Early Human Occupation of the Red Sea Coast of Eritrea during the Last Interglacial", *Nature* 405, 4, 2000, 65–69.

Matthew C. Curtis

Abercrombie, Leslie Patrick

Sir A. (b. 1879, d. 1957) was a British architect and town-planner, who designed ↗Addis Abäba's first City Plan. Born in Ashton-upon-Mersey, he studied at Manchester and Liverpool Universities. At the latter he served as Professor of Civic Design, from 1919 to 1935, before becoming Professor of Town Planning at University College, London, from 1935 to 1946. His County of London Plan, much publicised in 1944, gained him considerable acclaim, and caused Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase to invite him to undertake an Addis Abäba Master Plan. Approved by the Emperor in 1954, this sought to divide Addis Abäba into commercial, business, government and residential zones, to curtail the city's population growth by establishing satellite towns in the surroundings, and to improve communications by the construction of a series of radial and ring-roads. A.'s plan, though much publicised at the time, was never fully implemented, but led to the coming of the British firm of Bolton, Hennesy and Partners, who were commissioned to refine the original proposals. Further Addis Abäba plans were subsequently undertaken by French, Hungarian, and later by Italian town-planners, who together rendered the A. plan largely obsolete.

Src.: PATRICK ABERCROMBIE, *Town and Country Planning*, London 1933.

Lit.: ZAWDIE GABRE SELLASSIE, "Problems and Plans of Addis Ababa", *EthObs* 3, 2, 1959, 35–39; FRANCES AMOS, "A Development Plan for Addis Ababa", *ibid.* 6, 1, 1962, 5–13.

Richard Pankhurst

Abete

A. (**አቤቱ**, or **አቤትዮ** Abetye, d. 10 December 1701, Gondär?), a high-ranking dignitary at *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I's court, is known to us during a period of about twelve years (1689–1701), essentially thanks to the Emperor's official history.

Without doubt, A. can be considered as a person closely related to *aṣe* Iyasu, so that the latter entrusted to him important responsibilities. His career, as with many of his contemporary holding the title of ↗*blatten geta*, was on the whole a military one. He became *grazmač* in 1690 and *däğğazmač* in May 1700. On 9 September 1700 he reached the zenith of his career, being appointed *blatten geta* by the Emperor. While a *grazmač*, he participated in a campaign against the Oromo conducted in Aṣaṣamna (Goğğam) under the command of *blatten geta* Yoḥannəs.

He was buried at Däbrä Barhan Śəllasse church in Gondär.

Src.: GuiIohan 136, 154f., 227, 230, 232 (tr.); BassÉt 162; GUY ANNEQUIN, "De quand datent l'église actuelle de Dabra Berhan Sellasse de Gondar et son ensemble de peintures?", *AE* 10, 1976, 215–26.

Dimitri Toubkis

Abetohun

A. (**አቤቶሁን**) or more commonly *abeto* was a title or form of address used in connection with male members of the ↗Solomonic dynasty. Although its etymology is not yet clearly established it was probably Amharic in origin.

With the decline of monarchical power and the discontinuation of the confinement of male royal descendants at *amba* ↗Wähni towards the end of the 18th cent. this form of address came to be used for anyone of importance, even when it was clear there was no royal affiliation. It was, for example, used to address the young warriors of the Wärräsek family (↗Yäğğu) and other male members of the ruling elite who were either too young or not fortunate enough to obtain any feudal titles. By the middle of the 19th cent. *abeto* began to give way to the less pretentious *ləğ*. For a short period the title *abeto* reappeared in the time of *ləğ* Iyasu (r. 1910–16), who was referred to as both ↗*ləğ* and A. (cf. Molvaer 1994).

Src.: DTWDic 78; BassÉt I,II; WELD BLUNDELL (ed., tr.), *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia 1769–1840*, Cambridge 1922; KaneDic 1200; CRHist; PerChron; GuiIohan; THMDic 749; *däbtära* ZÄNNÄB, *The Chronicle of King Theodore of Abyssinia*, ed. by ENNO LITTMANN, Princeton 1902; REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER (ed., tr.), *Prowess, Piety and Politics. The Chronicle of Abeto Iyasu and Empress Zewditu of Ethiopia (1909–1930), recorded by Aleqa Gebre-Igziabiher Elyas*, Köln 1994 (SKK 104).

Merid Wolde Aregay

Abgar

A., or A. V Ukkāmā (Aram. 'the Black'), son of Maᶜnū, king of ↗Edessa (4–50 A.D.), is the subject of a legend found for the first time in the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Eusebius (ed. by Schwartz, 1.13.5–22). According to the legend, A. was ill and sent a letter to Jesus asking him to visit and cure him and offering him Edessa as a refuge against the persecution by the Jews. In his answering letter Jesus refused, but he sent an apostle who cured A. and Christianized Edessa. In some versions a picture of Jesus is mentioned, either painted by an official of A. or as an impression of his face on a cloth. Versions of the A. legend are extant in Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, Slavonic and Old Irish (Geerard 1992, nos. 88, 89, 299). According to Getatchew Haile (1989) there are four versions of the A. legend extant in Ethiopia:

1) The longer version is found in some mss. of the ↗*Tä'ammərä Iyäsus* as the last miracle, being a later addition to this collection (Arras – van Rompay 1975: 137ff.; ed. Grébaut 1918/19: 73–87, 190–203). According to Guidi (GuiSLett 76) it is a translation from an Arabic version.

2) The legend is also found in the revised (vulgate) version of the ↗*Səmkəssar* for 29 *Taḫśaś* ("Synaxary version": Grébaut 1918/19, 88–91 [ed.], 253ff. [tr.]; GreSyn IV, 99ff.; tr. BudSaint 426f.).

3) The shorter version, preserved in EMML 2180, fol. 13a ff., and EMML 2050, fol. 86b ff. (s. Getatchew Haile 1989: 378–87; tr. by R. Beylot in Desreumaux 1993: 147–52), is transmitted in *Tä'ammərä Iyäsus*-manuscripts that also have the longer version. In the shorter version the motive of Jesus's picture is left out.

4) The older version is preserved in the mss. d'Abbadie 214, fol. 281a ff. (ed. Haffner 1918; tr. Getatchew Haile 1989: 405–10) and EMML 6953, fol. 138b ff. (Getatchew Haile 1989: 388–404). Here A. still has the name "Abgaros", while in the other versions his name is changed to "Aqarəyos".

The transmission of these versions from the Greek and Syriac originals to Ethiopia and their relationship to one another are still to be investigated.

↗Gəᶜəz literature

Src.: AbbCat 211, ms. 214; BudSaint 426f.; ALAIN DESREUMAUX, *Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus. Présentation et traduction du texte syriaque intégral de La Doctrine d'Addaï*, Turnhout 1993, 147–52; EMML 2050, 2180, 6953; EUSEBIUS of Caesarea, *Die Kirchengeschichte*, ed. by EDUARD SCHWARTZ, 3 vols., Leipzig 1903–1909 (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 9); SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Les relations entre Abgar et Jésus", *ROC* 21, 1918/19, 73–91, 190–203; GreSyn IV, 99ff.; AUGUST HAFFNER, "Eine äthiopische Darstellung der Abgar-Legende", in: *Orientalistische Studien: Fritz Hommel zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 31. Juli 1914 gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1918, 245–51; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The legend of Abgar in Ethiopic Tradition", *OrChrP* 55, 1989, 375–410.
Lit.: VICTOR ARRAS – LUCAS VAN ROMPAY, "Les manuscrits éthiopiens des 'Miracles de Jésus'", *Analecta Bollandiana* 93, 1975, 133–46; GuiSLett; MAURICE GEERARD, *Clavis Apocryphorum Novi testamenti*, Turnhout 1992 (Corpus Christianorum), nos. 88, 89, 299.

Stefan Weninger

ᶜĀbida ↗ Āy ᶜĀbida

ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi

ᶜA.ᶜA. (ዓቢይ፡ዓዲ) is the capital of ↗Tämben in Central Təgray. It is surrounded by mountain chains and a group of churches (many of which are rock-hewn). The town originated at the site of Tanqʷa, named after a big river valley that drains it, when *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV granted the fertile valley of Tanqʷa to his courtiers. The latter cultivated their land planting coffee, vegetables, and diverse fruit and forest trees that lent beauty to the area's scenery. Gradually, however, the expansion of Tanqʷa gullies and its meanders led to land erosion and, eventually, to the progressive relocation of its inhabitants a little to the south-west of the Tanqʷa valley.

Before the Italian period, the inhabitants of ᶜA.ᶜA. lived on agriculture, and had thatched roof houses. The Italian occupation brought about considerable changes in the town image. Initially, the Italians faced one of the strongest resistance campaigns they experienced in Tämben, that is in and around ᶜA.ᶜA. Three successive battles took place in Tämben, under the leadership of *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša of Təgray and *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu of Šäwa. Following the defeat of the Ethiopian army, the Italians occupied ᶜA.ᶜA., many inhabitants deserting the town to intensify their guerrilla resistance from down the ↗Täkkäze valley. The subsequent Italian offer of peace, however, led to the return of most inhabitants, who were then rehabilitated. In June 1936, the retainers of *ras* Śəyyum Mängäša (many of them from Tämben) made reconciliation with the Italians at ↗Ṣällämt.

Eye witnesses held that ᶜA.ᶜA. was quickly rebuilt and even flourished within a year under the special attention of the Italians, who gave the town an urban character. Growing trade played a greater part in its prosperity. Merchants from ᶜA.ᶜA. frequented Asmära and different towns of Təgray. The most important items of exchange were: liquor (cognac), flour, clothes including *abuğädid* (a kind of imported cloth), and kerosene. A network of dry weather roads dating back to the Italian period connects ᶜA.ᶜA. with Säqoṭa in the south, ᶜAdwa (north), and Mäqälä (south-east). The Italians also built some administrative offices and residences in Gumbosana, the northern sector of ᶜA.ᶜA. They also constructed blocks of residential and market quarters they sold on to native merchants. This was followed by the construction of clinics, bridges and primary schools. The Italian medical service was particularly praised by the native peoples for its role in controlling malaria, which was rampant in the area.

In the post-Italian period, ᶜA.ᶜA. continued to grow and became the capital of Tämben *awrağğa*. The sewage system was subsequently improved. *Ras* Śəyyum constructed some blocks of houses, which he rented to merchants. Restaurants and other services have considerably developed over the last four decades. Today, the town can boast of a college of teacher education and

other learning institutions, a hospital, clinics, telephone and electric services.

Estimated population in 1978 was about 7,500, but the construction and demographic boom continues till today.

Src.: interviews with *abba* AYYÄLÄ TÄSFA, age 85, August 2001, ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi; *mämhər* GÄBRÄ ᶜABIYÄ ƎGZIᵓ DÄSTA, age 76; *ato* QIRQOS GÄBRÄ MÄDḪƎN, age 71; *Guida* 281; CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE (ed.), *Ethiopia. Statistical Abstract*, Addis Abäba 1978, 31.

Tsegay Berhe G. Libanos

ᶜAbiyä Ǝgziᵓ

ᶜA.Ǝ. (ዓቢየ፡ እግዚእ) was a 14th cent. Ethiopian saint. According to the fictive spiritual genealogy (BritLib, Orient. 695, fol. 74v), ᶜA.Ǝ. has to be placed between a certain Yaḫräyännä Ǝgziᵓ and ↗Arkäläḍas, his second successor as abbot, under whom ᶜA.Ǝ.'s hagiography (↗*Gädl*) was written. Therefore ᶜA.Ǝ. must have lived in the first half of the 14th cent. His Acts report that he performed miracles in the monasteries of Ṣaqʷal and Sälamge, in ↗Waldəbba, where he looked for a "hidden church", Kʷalsägädu, Mergaṣä Ayba, where he prevented the ruler (*mäkʷännən*) of Amba Śänayti from attacking the *śəyyum* of Tämben. ᶜA.Ǝ. died on 19 *Gənbot* in his monastery of Däbrä Mädḫanit. The *śəyyum* of Märätta and his followers, who wanted to plunder it shortly after the saint's death, were forced to flee by miraculous thunder and lightning.

The collection of miracles (only one of them posthumous) attached to the biography of ᶜA.Ǝ., appears to reflect a much later period, after *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (since the famous monastery of *abba* Täklä Haymanot is mentioned as ↗Däbrä Libanos, and not as Däbrä Asbo), or even later, after Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's invasion. These miracles expand the influence of the saint into southern Ethiopia – into the regions of Amhara, Goǧǧam and Šäwa.

The *Gädl* of ᶜA.Ǝ. was copied in the same ms. as that of Arkäläḍas (BritLib, Orient. 695, fol. 1–74, a codex from the 18th cent.). The ms. has been described by Turaiev (1902) and by Conti Rossini (1938). The ms. Orient. 700 has a more recent copy of the life, and Conti Rossini found a third ms. in Ethiopia (s. Raineri 1986, no. 176). The *Gädl* has not yet been published.

Src.: WrBriMus 180, ms. 271 [Orient. 695]; 183f., ms. 277 [Orient. 700]; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Libri di uso prevalentemente liturgico tra i manoscritti 'Cerulli etiopici' della Vaticana", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 100, 2, 1986, 171–85, here no. 176 [Cerulli Etiopico 68].

Lit.: KinBibl 59f., no. 2; CARLO CONTI-ROSSINI, "Note di agiografia etiopica. ᶜAbiya Egziᵓ, Arkalēdes e Gabra-Iyasus", *RSO* 17, 1938, 409–52; BORIS TURAIEV, *Issledovaniya v oblasti agiologicheskih istochnikov istorii Efiopii* ('Researches in the Field of Ethiopian Hagiological Sources'), St. Petersburg 1902, 100–17.

Michel van Esbroeck

Abraha

Between 531 and 542 A.D. A. (under this name known from the Arabic as ᵓBRHH in South Arabian sources), reportedly an Ethiopian soldier and former slave, deposed the Sabaean aristocrat SMYFᶜ ᵓŠWᶜ [↗Sumyafaᶜ Ašwaᶜ], who had been appointed as Ethiopian vassal king in Sabaᵓ after Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa (↗Kaleb) had killed the Jewish king D̲ū Nuwās (↗Yūsuf Asᵓar Yaṯᵓar). Kaleb's efforts to regain supremacy over South Arabia were in vain, but after his death A. agreed to pay tribute to his successor (Procopius I, 20). He died at an unknown date after 553 A.D. Later Arabic sources expand A.'s story with semi-mythical details, including his construction of a great church at al-Qulays (Ṣanᶜāᵓ) and his expedition to conquer ↗Mecca in the "Year of the Elephant".

A. is attested in four Sabaean inscriptions:
1) In CIH 541 (543 A.D.) ᵓBRHH [=A.] put down revolts, repaired the dam and received Aksumite, Byzantine, Sasanian (Persian) and North Arabian embassies. A. held two titles: *ᶜzly / mlkn / ᵓgᶜzyn / rmḥś / zbymn* (cf. Kropp 1991; Müller 1978:65ff.; s. ill.) and the late-Sabaean title: *mlk / sbᵓ / w(d)[r]ydn / wḥḍrmwt / wymnt (/) wᵓᶜrbhm[w] / ṯ(w)dm / wthm(t)* 'king of Sabaᵓ and D̲ū-Raydān and Ḥaḍramawt and Yamanat and the bedouins of the highland and the coast'.
2) In Ry 506 (547 A.D.) ᵓBRHH put down revolts of Central-Arabian tribes and negotiated with ᶜAmr Ibn al-Mundir.
3) An inscription found near Ry 506 of a high official of king A. mentions *mlk / ᵓbrh* (ᶜAbdel Monem 1988).
4) Ja 544–547 (553 A.D.) describes repair-work at the dam; in Ja 546/2–4 ᵓBRHH is mentioned.

A fragment of inscription CIH41, from Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde (ed.) 2000:270.

Src.: PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*, tr. by HENRY BRONSON DEWING, London 1957, I, XX; CIH 541 (ill.); ALBERT JAMME, "Inscriptions des alentours de Mareb I", *Cahiers de Byrsa* 5, 1955, 275–79, nos. Ja 544–47; GONZAGUE RYCKMANS, "Inscriptions sud-arabes, dixième série", *Le Muséon* 66, 1953, 275–84, no. Ry 506; STAATLICHES MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE (ed.), *Im Lande der Königin von Saba*, München 2000, 270 (ill.). **Lit.**: ALFRED FELIX LANDON BEESTON, "Notes on the Mureighan Inscription", *BSOAS* 16, 2, 1954, 391f.; SAYED ᶜABDEL MONEM, "Emendations to the Bir Murayghan Inscription Ry 506 and a New Minor Inscription from there", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 18, 1988, 131–43; MICHAEL KISTER, "The Campaign of Huluban. A New Light on the Expedition of Abraha", *Le Muséon* 78, 1965, 425–36; MANFRED KROPP, "Abreha's Names and Titles", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 21, 1991, 135–44; WALTER W. MÜLLER, "Abessinier und ihre Titel und Namen in vorislamischen südarabischen Inschriften", *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik* 3, 1978, 159–68; ID., "Abreha", in: *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*, Stuttgart – Weimar 1996, 30f. (Lit.).

Alexander Sima

Abräha Täsämma

Däğğazmač A.T. (**አብረሃ ፡ ተሰማ**, b. 1901, d. 1967) was an Eritrean intellectual, businessman and politician. A.T., the first-born son of *ras* ↗Täsämma, received both the traditional church and Western education in his youth before enrolling in the Italian school of agriculture in ↗Mändäfära. After graduation he continued his church education, which included Amharic, a skill that became useful at certain points in his career. In 1918–29 he acted as the secretary and representative of his father while at the same time administering the district of Haddägti. He also governed various districts in his own right. In 1940–41, the Italian colonial administration appointed him counsellor to the governor of Amhara governorate. Returning to Eritrea after the war, he served as district governor until 1948, when he was appointed assistant to the political secretary of the ↗British Military Administration in Asmära. He was promoted to the post of counsellor in the same office in June 1950. In April 1952, he was appointed as secretary of internal affairs under the British Administration of Eritrea.

A.T. was versatile in his interests and skills, and he engaged himself in various activities including experimentation with various imported plants, plumbing, lumbering, etc., particularly in his home district. Since the 1930s, he had also become one of the most successful Eritrean businessmen. In 1949 he organized the biggest bus company in Eritrea, known as the S.A.T.A.E. (Società Anonima Trasporti Automobilistici di Eritrea), of which he later became chairman. His interests also extended to painting, which he pursued in the 1920s and 1930s, developing the technique of combining Eritrean themes and style with those of Western art. He was equally engaged in social activities. From 1949 onward, he was an active member (and at one point chairman) of the Eritrean Children Welfare Society. He was also president of the Arbitral Court, which dealt with conflicts between Christian highlanders and Muslim lowlanders. Furthermore, A.T. was a lucid thinker and an eloquent speaker with a great interest in liberality, freedom and the improvement of social life. Because of this he entered politics by joining the founding members of the first Eritrean political movement, the ↗Maḥbär fəqri hagär, in 1941. Following dissension among the leading politicians in the *waᶜəla* ('convention') at Bet Gärgəš in 1946, in the next year he founded the ↗Liberal Progressive Party which eventually coalesced with other small parties to form the Independence Party in 1950. He was elected to the Constituent Assembly in 1952 and subsequently contested for the highest post of Chief Executive, for which ↗Tädla Bayru did not forgive him. He was subsequently accused of being involved in an assassination plot and was imprisoned, though there was hardly any evidence for such a crime. The unjust treatment he suffered served as a bad omen for the ↗Eritrean-Ethiopian Federation, which he voiced openly in a speech declaring that it could never function. In 1955, he filed a case of redress with the Supreme Court of Eritrea for the injustice he had suffered, but in vain. The Imperial Ethiopian government, with which he was unpopular, dominated the political arena, and he withdrew altogether from politics and dedicated himself to "business, agriculture, and community improvement" (KilHDic 28).

Lit.: ErDizBio 3ff.; JORDAN GEBRE-MEDHIN, *Peasants and Nationalism in Eritrea. A Critique of Ethiopian Studies*, Trenton 1989, 83, 93ff., 161f.; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *From the Bible to Enrico Cerulli. A Miscellany of Ethiopian and Semitic Papers*, Stuttgart 1990 (AeF 32), 199; KilHDic 28f.; SHUMET SISHAGNE, *Discord and Fragmentation in Eritrean Politics*, 1941–1981, Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois 1992, 85, 100, 250–55; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia: the Federal Experience*, Uppsala 1997, 84, 86ff., 90, 95, 97, 102.

Bairu Tafla

Abraham

The biblical patriarch A. (Gəʿəz: **አብርሃም**, Abrəham) is widely venerated among both the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel and members of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. There are a number of literary works which are devoted in whole or in part to A. Some elaborate upon the stories of A. which appear in the Old Testament (Gen 11–25), others include apocryphal information regarding his life not recounted in the Bible. These works include:

1. *Mäṣḥafä kufale*, or the Book of ↗Jubilees (11–23), which contains stories about A. which do not appear in the Book of Genesis, particularly about his childhood and youth. Jubilees also credits A. with being the inventor of a plough that buried seeds in the earth so that birds could not eat them, and tells of his involvement in Jacob's life.
2. *Gädlä ↗Abraham*, The Testament of A. describes A.'s encounter with the archangel Michael who has been sent to prepare him for his death which is revealed to Isaac in a dream. A. is allowed to ascend to heaven with the archangel prior to his death. Returned to Earth, he takes leave of Isaac. Death visits him, and Michael carries his soul to rest amidst the chant of the hosts of angels. This work which is popular among the Betä Ǝsraʾel is read along with the Testaments of Isaac and Jacob on their New Year (*Bəʾəhan ṣägga*), which is also known as *Täzkarä Abrəham*.
3. *↗Dərsanä Abraham wäsära bägabs*, the Homily on Abraham and Sarah in Egypt by Saint ↗Ephrem of Syria which is a tractate concerning Gen 12:10–20. In several mss. (cf. EMML 1496) it follows the Testaments of A., Isaac, and Jacob, and the four works appear to have formed a single unit.
4. The *↗Andəmta* exegesis of Gen 11–25 which is mainly of the type of *näṭalä tərgʷame* ('simple interpretation'), i.e. it keeps very close to the biblical text, presenting only a little material of an apocryphical or midrashic character, but some christological interpretations. Thus, for example, the three men who visit A. (Gen 18) are identified with the ↗Trinity.

In addition to these works, which are specifically devoted to A., he is often referred to as a model of piety and devotion to God in other works. Thus, for example the Betä Ǝsraʾel work known as *↗Təʾəzazä sänbät* briefly recounts A. destruction of his father's idols, his encounter with King Nimrod, and abortive sacrifice of Isaac. The *↗Kəbrä nägäśt* recounts the story of A. and Sarah's descent into Egypt. A. is also referred to frequently in theological, commentary, and hagiographic literature, particularly with a stress on his covenants with God.

Src.: MATTHIAS DELCOR (tr.), *Le Testament d'Abraham*, Leiden 1973; **መጽሐፈ፡ ኩፋሌ** (*Mäṣḥafä kufale*, 'The Book of Jubilees'), in: **መጽሐፍ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ የብሉይ ፡ የሐዲስ ፡ ኪዳን ፡ መጻሕፍት** (*Mäṣḥaf qəddus yäbəluy yäḥaddis kidan mäṣaḥəft*, 'The Holy Bible: the Books of the Old and New Testaments'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.], 379–439; WOLF LESLAU, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven 1951 (Yale Judaica Series, 6), 27f., 92–102; JAMES C. VANDERKAM (ed., tr.), *The Book of Jubilees. A Critical Text*, Louvain 1989 (CSCO 510, 511 [SAe 87, 88]).
Lit.: ENNO LITTMANN, "Das Buch der Jubiläen", in: EMIL KAUTZSCH (ed.), *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, Tübingen – Freiburg – Leipzig 1900, vol. 2, 31–119; KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN PEDERSEN, *Les Éthiopiens*, Paris 1990, 58–65; ID., "Abraham in the Amharic Andemta Commentary", in: JUDIT FRISHMAN – LUCAS VAN ROMPAY (ed.), *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation: a Collection of Essays*, Louvain 1997 (Traditio exegetica graeca 5), 253–61.

Kirsten Stoffregen Pedersen

Abraham, Roy Clive

A. (b. 16 December 1890, Melbourne, d. June 1963, London) was a major figure in the field of 20th-cent. British African language scholarship. Born in Australia, he was educated in Britain and Germany, where amongst other languages he studied Gəʿəz. During World War I he served in the British Army on the North West Frontier, where he learned Hindustani, presaging his lifelong interest in "Oriental" and, later, African languages.

In 1945 A. began his study of the modern Semitic languages of Ethiopia and Eritrea, attaining an appointment at the ↗School of Oriental and African Studies in 1948 as the first Lecturer in Amharic, a post he held until his retirement in 1951. He then also began research into Berber and Somali. His works on Ethiopian languages comprised two studies on Amharic, most notably *The Principles of Amharic* (1942), and three studies on Somali: The Principles of Somali (1951), Somali-English Dictionary (1964), and English-Somali Dictionary (1967).

A.'s approach to Amharic was very idiosyncratic, perhaps coloured by his previous work on West African languages. The reader of his *Principles of Amharic* will notice his use of a painstaking sub-phonemic transcription and a complete disregard of the Ethiopian script, along with his insistence that Amharic is a tonal language. In this book A. makes no reference to any of the scholar-

ship on Amharic that preceded his own; it is almost as if he was working *in vacuo*. Marcel Cohen's *Traité de langue amharique* had appeared six years earlier, and is still to be recommended, something that cannot be said about A.'s book.

The same careful and overwhelmingly complex attention to phonetic detail also marks A.'s two dictionaries of Somali. The dictionaries contain a wealth of detail, unsurpassed at the time of publication, though now of course they have been superseded.

A.'s contribution to Ethiopian linguistic studies is thought-provoking. Though his books may be little used today, the student of Amharic or Somali will be rewarded with a mine of detailed information, particularly on phonetics.

Src.: ROY CLIVE ABRAHAM, *The Principles of Amharic*, London 1942; ID., *Somali-English Dictionary*, London 1964; ID., *English-Somali Dictionary*, London 1967; ID. – SOLOMON WARSAMA, *The Principles of Somali*, London 1951.
Lit.: PHILIP JOHN JAGGAR (ed.), *Papers in Honour of R. C. Abraham (1890–1863)*, London 1992 (African Languages and Cultures Supplement 1).

David L. Appleyard

Abranyos

According to his hagiography, A. (**አብራኝዮስ**) was born at Kanat, in the district of Ǝnäbse in Goǧǧam, six months after the abdication of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, around February 1633. At the age of 12 he went to the monastery of Däbsan (↗Däbrä San) to take monastic orders and was ordained priest by the metropolitan *paṗpas* ↗Krəstodulos (1665–72). He visited several monasteries, including ↗Däbrä Bizän and ↗Däbrä Ṭəllul in Säraye, where he organized monastic communities for men and women. As a follower of the order of ↗Ewosṭatewos, A. professed the Unionist doctrine during the Christological controversies. He even excommunicated a monk from Ṣəlləma who did not believe that "the Word, after its union with the flesh, became a Son by nature, through the unction of the Holy Spirit" (**እምድኅረ፡ ተዋህዶ፡ ቃል፡ ምስሶ፡ ሥጋ፡ በቅብአተ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘኮነ፡ ወልደ፡ ባሕርይ**, s. Raineri 1983:479). Because of his beliefs A. was imprisoned by *aṣe* Täklä Haymanot, and only released by *aṣe* Tewoflos. He returned from confinement to Däbrä Ṭəllul, where he remained until his death, appointing *abba* Akalä Krəstos his successor. A. prophesied that after the metropolitan ↗Marqos there would arise a new *paṗpas* of orthodox faith, who would bless his tomb. This was metropolitan ↗Krəstodolu (1720–42), who came to Ethiopia two years after the saint's death in 1718 A.D.

Src.: OSVALDO RAINERI, *Atti di* abuna *Abrānyos, santo eritreo (1633–1718)*, Roma 1983 (MRALm 380, ser. 8, 26, fasc. 4), 435–530 (text), 562–622 (tr.); **መልክአ፡ አቡነ፡ አብራንዮስ፡ ዘደብረ፡ ጥሉል። መልክአተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ አበው፡ ዘገዳማት፡ ኤርትራ።** (*Mälkəʾa abunä Abranyos zädäbrä Ṭəllul. Mälkəʾatä qəddusan abäw zägädamatä Ertra*, 'The Image of *abunä* Abranyos of Däbrä Ṭəllul. Images of the Holy Eritrean Hermitages'), Aśmära 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 161–76.
Lit.: EncSan I, 44–47; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Heiligen der äthiopischen Erde*, Erlangen 1998 (Oikonomia 37), 193.

Osvaldo Raineri

Abre

A. (**አብሬ**), a dignitary at *aṣe* Iyasu I's court, is attested during the period of 1696–1712 essentially through the official royal history.

He belonged to the royal army, fulfilling the function of *fitawrari* in 1699, then, thanks to his appointment as *bäǧərond* of the *ʿəqa bet* in 1700, he was introduced into the circle revolving around the royal persons. As one of the partisans of *ras* ↗Fares, A. supported the coming to power of Iyasu's son Täklä Haymanot. He openly conspired against *aṣe* ↗Yosṭos and, around June/July 1712, was imprisoned in the house of a certain *däǧǧazmač* Aṣme (son of ↗Amsale?) together with five other dignitaries (*däǧǧazmač* Mammas, *däǧǧazmač* Kobe, *blatten geta* Arkäläḍas, *fitawrari* Lofis and *däǧǧazmač* Zäwäld Läko) and blinded (BassÉt 180).

Src.: GuiIohan 186, 202, 218, 230, 279f. (tr.); BassÉt 167, 180.

Dimitri Toubkis

Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa

Ab. (**አብርሃ**) and Aṣ. (**አጽብሐ**) are usually linked with each other, and the two are revered in Ethiopian legend, as expressed in "king lists" and chronicles, as the joint rulers of ↗Aksum and brothers who adopted Christianity under Frumentius's influence (*abunä* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan) around 333 A.M. [340 A.D.]. Sometimes the prefix Ǝllä- is used. They appear after Agdär in List A, D, G of Conti Rossini (1909), after Ǝllä Aḥyäwa in List C, or after Täzer, whose royal name was Säyfa Arʿəd or Ṣənfä Arʿəd (Lists B, E, F, BassÉt I, 410). In BassÉt I Ab. is said to have fathered the next ruler, Asfəḥ; in the lists it is not specified which of the brothers was Asfəḥ's father. Lists G and F name Asfa Sahal or Dalez as their successor.

Some "king lists" note 27 years and six months joint reign, with 12 or 15 years for Aṣ. alone; others record 65 years joint reign. Sometimes there is the note "they built the cathedral of Aksum on the

water", an allusion to a foundation legend also preserved in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum* (Conti Rossini 1909:3; ↗Aksum Ṣəyon). The same source also cites two land grants purportedly made by these kings to the cathedral.

It has been suggested that Ab. and Aṣ. derived from a conflation of ↗Abraha, Aksumite king of Yemen, and Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa (↗Kaleb), both conspicuous Christian heroes, with ↗ᶜEzana king of Aksum and his brother Šəᶜezana, who are both mentioned in the *Apologia ad Constantium* of ↗Athanasius as recipients of a letter concerning Frumentius from Emperor Constantius II. ᶜEzana was clearly king of Aksum at the time of the conversion, as his coins and inscriptions show, but the Gəᶜəz histories do not know that name. Perhaps the names "Ab. and Aṣ." recall a dimly-remembered fact that there were brothers concerned in religious questions in Frumentius' time; or perhaps Ǝllä Abrəha and Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa could be successive "Ǝllä" names of ᶜEzana, this part of his titulary being so far unknown, although his father's name Ǝllä ᶜAmida is recorded.

The joint kings are venerated by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church as saints and commemorated in the *Sənkəssar* on 4 *Ṭəqəmt* (BudSaint 112). This veneration may be traced as early as the 15th cent., since the relics of "righteous and God fearing kings" Ab. and Aṣ. are mentioned in the Acts of ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat (Conti Rossini 1910:98) as being preserved in the Cathedral of Aksum (Gäbäzä Ṣəyon). One of the biggest Təgray rock-hewn churches is dedicated to Ab. and Aṣ. (Plant 1985:94f.). The *Acts* of Ab. and Aṣ. have not yet been published (s. Marrassini 1999).

Src.: KinBibl 60, no. 4; BassEt I, 410f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Les listes des rois d'Aksoum", *JA* ser. 10, 14, 1909, 263–320; ID., *Documenta ad illustrandam historiam. I. Liber Axumae*, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1909–10 (CSCO 58 [SAe 27]), 3 (text) = 3 (tr.); ID., *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum. I. Gadla abuna Abakerazun seu acta sankti Abakerazun II. Gadla Takla Hawāryāt sive acta sancti Takla Hawāryāt*, Roma – Parisiis – Lipsiae 1910 (CSCO 56, 57 [SAe 14, 24]), 98 (text) = 89 (tr.); BudSaint 112, 1165.

Lit.: EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "Note on the Introduction of Christianity into Ethiopia", *Africa* 19, 1949, 61f.; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, 94f.; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Il Gadla Abreha waAṣbeḥa. Indicationi preliminari", *Warszawskie Studia Teologiczne* 12, 2, 1999, 159–79; SERGEW HABLE SELLASE, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270*, Addis Abeba 1972, s. index.

Stuart Munro-Hay

Abrəha Arᵓaya

Däğğazmač A.A. (አብርሃ፡ አርኣያ, b. 1873, d. 1917, Addis Abäba) was the son of *ras* ↗Arᵓaya Śəllase Dəmṣu the elder. In 1888 A.A. was sent to Italy, where he studied public administration, and returned to Ethiopia immediately after the battle of ᶜAdwa. His descent from the ruling family of Təgray and his educational merits attracted the attention of the Imperial Government. In July 1902, the central government appointed him governor of much of eastern and southern Təgray, including the districts of Kəlattä Awləᶜalo, Tämben, Ǝndärta and Rayya Azäbo (also then called Ǝnda Maḳoni). Nevertheless, A.A.'s early political career was challenged by the turbulence caused by his kinsmen under *däğğazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Śəyyum Mängäša, who claimed an immediate descent from *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV.

From 1902 to 1906 A.A. was loyal to the central government and continued to subdue the rebels. To the dismay of A.A., however, *aṣe* Mənilək appointed Śəyyum Mängäša governor over the territories of Kəlattä Awləᶜalo and Tämben, formerly belonging to A.A. Oral sources claim that A.A. then faced rebellion in Kəlattä Awləᶜalo in his bid to introduce new and special taxation levied on every cow. A.A. had introduced some reforms that gave his capital Mäqälä a modern urban character. For example, he had built a spectacular castle named after him (which is today a hotel). He also established butcheries, liquor-houses, churches and market-centres.

In 1909 A.A. protested against the appointment of *wag šum* ↗Abatä Bʷayaläw as the overlord of Təgray. This led to the battle of ↗Koräm in October 1909, between A.A. and Abatä. The battle ended in A.A.'s defeat and his subsequent detention before his release in 1911. A.A. won the favour of the next ruler, *lağ* ↗Iyasu, who appointed A.A. as an important court official, while his arch-enemy, Abatä, was sent to jail. Nevertheless, following Iyasu's deposition, A.A. was held in custody in Addis Abäba, where he died in 1917 and was buried at Bäᶜälä Wäld Church (now within the premises of the Qəddəst Śəllase cathedral). His remains were later moved to Mäqälä by his descendants.

Lit.: HAGGAI ERLICH, *Ras Alula and the Scramble for Africa: a Political Biography: Ethiopia and Eritrea 1875–1897*, East Lansing 1982, 150–89; MAKONNEN BERHANE, *The Political History of Tigray: Shawan Centralism versus Tigrean Regionalism, 1889–1914*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1994, 106–30; MEDHANE TADDESSE, *Salt, Trade, and Urbanization: the Story of Mäqälä Town,*

1872–1935, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 37–44; TSEGAY BERHE, *A History of ᶜAgamä 1822–1914*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1996, 167f.

Tsegay Berhe G. Libanos

Abrəha Däboč

A.D. (**አብርሃ፡ ደቦጭ**, d. 1937) was born in Eritrea. In the 1920s he attended the Täfäri Mäkʷännən School (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I Secondary School) in Addis Abäba. Before the ↗Italian war 1935–36 A.D. worked at the Italian legation and was suspected of being an Italian agent; other reports suggest that he may have acted as a double agent.

On the establishment of Fascist Italian rule, A.D. began to serve as interpreter at the Political Office. He came to resent the inequities of Fascist rule. With his close friend, ↗Mogäs Asgädom, he began to plot a dramatic show of opposition. The moment chosen for this was 19 February 1937. On that day, the Viceroy, Marshall Rodolfo ↗Graziani, had decided to fete the birth of a child to the Italian crown prince and at the same time show Fascist might and munificence by assembling the indigent population of Addis Abäba for an ostentatious ceremony of alms-giving. As Graziani was strutting in a familiar posture on the porch of the ↗Gännätä Ləᶜul Palace, the two young men hurled bombs in his direction. Graziani was wounded and this gave rise to the infamous massacre that claimed tens of thousands of Ethiopian lives. A.D. and Mogäs Asgädom escaped in the pandemonium that ensued, whisked off from the gate by their taxi-driving friend, Səmᶜon Adäfrəs. Temporarily they sought refuge in the monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos, where A.D. had left his wife in custody. Apparently sensing trouble, they then fled north with the intention of crossing into the Sudan but were killed on the border. The Fascists vented their frustration with a massacre of the monks of Däbrä Libanos.

Lit.: *Addis Zämän*, 12 *Säne* 1979 A.M. [19 June 1987 A.D.]; ALAZAR TESFA MICHAEL, "Eritrean Heroes", *New Times and Ethiopian News*, 26 June 1948; IAN CAMPBELL – DEGIHE GÄBRÄ TSADIK – ṖAWLOS ÑÖÑÑO, **የኢትዮጵያና፡ የኢጣልያ፡ ጦርነት** (*Yäʾityoṗyanna yäʾiṭalya ṭorənnät*, 'The Ethio-Italian War'), Addis Abäba 1980 A.M. [1987/88 A.D.]; ALBERTO SBACCHI, *Ethiopia under Mussolini: Fascism and Colonial Experience*, London 1985.

Bahru Zewde

Abrəham

A. (**አብርሃም**, d. 1612) was the 17th ↗*əṣṣäge* of Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa. The first mention of "*abba* A., virtuous *mämhər* of Däbrä Libanos" can be found in the Chronide of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl, as thanks to A's intercession the ↗Gämbo people agreed to subject to the Emperor peacefully in 1591 (CRHist 140f.).

In that period A. played a significant role in the political history of Ethiopia. After the sudden death of Śärṣä Dəngəl, ↗Susənyos (the future emperor), being pursued by the soldiers of *ras* ↗Atnatewos found support from the side of *əṣṣäge* A., who persuaded him to come to the court and make peace with Atnatewos, the party of the young king Yaᶜəqob and the queen Maryam Səna (PerChron 13). Even though Susənyos soon had to flee again, he seems to have preserved good relations with the community of Däbrä Libanos and personally with A. (who is reported to have been oppressed in the time of Zädəngəl and Yaᶜəqob). As Susənyos managed to consolidate his hold on power in 1607, among his first commitments was a meeting with A. at (Däbrä) Qaroda, in Bägemdər (PerChron 95).

Another tradition attached to a "short chronicle" connects A. with important changes in the history of Däbrä Libanos. As the southern part of Šäwa was overrun by the Oromo groups, the monastery was cut off from the rest of the monarchy, and its position became more and more vulnerable. In the time of *əṣṣäge* Zäträ Wängel the community left the old place and started moving towards the safer region of lake ↗Ṭana, thus following the migration of the court of the king, the political centre of the monarchy. While the monks were on the way carrying the *tabot* of the St. Mary, Zäträ Wängel died and was succeeded by A., under whose guidance the monks reached Susənyos in ↗Enfraz (s. Foti 1941:121). The monks were immediately granted lands.

A.'s good relations with the Emperor might have guaranteed the prosperity of the monastic community of Däbrä Libanos for at least some years, but nothing is known of A.'s reaction to Susənyos relationship with the Catholics. A. died in the sixth year of Susənyos' reign, in May 1612.

Src.: PerChron 13, 95, 140 (text); BegCron 44; CARLA FOTI, "La cronaca abbreviata dei re d'Abissinia in un manoscritto di Däbrä Berhān di Gondar", *RSE* 1, 1, 1941, 87–123, here 120–23; CRHist 140f. (text) = 159f. (tr.).

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos capi del etiopico, secondo la 'lista rimata' (sec. XIV–XVIII)", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 13, 1944, 154–59; AmhChurchD vol. 5, 62f.

Denis Nosnitsin

Abrəham Adgäh

A.A. (**አብርሃም፡ አድገህ**, b. 1910, Čarbita, Wäggära, d. 1975) was one of 25 ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel male pupils, who were taken from Ethiopia to Europe by Jacques ↗Faitlovitch. In 1924, he was placed in an orthodox Jewish family of German origin in Highbury, London, where he attended St. John's College and acquired excellent English. In 1935, A.A. was recalled to Ethiopia by the government – to defend his country against Italian occupation. He returned to the village of ↗Ambobär in Gondär, but found it difficult to adjust to village life, so he moved to the Betä Ǝsraʾel school run by ↗Täʾammərat Amanuʾel in Addis Abäba. In the same year, A.A. was sent to Massawa as an interpreter. In 1939, he took up a senior position in the municipality of Gondär. In the 1940s A.A. worked in Addis Abäba translating British law into Amharic. After a period in Harär and in Eritrea, from the 1960s on, he worked as the head of the purchasing and maintenance division of the Addis Abäba municipality.

Abrəham Adgäh, photo courtesy of the author

Lit.: SHALVA WEIL, "Abraham Adgeh: the Perfect English Gentleman", in: EMANUELA TREVISAN SEMI – TUDOR PARFITT (eds.), *Beta Israel: the Birth of an Elite among the Jews of Ethiopia*, London, forthcoming.

Shalva Weil

Abrəham of Däbrä Ṣəyon

The monk A. (**አብርሃም**) of ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon (Təgray) was active in the second half of the 14th cent. and in the first part of the 15th cent., mainly during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II. He was the founder of the monastery of Däbrä Ṣəyon in the Gärʿalta province of eastern Təgray. Apparently he died during the reign of *aṣe* Yəsḥaq (1412–14), and his Acts could have been composed a few years after his death. Several copies of the *Gädlä Abrəham* are found in different localities in the Gärʿalta and Ǝndärta provinces, and at least one of these mss. could trace back to the 15th cent. The text of the *Gädlä Abrəham* is still unpublished.

Src.: KinBibl 60f., no. 5.
Lit.: ROGER COWLEY, "The Study of Geez Manuscripts in Tegré Province", *JES* 9, 1, 1971, 21–25; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Notes éthiopiennes", *JES* 16, 1983, 105–13, here 106–10 [2. "Sur la chronologie des règnes de Dawit, Téwodros et Yeshaq"]; LusStud 70.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Abrəham Dämoz

A.D. (**አብርሃም፡ ደሞዝ**, in Western tradition Abraham Demoz; b. 1935, Asmära, d. 14 July 1994, Chicago) was a prominent linguist. He received a bachelor's degree from Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (↗Addis Abäba University) in 1956 and a master's in education from Harvard University in 1957. Having studied with Wolf Leslau in Ethiopia, A.D. followed him to University of California Los Angeles, earning both master's (1959) and doctoral (1964) degrees in Near Eastern languages. A.D. then returned to Ethiopia where he was Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Ḫaylä Śəllase I University from 1964 to 1967. In 1974, he joined the faculty of Northwestern University, serving first as Director of the Program of African Studies (1974–80) and subsequently as Professor of Linguistics until his death of cancer in 1994.

A.D. combined his research interests in sociolinguistics with a broad involvement in Ethiopian public life. He served as Project Director for "Language in Relation to Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict in Ethiopia", funded by the United States Institute of Peace, and as a member of several Ethiopian national commissions dealing with educational reform, language modernization, and constitutional reform.

The Abraham Demoz Prize for Undergraduate Excellence in Linguistics has been established in his memory at Northwestern University.

Src.: ABRAHAM DEMOZ, "Language, Literacy and Society: the Case of Ethiopia", in: JOSHUA A. FISHMAN (ed.), *The Fergusonian Impact: in Honor of Charles A. Ferguson on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, vol. 1, Berlin – New York 1986

(Contributions to the Sociology of Language 42), 343–66; for full bibliography s. Lockot II (s. index).

Lit.: LOU CARLOZO, "Northwestern Professor Abraham Demoz", *Chicago Tribune*, 17 July 1994; JILL HARRINGTON, "Abraham Demoz", *Northwestern Observer* [Evanston, IL], September 1994.

Monica S. Devens

Abrəham of Qata

The monk A. (**አብርሃም**) was a native of Qata (in Təgray), but the chronology of his life is uncertain. According to oral traditions, A. lived during the reign of *aṣe* ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I (1314–44) and established his own community Ǝnda Kidanä Məḥrät in May Ambäsa in the Gämbäla district. This monastery (↗*Gädam*) was celebrated throughout the whole of Ǝndärta province. The Qata centre, one of the 22 subdistricts (*əmba*) of Ǝndärta province, appears in 16th-cent. written traditions among the lands revering the monk ↗Ananya of Däbrä Ṣärabi. At least one copy of his hagiography (*Gädlä Abrəham*) is known to exist, but the text is still unpublished.

Src.: KinBibl 61, no. 6.

Lit.: GIOVANNI ELLERO, "Note sull'Endertà", *RSE* 1, 2, 1941, 146–72, here 152, 163 [repr. in: ID., *Antropologia e storia d'Etiopia. Note sullo Scirè, l'Endertà, i Taccuri e il Uolcait*, ed. by GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, Udine 1995, 65–92, here 80].

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Abrəham: Gädlä Abrəham

The G.A. (**ገድለ፡ አብርሃም**, 'Contending of Abraham' or 'Testament of Abraham') exhibits only a few traits of the genre "Testament"; it should rather be classified as a narrative or an apocalypse. It is one of the "Testaments of the three Patriarchs", along with the *Gädlä ↗Yəṣḥaq* and the *Gädlä ↗Yaʿəqob*.

As the death of ↗Abraham (Abrəham) approaches, the archangel Michael (Mikaʾel) is sent to tell him that he should make his will and set his house in order. But Abraham refuses to die; he wants rather to see all the inhabited world before his death. This being granted, Abraham is overwhelmed by all the wickedness he perceives on his world tour and calls for the death of the sinners. God in his mercy refuses to kill them and commands Michael to take Abraham to another place where he can see the merciful judgement of God. Rather than condemning, Abraham is led now to pray on behalf of the sinners he has seen on his journey. As he still refuses to die, he is tricked by Death himself and dies. Abraham's soul ascends to heaven, accompanied by angels.

The first recension (A) was composed in Greek before 150 A.D. Besides the Greek, important textual evidence is preserved in the Coptic version, resembling substantially the shorter Greek recension (B), in the Arabic version, based on the Coptic, and in the Ethiopic (Gəʿəz) version, based on the Arabic text.

The Gəʿəz version can be divided into three types: a) a literal translation from the Arabic, extant in three mss. (Gaguine 1965, 6.52; Heide 2000: 9.10) and in a bilingual (Gəʿəz-Amharic) popular edition from Addis Abäba (Täklä Mikaʾel 1986); b) the Betä Ǝsraʾel version, evidently based on the type of text represented by the mss. mentioned above (ed. Conti Rossini 1922 [one ms.]; ed. Gaguine 1965 [five mss.]; c) a free translation from the Arabic, preserved only in a fragmentary form (ed., tr. Aešcoly 1951; tr. Leslau 1951). Both the edition of Täklä Mikaʾel and the Betä Ǝsraʾel version give evidence of the liturgical use of this testament in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church as well as among the Betä Ǝsraʾel.

Src.: MATHIAS DELCOR, *Le Testament d'Abraham*, Leiden 1973 (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 2); FRANCIS SCHMIDT, *Le Testament grec d'Abraham: Introduction, édition critique des deux recensions grecques, traduction*, Tübingen 1986 (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 11); IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed.), "Il testo copto del Testamento di Abramo", *RRALm* 9, 1900, 157–80; TÄKLÄ MIKAʾEL, **የአብርሃም ገድል ፤ የይስሐቅ ገድል ፤ የያዕቆብ ገድል ፤ የሣራ ገድል (ድርሳነ ፡ ኤፍሬም) በባሕታዊ ፤ አባ ተክለ ሚካኤል ተዘጋጀ** (*Yäʾabrəham gädl, yäyəṣḥaq gädl, yäyaʿəqob gädl yäśara gädl (dərsanä Efrem), bäbaḥtawi abba Täklä Mikaʾel täzägaǧǧä*, 'The Life of Abraham, the Life of Isaac, the Life of Jacob, the Life of Sarah (Homily on Ephraim), Edited by the Monk *abba* Täklä Mikaʾel'), Addis Abäba 1986; AARON ZEEV AEŠCOLY (ed., tr.), *Recueil de textes falachas: introduction, textes éthiopiens (édition critique et traduction), index*, Paris 1951; WOLF LESLAU (ed., tr.), *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven 1951 (Yale Judaica Series, 6).

Lit.: MARTIN HEIDE (ed., tr.), *Die Testamente Isaaks und Jakobs: Edition und Übersetzung der arabischen und äthiopischen Versionen*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 50), passim (Lit.); JEAN-CLAUDE HAELEWYCK, *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti*, Turnhout 1998 (Corpus Christianorum), 56–61 (Lit.); E.P. SANDERS, "Testament of Abraham", in: JAMES HAMILTON CHARLESWORTH (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, 872–902, New York 1983; MAURICE GAGUINE, *The Falasha Version of the Testaments of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob*, Ph.D. thesis, Manchester 1965; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Nuovi appunti sui Giudei d'Abissinia", *RRALm* 31, 1922, 230–40.

Martin Heide

Absadi of Azäzo

The monk A. (**አብሳዲ**) was a native of ↗Azäzo (Bägemdər), but the chronology of his life is uncertain. Azäzo, near Gondär, is where the Jesuits resided and where *aṣe* Iyasu II (r. 1730–55) built his palace. A. was the founder of the monastery of Zoz Amba, in the Sälaša district of the province Bägemdər, perhaps the site sometimes erroneously referred to as Bäzoz (*bä Zoz*, 'in Zoz'). At least one copy of the *Gädlä Absadi* is known to exist, but the text is still unpublished.

Src.: KinBibl 61, no. 8; HuntGeogr 167f.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Absadi of Däbrä Maryam

The monk A. (**አብሳዲ**) of ↗Däbrä Maryam (Säraye) lived in the 14th cent. and was a leader of the monastic movement known as *Däqiqä Ewosṭatewos* (↗Ewosṭateans). He is still venerated as a saint in Eritrea and Təgray. According to oral traditions, A. was a brother of ↗Märqorewos of Däbrä Dəmaḥ and a native of the Ǝndärta province of eastern Təgray, but neither the place nor the date of his birth can be firmly established. The information reported in both the Annals of Maḥṣäntä Maryam (Kolmodin 1914:23, 30) and the colophon of an Octateuch preserved in the monastery of Däbrä Maryam suggests that he died on 27 September 1380.

A. was a pupil of ↗Ewosṭatewos of Däbrä Ṣärabi, the Təgrayan monk who instigated a dissident monastic movement during the reign of *aṣe* ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I. By advocating the independence of regular clergy from civil and religious authorities, as well as the celebration of the Sabbaths, i.e., the observance of rest on both Saturday and Sunday, Ewosṭatewos made proselytes in northern Ethiopia. When, owing to his disagreement with *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon and *abunä* Yaᶜəqob (1337), Ewosṭatewos was compelled to leave the country, A. was entrusted by him with the guidance of the entire Ewosṭatean community. In 1374 A. founded the monastery of Däbrä Maryam, in the Qʷäḥayn district of the province of Säraye. It was the first monastic establishment of the *Däqiqä Ewosṭatewos* in the lands beyond the Märäb river.

In the early decades of the 15th cent., Däbrä Maryam and its scriptorium witnessed the production and canonization of the most ancient and authoritative hagiographic traditions concerning the *Däqiqä Ewosṭatewos*: *Gädlä Absadi* and *Gädlä Ewosṭatewos*. The former was published in 1996 from two 20th-cent. mss.: ANLin, Fonds Conti Rossini no. 8, and IES, mf. no. 194. The *Sənkəssar* entry for 30 *Mäskäräm* commemorates A. and ↗Aron of Galila as the "great masters of Däbrä Maryam".

Src.: KinBibl 61, no. 7; BudSaint 105; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI (ed.), *Il Gadla Alsādi* (*Dabra Māryām, Sarā'ē*), Louvain 1996 (CSCO 557, 558 [SAe 103, 104]); JOHANNES AXEL KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega. Annales et documents*, Upsalla 1914 (Archives d'études orientales 5:3), 9–49, here 23, 30; StrANL 26f., ms. 8; IES mf. 194.

Lit.: GIOVANNI ELLERO, "Note sull'Endertà", *RSE* 1, 2, 1941, 146–72 [repr. in: ID., *Antropologia e storia d'Etiopia. Note sullo Scirè, l'Endertà, i Tacruri e il Uolaàit*, ed. by GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, Udine 1995, 65–92, here 75f.]; LusStud 69–92; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [print. 1994], 5-36, here 20ff.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Abṭəlis

A. (**አብጥሊስ**, variants: *Abṭälis*, *Absəlṭis* or *Absalṭəs*; pl. *Abṭəlisat*, *Abṭəlsat*, *Bäṭlәsat*) is a Gəᶜəz term of Greek origin: 'article of (ecclesiastical) law, canon'.

Three major Gəᶜəz collections of ecclesiastical law use the term A. to refer to a specific corpus of canons: the ↗*Senodos*, the ↗*Fəṯḥa nägäśt*, and the ↗*Fäws mänfäsawi* of Michael of Aṯrīb and Malīğ. These three books are translations of a Christian Arabic Vorlage, which in turn had been compiled from a wide range of older canonical materials. The *Senodos* contains two collections of 81 pseudo-apostolical canons, largely identical in content, both of which carry an introduction identifying them as *abṭəlisat*. Only one of the two, however, introduces each individual canon as A., whereas the other uses more common *qanona* instead.

In the *Fəṯḥa nägäśt* and the *Fäws mänfäsawi* the term A. introduces canons ultimately taken from the Byzantine **Πρόχειρος νόμος** ('Law Handbook'), which is divided into 40 **τίτλοι** ('titles') and was promulgated by Emperor Basileios I (867–80) in conjunction with his sons and co-regents. The **Πρόχειρος νόμος** had been received as part of the so-called "Canons of the Kings" (Arab.: *Qawānīn al-mulūk*) by the Christians of medieval Egypt and could therefore be excerpted by the compilers of the Arabic Vorlagen of the *Fəṯḥa nägäśt* and the *Fäws mänfäsawi*.

Ludolf (1661:270) had analysed A. as a reflex of Greek **ἀποτέλεσμα**, in the (weakly attested) sense of 'decree, order' (standard meaning: ful-

filment, consummation; [perfect] product/work). Ludolf's derivation, though semantically not without its problems, is to this day the most convincing one phonetically. Conversely, Dillmann (DillmLex:762) saw A. as a distorted rendering of Arabic التطل (*at-tiṭlus*, from Greek **τίτλος**, i.e. in the **Πρόχειρος νόμος**). This interpretation has since dominated the field (cp., e.g., LesCDic 6).

Src.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI (ed.), *Il Sēnodos etiopico*, Louvain 1995 (CSCO 552, 553 [SAe 101, 102]); DillmLex 762; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed.), *Il "Fetha Nagast" o "Legislazione dei re", codice ecclesiastico e civile di Abissinia*, 2 vols., Roma 1897, 1899 (Pubblicazioni scientifiche del Reale Istituto Orientale in Napoli); MICHAEL KLEINER (ed.), *Maṣḥafa faws manfasāwi. Die Geᶜez-Übersetzung des arabischen Kitāb aṭ-ṭibb ar-rūḥānī (Buch von der geistlichen Medizin) des koptischen Bischofs Michael von Aṭrīb und Malīǧ (13. Jh.)*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Hamburg 1998 [*http://www.sub.uni-hamburg.de/disse/250/Disse.pdf*]; LesCDic 6; HIOB LUDOLF, *Lexicon Aethiopico-Latinum*, London 1661, 270; CARL EDUARD ZACHARIAE (ed.), *'O πρόχειρος νόμος. Imperatorum Basilii, Constantini et Leonis Prochiron*, Heidelberg 1837.

Michael Kleiner

Abū ᶜAnǧa Ḥamdān

A. (also known as Ḥamdān Abū ᶜAnǧa, d. 1889) was one of the prominent generals of Mahdist Sudan (1881-98). A member of the Mandala tribe, slave-descended clients of the Taᶜāʾiša tribe to which *ḫalīfa* ᶜAbdallāh belonged, A. commanded the unit known as the *ǧihādiya*, made up of captured government troops. The *ḫalīfa*, who was beset by the disaffection of a number of his generals, had great trust and confidence in A., who reciprocated by subduing rebellious chiefs and provinces. As a trusted general he was appointed as an *amīr* of the Ethio-Sudanese border and in this capacity corresponded with *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV and other Ethiopians. In January 1888, he led the most successful Mahdist incursion into Ethiopian territory. After defeating *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam at the Battle of Sar Waha, north-west of Lake Ṭana, the *anṣār* (as the Mahdists were known), advanced to Gondär and sacked and burned the imperial capital. In January 1889 he was authorized by the *ḫalīfa* to respond negatively to Yoḥannəs's conciliatory letter. His letter to the Emperor was particularly offensive and probably accounted in good part for the Emperor's decision to fight the Mahdist at ↗Mätämma in the following March. A. himself, however, took no part in this decisive battle, as he had died of illness in late January 1889.

Lit.: ḤƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, **አጭሮ ዮያና፡ መተማ፡ የአ ፄ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባጭሩ** (*Ityopyanna Mätämma. Yäʾaṣe Yoḥannəs tarik baṭṭəru*, 'Ethiopia and Mätämma. A Short History of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs'), Addis Abäba 1910 A.M. [1917/18 A.D.]; PETER MALCOLM HOLT, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan 1881-1898. A Study of Its Origins, Development and Overthrow*, Oxford 1970.

Bahru Zewde

Abū Bakr b. *aftal-garād* ᶜAbdalmannān b. Muḥammad

Amīr A.B. (ابو بكر بن افتل جراد عبد المنان بن محمد, d. March 1854) became in 1834 the successor of the *amīr* of Harär ↗ᶜAbdalkarīm b. Abī Bakr, who died without male descendants. Consequently the emirate passed to his nephew and son-in-law (A.B. was married to ᶜAbdalkarīm's daughter Fāṭima). A.B.'s father was governor of ↗Zaylaᶜ (hence the title *aftal-garād*), which had been freed from the Turks by ᶜAbdalkarīm. His maternal grandfather was an Oromo of the Alaa group and his wife ↗Fāṭima Gīsti was a sister of the influential head of the ↗Garri Somali, ↗Ādam b. Kawšan.

Already before his accession to the throne A.B. had distinguished himself as an outstanding warrior. Relying on this reputation and on his family relations he tried to subdue the surrounding Oromo groups. He undertook frequent punitive expeditions, burning and destroying villages.

During the first years of his reign his policy seemed to be quite successful. The merchants of Harär under their chief, the slave trader ᶜAbdalyūsī, extended their traffic to the fairs of Šäwa. A.B. also tried to invite the French traveller ↗Rochet d'Héricourt to Harär. In 1841, however, perhaps as a result of a draught, the Oromo attacked the territory of Harär and reduced the town's sphere of influence. The city itself was only spared upon payment of tribute. This had economic consequences: the Harari money lost its value and on 21 April 1849, the old money had to be changed into a new one in the relation of fifty to one. To avoid a new inflation, prices were fixed by the *amīr*. At the same time he prohibited the possession of foreign currency.

From a document published by Yusuf Ahmed (1960) we get some information on the household economy of A.B. He was succeeded by his son ↗Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr.

↗ᶜAlī b. Dāʾūd dynasty

Src.: CHARLES E. XAVIER ROCHET D'HÉRICOURT, *Voyage sur la côte orientale de la Mer Rouge, dans les pays des Adels et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1841, 331; ID., *Second voyage sur les deux rives de la Mer Rouge, dans les pays des Adels et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1846, 262–63.
Lit.: RENÉ BASSET, "Chronologie des rois de Harar (1637–1887)", *JA* 3, 1914, 245–58, here 254; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli emiri di Harar dal secolo XVI alla conquista egiziana (1875)", *RSE* 2, 1, 1942, 3–19, here 15f. [repr.: ID., *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971, 365–82, here 378f.]; YUSUF AHMED, "An Inquiry into some Aspects of the Economy of Harar and the Records of the Household Economy of the Amirs of Harar", *Ethnological Society Bulletin* 10, 1960, 7–62; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "L'emirato di Harar secondo un documento inedito", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 481–500, here 496; RICHARD ALAN CAULK, "Harär Town and its Neighbours in the Nineteenth Century", *JAH* 18, 1977, 369–86, here 376f.; ABDURAHMAN GARAD, *Harar. Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines Emirats im Horn von Afrika (1825–75)*, Frankfurt am Main – New York 1990 (Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe 3, 426), 16f., 49, 57, 63f., 156ff., 232–43, 290.

Ewald Wagner

Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm Šaḥīm

A.B. (ابو بكر ابراهيم شحيم Abī Bakr, b. ca. 1810, Ambabbo near Tağūra, d. 1885, Zaylaᶜ), ᶜAfar of the ↗Ḥasōba clan, was the son of a rich family trading in slaves from Ethiopia to the Arabian peninsula. A.B.'s father Arbāhim (Ibrāhīm), son of Šeḥem, son of Maḥammad, died 1852 in Gāfu.

A local officer of the Ottoman Empire, then of Egypt's *khedive*, 1857 A.B. won the privilege of farming taxes in ↗Zaylaᶜ, in competition with the Somali ᶜAli Šarmaᵓarke, who had been appointed ruler of Zaylaᶜ by the Turks in 1840. Put in jail the same year by the *bašša* of Ḥudayda, A.B. came free in 1858 thanks to French intervention. In 1861, after the murder of his friend Henri Lambert, he found again his position in Zaylaᶜ with French protection. In 1862, a treaty giving ↗Obock's harbour and the coast on its both sides was signed through A.B.'s arbitration between ᶜAfar elders and France.

In 1875, after welcoming their settlement in the area, A.B. helped the Egyptian expedition to Harär. However, the *khedive*'s support was ambiguous and A.B. prefered to come closer to the French. Entertaining uneasy relations with European traders, he stood as a loyal ally of Comte Léonce ↗Lagarde, the administrator of the "Établissement d'Obock". A.B. died in Zaylaᶜ, in 1885, just after having been detained by the British consul of Zaylaᶜ for some days. Called "émir de Zeyla" by the French, he was not recognized by the British.

Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm Šaḥīm, from Bianchi 1884:484

Lit.: GEORGES DOUIN, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail*, vol. 3, *L'Empire Africain*, part 2, Le Caire 1939, passim; THOMAS E. MARSTON, *Britain's Imperial Role in the Red Sea Area, 1800–1878*, Hamden 1961; ROGER JOINT-DAGUENET, *Aux origines de l'implantation française en Mer Rouge*, Paris 1992; ID., *Histoire de la Mer Rouge de Lesseps à nos jours*, Paris 1997; MARC FONTRIER, *Abu-Bakr Ibrahim, pacha de Zeyla, marchand d'esclaves*, Paris 2001 (Lit.); GUSTAVO BIANCHI, *Alla terra dei Galla*, Milano 1884, 484 (ill.).

Marc Fontrier

Ōbakarto lineage

After A.B. (ᶜAfar: Ōbakar), his eleven sons and their descent formed the "Ōbakarto lineage" (not to be confused with the homonymous Ḥasōba lineage of the Mabla mountains). Due to A.B.'s influence in local trade, especially along the caravan route from Ambabbo at the coast to Bati in Wällo, his second son Maḥammad (b. 1845, d. 1915) received the title of ↗*näggadras*. The fourth son, Kāmil, known for poetry, migrated from the Ḥasōba land of Urbabu near Dīdāle, North of Tağūra, to Erer in Ethiopia. The seventh son Burḥan (b. ca. 1855 from a Somali mother) was appointed "chef du village de Djibouti" by Lagarde with the title *bey*. The latter's grandson, ᶜAli (b. ca. 1930–34), son of ᶜAref (1885–1968) became president of the local Government of the French colony Territoire français des Afars et des Issas after 1967. *Näggadras* Maḥammad's son Ōbakar (b. 1875) was the father of *läǧ* ↗Iyasu's first wife, Fātuma (b. 1900), who gave birth to a son named ↗Mənilək Iyasu.

Lit.: DIDIER MORIN, *Poésie traditionnelle des Afars*, Paris 1997, 118; ALFRED BARDEY, *Barr-Adjam, souvenirs d'Afrique orientale 1880–1887*, Paris 1981; JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale*, Paris 1890, 8; DENIS DE RIVOYRE, *Obock, Mascate, Bouchire, Bassorah …*, Paris 1883.

Didier Morin

Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Āzar

A.B. (ابو بكر بن محمد بن آزر), *sulṭān* of ↗ᶜAdal, ruled ca. 1520 to 1525. In 1517 ↗Maḥfūẓ b. Muḥammad, governor of Zaylaᶜ and *imām* of the religious faction in ᶜAdal, fell in battle against *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngal. ↗Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn, the ↗Walašmaᶜ *sulṭān* of ᶜAdal, who had been forced by the religious faction to join the holy war against the Christians, was able to flee, but was shortly afterwards murdered by the religious faction, which feared that he would restore the secular power of the legitimate dynasty after the death of the religious leader Maḥfūẓ. The religious faction enthroned Muḥammad's son ᶜAlī as a puppet king. The real power was with the religious faction, though it was split up by internal conflicts. Several religious leaders always killed their predecessors after a short rule. Finally, *garād* Aboñ b. Adaš won power and ruled as the new *imām*.

Meanwhile A.B., who came from a Walašmaᶜ line different from that of the puppet king ᶜAlī, tried to regain the power for his dynasty. He fled to the Somali and, with their help, he killed Aboñ b. Adaš. In 1520 he transferred the capital of ᶜAdal from ↗Dakar to Harär, where he re-established the secular rule of the Walašmaᶜ dynasty. The new power of the secular dynasty, of course, was not to the liking of the religious faction. Its opinion finds expression in our main source, the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* by ᶜArabfaqīh. There, ᶜArabfaqīh praises Aboñ b. Adaš: "He re-established law and order, commanded the right and forbade the wrong. He killed the highwaymen, abolished alcoholic drinks, games of chance and dancing to drumbeats. The land became prosperous, and he loved the descendants of the Prophet, the jurisconsults, the dervishes and the *šayḫs*" (BassHist I, 6; II, 13). His description of A.B. is less favourable: "He ruined the country, the highwaymen appeared, alcoholic drinks were openly drunk, his courtiers plundered the travellers. In his time nobody could get justice from the courts. The descendants of the Prophet, the jurisconsults and the *šayḫs* disapproved of his deeds" (BassHist I, 6f.; II, 15).

The religious faction found a new leader in ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ). Together with other followers of Aboñ b. Adaš, Aḥmad Grañ fled to Hobät. From there he fought against the Christians, defeated them and, strengthened by the booty he had won, approached Harär. The *sulṭān* A.B. fled to the Somali. Aḥmad Grañ followed and defeated him at the river Qarn. A.B., who must have had strong backing from the Somali, soon recruited a new army and this time, Aḥmad Grañ had to flee. Again, the mountains of Hobät were his refuge. Here he was besieged by A.B. and, after an unsuccessful sortie, preferred to make peace with A.B. and to enter into his service. Peace did not last long. A.B. tried to deprive Aḥmad Grañ of his military strength by confiscating his horses and his arms. Eventually, he killed ᶜUṯmān b. Yāsīn, one of Aḥmad Grañ's closest partisans. Aḥmad fled again. After several fights a new agreement was concluded. Now, however, Aḥmad Grañ was in a much stronger position. Though officially still an *amīr* under the *sulṭān*, he had his own residence in Sīm, from where he ruled over part of the country and waged a victorious holy war against the Christians in ↗Däwaro. After his victory Aḥmad Grañ had a meeting with A.B., but then relations deteriorated again. The learned men and *šayḫs* tried in vain to mediate. Eventually, Aḥmad Grañ killed A.B. and made ↗ᶜUmardīn b. Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn the new puppet king. ᶜUmardīn belonged to the same line of the Walašmaᶜ family as the former puppet king ᶜAlī.

A.B.'s attempt to regain real power for his dynasty had failed. Aḥmad Grañ and the religious faction remained the winners.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6, 4, 2, 1931, 39–101, here 49f. [repr. in: ID., *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971, 136–206, here 148]; BassHist I, 3–16 (text) = II, 9–33 (tr.); EWALD WAGNER, "The Genealogy of the Later Walashmaᶜ Sultans of Adal and Harar", *ZDMG* 141, 1971, 376–86.

Ewald Wagner

Abū l-Faraǧ ↗ Kəbra Nägäśt

Abu Rumi

A.R. (variants: Abu, Abi, Abba Ruhh or Rukh [for Arab. *rūḥ* 'spirit'?]) was the first to translate the entire ↗Bible into Amharic. Born around 1750, perhaps in Goǧǧam, he died 1818 or 1819 in Cairo (in Jerusalem according to Pankhurst 1969:140). The name of A.R. is clearly Arabic in garb (ابو رومى 'the Orthodox [lit.: the Greek] Father'). Therefore, it was probably only adopted by or assigned to its bearer while resident in Arabic countries. In Ethiopia A.R. appears to have been known as *abba* Abraham.

Little is known about A.R.'s life. Most of the extant data derive from Jowett's account (1822) which is based on personal communications from Asselin de Cherville, the then French consul in

Cairo. There, Asselin apparently had maintained close contacts with A.R. for more than a decade. According to Asselin, A.R. had acted as an interpreter and instructor for ↗Bruce in Gondär in 1772. Bruce's writings, however, do not provide independent confirmation for this. Around 1778 A.R. left Ethiopia, visited Cairo and Jerusalem, lived some time as a merchant in Syria and eventually travelled as far as India, where he studied under the British scholar Sir W. Jones. After a brief return to Ethiopia, he went to Cairo again, where Asselin met him not later than 1808. Asselin reports that A.R. at the time of their encounter was severely ill and would, left to himself, probably have died. But the French consul intervened and saved, he claims, A.R.'s life, thereby gaining the Ethiopian's life-long gratitude.

According to Asselin's report, A.R. embarked upon his Bible translation at the instigation of and in collaboration with the French consul. The translation was done from an unspecified Arabic version. When difficulties were encountered, Asselin claims to have consulted the Hebrew and Septuagint texts as well as a Syriac version in search of clarification. It is not clear, however, to which extent Asselin mastered these languages. Moreover, it appears strange that he does not speak of having had recourse to a French Bible. A.R., on the other hand, apparently often found solutions to the correct understanding of difficult Arabic passages in his recollection of the Gəʿəz text. From 1808–18, Tuesdays and Saturdays were regularly devoted to joint translation sessions, until in 1818 the monumental task was completed. The original octavo manuscript comprised 9,539 pages. In April 1820, shortly after A.R.'s death, Jowett learned of the ms. and acquired it from Asselin on behalf of the ↗British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) for the then enormous sum of £1,250. After its arrival in London ↗Platt successively prepared A.R.'s ms. translation for publication in print. The Gospels appeared in 1824, the complete N.T. in 1829, and finally the whole Amharic Bible in 1840. Every later BFBS edition of the Amharic Bible was based on A.R.'s translation. The BFBS Bible was only superseded in 1961 when the so-called Emperor Bible appeared. However, Ullendorff notes (1968:67) that "desultory reading" of these two Amharic versions gave him the impression that the Emperor Bible, far from marking a fresh start, was widely indebted to A.R.'s translation.

Src.: THOMAS PELL PLATT (ed.), *Biblia sacra amharica. Sub auspiciis D. Asselini, rerum gallicarum apud Aegyptios procuratoris, in linguam amharicam vertit Abu Rumi Habessinus*, London 1840.

Lit.: CARL WILHELM ISENBERG, *Dictionary of the Amharic Language*, London 1841, iii; W. JONES, "Conversations with Abram, an Abyssinian, Concerning the City of Gwender and the Sources of the Nile", *Asiatick Researches* 1788, 383–88; WILLIAM JOWETT, *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean*, London 1822, 171–229; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Two Forgotten Ethiopian Scholars of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: Abu Rumi and Liq Atsqu", *EthObs* 12, 2, 1969, 140; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, London 1968, 62–68.

Michael Kleiner

Abū Ṣāliḥ

A.Ṣ. (ابو صالح) the Armenian, a Christian-Arab author from the 13th cent., is wrongly held to be the author of the famous description of "The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some Neighbouring Countries". The Arabic text of the *Taʾrīḫ al-kanāʾis wal-adyira* was first edited and translated by Evetts (Oxford 1894–95) from the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. As the name of A.Ṣ. the Armenian appears in the title on the first page as possessor of the anonymous manuscript, the work was ascribed wrongly to him. The work, however, was compiled by a Coptic priest named Abū l-Makārim Saʿdallāh b. Ǧirǧīs b. Masʿūd, who died after 1208 A.D. As one of the most significant sources on Coptic churches and monasteries in the 13th cent., the work contains a special section on Ethiopia [Evetts, 132, 13–134, 1 (text), 284–91 (tr.)] and was edited by the monk Samūʾīl as-Suryānī in 1984–85.

Src.: *Taʾrīḫ aš-Šaiḫ Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī, tuḏkaru fīhi aḫbār min nawāḥī Miṣr wa-aqṭāʿihā. The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries Attributed to Abū Ṣāliḥ, the Armenian*, ed. and tr. by BASIL THOMAS ALFRED EVETTS, with added notes by ALFRED JOSHUA BUTLER, with a map, Oxford 1894–95 [repr. Oxford 1969; Frankfurt/M. 1413 H. (1992 A.D.)] (Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, Islamic Geography 44); SAMŪʾĪL AS-SURYĀNĪ, *Taʾrīḫ al-kanāʾis wal-adyira fī l-qarn ṯ-ṯānī ʿašar al-mīlādī li-Abī l-Makārim*. Part 1: *Al-waǧh al-baḥrī wa l-Qāhira*, Dair as-Suryānī ca. 1984–85.

Lit.: GEORG GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1–5, Città del Vaticano 1944–53 (Studi e testi 118, 133, 146, 147, 172), here vol. 2, 338ff.; CHRISTIAN HANNICK, "Abu Ṣāliḥ", in: HANS DIETER BETZ et al. (eds.), *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, *Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, Tübingen ⁴1998, vol. 1, 93 [with wrong ascription]; AZIZ S. ATIYA, "Abū Ṣāliḥ the Armenian", in: *CE*, vol. 1, 33; MICHAEL VAN ESBROECK, "Abū Ṣāliḥ", in: WALTER KASPER –

MICHAEL BUCHBERGER (eds.), *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Freiburg³1993, vol. 1, 105 f. (Lit.)

Franz-Christoph Muth

Abugida and Hahu

There are two conventional tables of the Ethiopian syllabary, which differ in order of the characters. One of them is A. The characters are placed in the Semitic order of consonants, known from Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac etc., but in the A. they are presented in a sequence of the seven Ethiopian vowels: አ (*a*), ቡ (*bu*), ጊ (*gi*), ዳ (*da*), ሄ (*he*), ሙ (*wə*), ዞ (*zo*) and this incipit provides the name for this particular kind of alphabet table — A. The next line is *bä-gu-di-ha-we-zə-žo*, so that the first vertical line is *a-bä-gä-dä* etc.

Another type of table is called H. because it employs another order of consonants, inherited from ↗Epigraphic South Arabian (Sabaic), which begins with ሀ (*ha*), and every consonant is given in the full sequence of Ethiopian forms for each consonant: ሀ (*ha*), ሁ (*hu*), ሂ (*hi*), ሃ (*ha*), etc. This incipit also gives its name to this alphabet table – H.

There is no preference for either kind of table in Ethiopian traditional schools, where both are used for the benefit of pupils who have to learn by heart both tables, and their different order of characters has led to a better understanding and remembering of every character in every form. Then the pupils proceed to the reading of the first text in their life.

Hahu and Abugida, from DHMDic 45

This is provided by the first seven verses of the Gəʿəz First Epistle of St. John, the text which is called ፊደል [or ገበታ] ሐዋርያ (*fidäl* [*gäbäta*] *ḥawarəya*, 'the Apostolic Alphabet'). This system has proved to be both practical and viable. In traditional schools they use as an educational aid two parchment scrolls of the *fidäl* and *fidälä ḥawarəya*. But in the early 1960s for government schools a table was printed with the H., A. and *fidälä ḥawarəya*, and the mandatory portrait of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase to serve for the same purpose. Both A. and H. are still widely used in present-day Ethiopian schools.

↗Education; ↗Script, Ethiopic

Lit.: GIRMA AMARE, "Aims and Purposes of Church Education in Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Journal of Education* 1, 1, June 1967, 1–11; HAILE GABRIEL DAGNE, "The Traditional Ethiopian Curriculum", *ibid.* 4, 2, 1971, 70–80.

Sevir Chernetsov

Abun Bet

A.B. (አቡነ፡ ቤት; 'house of the *abun*') is one of the two quarters in ↗Gondär where the two important church leaders reside: the *abun* (↗*Abunä*), the head of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and the ↗*əčč̣äge*, the abbot of the monastery of Däbrä Libanos and the leader of Ethiopian monasticism (whose quarter is called, correspondingly, ↗Ǝčč̣äge Bet). A.B. is located near the Church of St. Gäbrəʾel, at the foot of Ač̣änakär, a hill in the northern part of Gondär, overlooking the city. The hill, now known as Gännät Tärra, used to be referred to as Təgre Mäčč̣ohya ('Cry of Təgray'), the area where people from Təgray camped when they came to Gondär to appeal to the emperor.

The original site of A.B. was near the church of *abba* Ǝnṭonəs in the north-western part of Gondär close to ↗Däbrä Śəhay Qʷəsqʷam Church (Melessa Ghiorgis 1969:175). The specific area surrounding the *abun*'s residence is called Abun Mäsk. During the reign of *aṣe* Täklä Haymanot (1769–77), *abunä* ↗Yosab moved his residence to an area near Gäbrəʾel Church, the present location of A.B. The population residing in A.B. included ecclesiastics, students and small traders.

By the early 19th cent., A.B., like many quarters in Gondär, was little more than a wilderness, and the region remained decrepit until the ↗Italian war 1935–36, when a warehouse and a garage were built in the area (*Guida* 358). The residence of the *abun* was moved to Däbrä Śəhay Śəllase Church in the central part of Gondär. The site near Gäbrəʾel Church was restored as the A.B. after the Italians

were expelled in 1941. One of the important characteristics of A.B. was that the quarter served as an area of ↗asylum, and thus people who took refuge in the area were protected from arrest.

Src.: *Guida* 358; ARNAULD D'ABBADIE, *Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute-Ethiopie (Abyssinie)*, Paris 1868, 161f.; WALTER PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country, with an Account of a Mission to Ras Ali in 1848*, London 1868.

Lit.: MELESSA GHIORGIS, "Gondar Yesterday and Today", *EthObs* 12, 3, 1969, 164–76; PankHist I, II, s. index (Lit.).

Mulatu Wubneh

Abunä

The term A. (**አቡነ**) is derived from the Gəᶜəz for 'our father'. The term is frequently used in Ethiopia as a respectful form of address for leading clerics and the heads of monasteries (cp. Arabic *abūnā*). It can also be used as a form of address to God, cp. **አቡነ፡ ዘበሰማያት** (*abunä zäbäsämayat*) in Lk 11:2, Mt 6:9 and the *Pater Noster* (rendered in Amharic by **አባታችን**, *abbataccän*).

If not followed by a proper name, the term can appear in the form *abun*, with the ending of uncertain origin, looking like the noun in *status rectus*. This term has a special connotation, since traditionally it has been reserved primarily for the head of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, the metropolitan (↗*Pappas*). An ecclesiastic of another rank can be addressed as A. even without using his name. The term *abunä qäsis* ('our father the priest') historically referred to an assistant of the metropolitan, whose duty was to test the reading ability of those who came to the metropolitan seeking to be consecrated priests (THMDic 746).

As opposed to ↗*abba*, A. seems to be applied not to every ecclesiastic, but only to the most revered besides the metropolitans, to such venerated saints as ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan, ↗Samuᵓel of Waldəbba, ↗Iyäsus Moᵓa and ↗Täklä Haymanot, but sometimes also ↗Zena Marqos, ↗Bäṣälotä Mikaᵓel and others. As for Täklä Haymanot, the application of the term A. to him may have promoted the development of a legend, according to which right after the fall of the Zagʷe dynasty the saint was for some time the head of the Ethiopian church, fulfilling the duties of the metropolitan.

Src.: THMDic 746; LesCDic 2; KaneDic 1201; AmhChurchD vol. 2, 460f.; MARIUS CHAÎNE, *Grammaire éthiopienne*, Beyrouth 1938, 80f.; FRANZ PRAETORIUS, *Äthiopische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1886, 116f.; LANFRANCO RICCI, [review of ROCHUS ZUURMOND, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice*, Wiesbaden 1989], *RSE* 35, 1991, 193–206, here 201.

Denis Nosnitsin

Abunä Yosef

A.Y. (**አቡነ፡ ዮሴፍ**), an enormous volcanic massif (4,190 m A.S.L.) stretching south of the new Qobbo-Lalibäla road, is located in the North Wällo zone, in the north of Amhara *kəllil*. Its top, an ↗*amba*, is a cliff escarpment which rises more than 1,000 m above the ↗Lasta plateau, surrounded by the canyon of the ↗Täkkäze in the north and the tributaries of the ↗Abbay in the south. In the north, a row of recent volcanoes mark out the eastern escarpment, which in its turn borders the highlands (Mounts Mägäzäs, Amba Farit, Abuyä Meda).

Formed by acid-resistant rocks of Mäqdälä series (lower cenozoic era), A.Y. was built up out of long faults which left basaltic traps (upper cenozoic era), parallel to the formation of the Rift and the ᶜAfar Triangle. Its steep flanks are covered with bushes and sparse patches of forests; with the rise of altitude one encounters an afro-alpine prairie. The mountain has never boasted much forestation due to the low precipitation levels characteristic of the whole Wällo.

At the foot and slopes of A.Y. archaeologists have unearthed rock-hewn churches and sanctuaries. Local authorities are extending the track network in the area in order to attract tourists from Lalibäla to visit the historic monuments and the mountain massif. As the base they have chosen a deserted Italian road, which connects Wäldəya-Gondär with Säqoṭa via Lalibäla. The road will next reach Təgray across the canyon of the Täkkäze, where a hydroelectric plant is planned.

Src.: ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988; *Guida*, s. index.

Lit.: DANIEL GAMACHU, *Aspects of Climate and Water Budget in Ethiopia*, Addis Abeba 1977; JEAN-CLAUDE GUILLEBAUD – RAYMOND DEPARDON, *La porte des Larmes. Retour vers l'Abyssinie*, Paris 1996; GEORG GERSTER, *L'art éthiopien, églises rupestres*, La Pierre-qui-vire 1968 (tr. from ID., *Kirchen im Fels: Entdeckungen in Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1968); ID., with WOLFGANG KULS et al., *L'Éthiopie, toit de l'Afrique*, Zürich 1974; MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *An Atlas of Ethiopia*, revised edition, Asmera 1971; ID., *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972; ALAN MOOREHEAD, *The Blue Nile*, London 1972; ²1983.

Alain Gascon

Abuqälämsis ↗ Revelation of John

Abušakər

Abū Šākir b. Abī l-Karam Buṭrus b. al-Muhaḏḏib (ابو شاكر بن ابى الكرم بن المهذب), nicknamed "Ibn ar-Rāhib" (for other names and titles s. Sidarus

1975:6–20), lived around 1200/10–1295 in Cairo. An educated deacon and Christian author, he became known in the Ethiopian tradition due to one of his works, *Kitāb at-tawārīḫ* (كتاب التواريخ 'Book of the eras' [or: 'Chronides']), an overview of world history and a chronography. The Ethiopian translation of the work is usually referred to as A. (**አቡሻክር** or **ሐሳበ፡ አቡሻክር** *Ḥasabä Abušakər*, 'Chronology of Abū Šākir'). The Latin recension (made by Abraham Ecchelensis in 1651) is known as *Chronicon Orientale*.

The Arabic original appeared in 1257. The date is confirmed by the Ethiopian tradition (cf. ms. BritMus Add. 16, 252 which dates the original as *ᶜamätä ᶜaläm* 6750 = *ᶜamätä tənbälat* 655 = 1257 A.D.). For discussion of the sources of the work cf. Dillmann 1847:44, Graf 1964:428, Sidarus 1975:36ff., Neugebauer 1988:162–68. The earliest preserved copies of the Arabic version of *Kitāb at-tawārīḫ* date back to the 16th cent.

The text which served as the base for the Gəᶜəz version must have appeared between 1327 and 1339 (cf. Sidarus 1975:52), the translation itself was carried out about 200 years later, by *ăṭṭäge* ↗ᶜƎnbaqom, most probably between 1529/30 and 1536/37 (s. Ricci 1967–68:166). The colophon of ms. BritMus Orient. 812 (WriBriMus 290, no. 384) led scholars to assume that the treatise could have been translated as late as 1563; this, however, is questionable as ᶜƎnbäqom died in 1560/61 (for discussion s. Ricci 1967–68:161–76, note 261). The oldest extant mss. date back to the first half of the 17th cent. (s. WriBriMus 290ff.).

The A. is a part of Ethiopic traditional chronology. Although the text of A. doesn't contain any direct reference to the Orbis Aethiopicus it is important for the practice of calendar calculations of feasts, and its chronology presents a picture of biblical and secular world history, which was of great interest for literate Ethiopians. Its popularity is attested to by the fact that A. was often copied (along with the Henoch-type and Ḥassab-type of chronography), as the number of extant Ethiopic A. mss., and the fact that the A. was even translated into Amharic, prove.

The A. is based on the chronological and chrono-graphical concepts of Islamic astronomy whereas its relation to Christian calendar of feasts is the centre of attention. This long treatise (the BritMus mss. include over 600 fol.) is subdivided into 59 chapters (chs. 51–59 are not present in the existing Arabic texts). Each of the 59 chapters is devoted to a separate topic: Islamic, Jewish and Coptic calendar (chs. 1–8), discussions on the dating of the Creation (ch. 14), the chronology of biblical events (chs. 18–22), solar and lunar year with modules like ↗*abäqte* and ↗*ṭəntyon* and their importance for the dating of important eras (chs. 24–27), the calculation of the date of Christ's birth, his resurrection and Easter (chs. 38–42) and the dating of relevant church periods, church fathers and old church synods (chs. 48–53); a comparison between the Eastern (i.e., Coptic and Syrian) and the European calendar system is made in ch. 53 (s. Table of Contents in Neugebauer 1988:13–21). The list of Coptic metropolitans (ch. 50) was obviously updated by each Ethiopian copyist: later manuscripts contain longer lists of names. In some of the late manuscripts the lists of Däbrä Libanos abbots are added (cf. WrBriMus 209ff., nos. 383 ff.)

A. has not yet been edited or translated. Its contents were summarized and evaluated by Wright (WrBriMus), Dillmann (DillmLond) and studied by Neugebauer (1988, with a translated excerpt pp. 135–38).

The title A. also refers to an Amharic-Gəᶜəz handbook on calendar and chronography. This widely used work is only partially based on the Gəᶜəz version of *Kitāb at-tawārīḫ* and contains, along with computus tables, excerpts on world history borrowed from various sources (e.g., ed. 1962 A.M. [1970 A.D.]).

↗Calendar; ↗Chronography; ↗Computus

Src.: Arab.: Berlin, or. fol. 434; BritMus Orient. 1337; Eth.: GrebVat Aeth. 106; WrBriMus 290ff. [Orient. 809–13]; DillmLond 40ff. [BritMus Add 16,252]; Paris, BN d'Abb. 140; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Le *Vite* di Ǝnbaqom e di Yoḥannəs, abbati di Dabra Libanos di Scioa", (here) *RSE* 23, 1967–68, 79–219; **አቡሻክር** [**የቀን፡ መቁጠሪያ**] *Abušakər* [*yäqän mäqᵚəṭäriya*], 'Abušakər [A Calendar]', Addis Äbäba 30 *Ḥamle* 1962 A.M. [6 August 1970 A.D.].
Lit.: ADEL Y. SIDARUS, *Ibn ar-Rahibs Leben und Werk. Ein koptisch-arabischer Enzyklopädist des 7./13. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg 1975 (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 36), passim (Lit.); OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *Abu Shaker's "Chronography". A Treatise of the 13th Century on Chronological, Calendrical, and Astronomical Matters, written by a Christian Arab, preserved in Ethiopic*, Wien 1988 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 498. Band), passim (Lit.); GEORG GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Roma ²1964 (Studi e testi 133), vol. 2, 428ff.; WELD BLUNDELL, *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia 1769–1840*, Cambridge 1922, 494.

Siegbert Uhlig

Abutädas

A. (**አቡ፡ኑዳስ**), a high-ranking person, is known only from one single occurrence in the official history of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I. In 1700 he was charged

with a mission to ↗Lasta with a certain "*azzaž* of *ṭaräsəmbä*" (i.e. *ṭaräsəmbä ↗azzaž*) Zane. It seems that at the end of this mission, Lasta agreed to pledge allegiance to *aṣe* Iyasu. The official history says that A. was a *ṣäḥafe lam* of Amhara, but it is impossible to establish at what date.

Src.: GuiIohan 220 (tr.).
Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "Wag and Lasta: an Essay in the Region's History from the 14th Century to 1800", in: *PICES* 7, 1984, 213–31.

Dimitri Toubkis

Abyata

Lake A. (አቢያታ) is one of the ↗Rift Valley lakes, located in the Central Main Ethiopian Rift, some 200 km south of Addis Abäba. It is a terminal lake without a surface-water outlet, and with a 180 km² surface area. It has a 10,740 km² catchment. The present maximum and mean depth of the lake is 14.2 m and 7.6 m respectively (Tenalem Ayenew 1998). A. is one of the most alkaline lakes in the central and southern sector of the Ethiopian Rift, with a total dissolved-solids content of 34,644 mg/l (United Nations 1973).

A. is a highly productive alkaline lake whose muddy shore supports a wealth of bird life (flamingos, white pelicans and other endemic birds) almost unequalled in the whole of Africa. The high density of flamingos subsists directly on the rich blue green algae, while many other birds are dependent on the high population of fish in the lake. The lake forms an important migration route for Arctic birds during the northern winter. It also forms part of the Rift Valley Lakes National Park.

The relatively shallow depth and its terminal position make it more susceptible to the effects of changes in climate and water-input. Its level is strongly influenced by direct precipitation and discharge from the northern Lake ↗Zʷay and western Lake ↗Langano. Without a large inflow in any extended period of wet years, the level would fall consistently. Unlike many Rift Valley lakes, uninterrupted net loss over a number of dry years, followed by a sharp recovery during extreme wet years, is the essential hydrological behaviour of A. It was at its highest level in the early 1940s, late 1970s and early 1980s and at its lowest level in 1967 and in the mid 1970s, late 1980s and 1990s. In 1940 the level stood at around 1,582m A.S.L. (Benvenuti et al. 1995). At present the lake surface elevation is 1,578 m A.S.L. The image, enhanced from the Landsat Thematic Mapper satellite image taken in November 1989 (Tenalem Ayenew 1998), shows its shore stages representing different lake levels and its substantial reduction in size.

Since the late 1980s, development schemes – like the pumping of water from the lake for soda-ash (sodium carbonate) extractio, the utilization of feeder rivers and the lake Zʷay water being used for irrigation – resulted in rapid lake-level reduction. It is the only lake in the entire Rift Valley which has undergone recent significant reduction in size. As a result, the chemistry and the ecological setting of the lake has changed significantly (Makin et al. 1976:26; Elisabeth Kebede et al. 1996). Compilation of the sparse chemical data available since 1926 and chemical analysis since 1995 (Tenalem Ayenew 1998) revealed a considerable increase in the total ionic concentration. Between 1926 and 1998, the salinity fluctuated more than 2.6 times (8.1–26 mg/l), the alkalinity by about four times (80–326 mg/l); pH varied between 9.5 and 10.1 (Elisabeth Kebede et al. 1994).

↗Lakes; ↗National Parks

Lit.: MARCO BENVENUTI – N. DAINELLI – C. IASIO et al., *Land Resources Inventory, Analysis of Environmental Changes and their Applications to Agriculture in the Lake Region (Ethiopia)*, Project report no. 4., University of Florence 1995; ELISABETH KEBEDE – ZINABU GEBRE-MARIAM – INGEMAR AHLGREN, "The Ethiopian Rift Valley Lakes. Chemical Characteristics along a Salinity-Alkalinity Series", *Hydrobiologia* 288, 1996, 1-12; M.J. MAKIN – T.J. KINGHAM – A.E. WADDAMS et al., *Land Resource Development*. Part 26: *Prospects of Irrigation Development around Lake Ziway*, Tolworth 1976; FRANCES ALAYNE STREET-PERROTT, "Twentieth Century Fluctuations in Lake Level in the Ziway-Shala Basin, Ethiopia", *Paleoecology of Africa* 15, 1982, 99–110;

TENALEM AYENEW, *The Hydrogeological System of the Lake District Basin, Central Main Ethiopian Rift*, Ph.D. thesis, Free University of Amsterdam 1998; UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION (ed.), *Geology, Geochemistry and Hydrology of the Hot Springs of the East African System within Ethiopia*, New York 1973.

Tenalem Ayenew

Abyssinia

A. (Fr. Abyssinie, Germ. Abessinien), older forms with initial H- (as in Germ. Habesch, Habessinien),

(a) is a synonym for "Ethiopia" widely used till the middle of the 20th cent, or

(b) designates the predominantly Christian and Semitic highland of Ethiopia (and Eritrea).

The forms with an internal -y- (as in Lat. Abyssinia (>) English Abyssinia, and – now obsolete – Germ. Abyssinien, Abißynien) are the result of a (derogatory) academic folk-etymology (by linking it with Gr. ἄβυσσος 'abyss') and should be dropped. In contrast to the Greek designation **Αἰθιοπία** ('country of the burned faces', ↗Aithiopía), A. appears to be a self-designation.

The name of this region is probably already found in Hieroglyphic Egyptian (*Ḥbsty* < South Arabian) as the designation of a southern country. In connection with ↗Punt (*Pwnt*), *Ḥbsty* refers to a region near the Red Sea in South Arabia (or East Africa) with incense production. This etymological connection was first posited by Wilhelm Max Müller (1893:116) and Eduard Glaser (1895:8). There are still place names in the Yemen such as Ǧabal Ḥobēš (**Ḥubaiš*) 'Ḥobēš mountain' and Wādī Ḥabūš that demonstrate the existence of this etymon in South Arabia.

In ↗Epigraphic South Arabian (Sabaean) texts, the name ḤBS²T [↗Ḥabašāt] occurs several times (Irvine 1965). ḤBŠT (with the article *Ḥabaš²at-ān*) occurs in such expressions as *mlk Ḥbš²t w-²ksmn* 'king of Ḥabaš²at and Aksum', *²rḍ Ḥbš²t w-²ksmn* 'country of Ḥabaš²at and Aksum' and *²ḫzb* [*²aḫzāb*] *Ḥbš²t* 'the armed bands of Ḥabaš²at'. The inhabitants are called ²ḤBS²N [*²aḥbūš²-ān*], which corresponds exactly to classical Arabic (**al-²aḥbūš* >) *al-²uḥbūš* (Ibn Manẓūr 1990:278). The Sabaean texts refer to the period of the last kings of Saba² and the introduction of the titulature "king of Saba² and ḏū-Raydān" (probably late 1st cent.), as well as to the late period, in which South Arabia was conquered by A. In the earlier texts the name may refer to districts on both sides of the Red Sea, whereas in later texts ḤBS²T clearly means

Map 1: Petrus Kaerius [Pieter van den Kaere], *Abissinorum sive Pretiosi Ioannis imperium*, about 1630, s. Tooley 1969:114.

Map 2: *Aethiopia superior vel interior, vulgo Abissinorum sive Presbiteri Ioannis imperium*, 1640, s. Tooley 1969:28f.

what is known later as "Habessinia" (Irvine 1965). One inscription (CIH 308 and related texts), belonging to the first period, is of special importance since it tells about the coalition between the king of Saba' and the king of Ḥabaś'at, apparently against Ḥimyar. The name of the king of Ḥabaś'at, GDRT, has been identified with the Ethiopian King ↗GDR, mentioned in an Ethiopian inscription (*Gdr ngśy 'ksm* 'GDR, king of Aksum', RIÉ 180), but this is not quite certain.

In the Greek, pseudo-Sabaic and Classical Ethiopic (Gəʿəz) versions of the ↗ʿEzana inscriptions (DAE IV, 6/7), ʿEzana is designated as king of nine countries. In the 4th position he is named king of the **ΑΙΘ[Ι]ΟΠΩΝ** 'Ethiopians', which appears in the other versions as (pseudo-Sabaic) ḤBŚ'TM and (Gəʿəz) ḤBŚT 'Abyssinia', respectively. The hellenized name of the Habessinians, ABACCIN, appears on an Aksumite coin of ca. 400 A.D., shortly after King ʿEzana (Hahn 1999).

The Greek geographical works show references to this name. In his geographical lexicon (**Ἐθνικά**), Stephanos of Byzantium (a Christian grammarian of the 6th cent.) is citing passages from the work **Ἀραβικά** of Uranios (probably 1st cent. B.C.). There he reports about the **Ἀβασηνοί**, who are called **ἔθνος Ἀραβίας** ('people of Arabia'), who live together with the **Χατραμῶται** 'Hadramites' behind (**μετά**) the **Σαβαῖοι** 'Sabaeans'. Several commercial articles are mentioned, among them **θυμίαμα** 'incense'. The **Ἀβασηνοί** were known to Hiob Ludolf, who speaks about the "Abasseni" in his *Historia aethiopica* (1681).

In medieval and early modern times, the usual Latin designation of what is called today Ethiopia was Habissinia/A., Abassia or similar, whereas in general usage Aethiopia designated more specifically Black Africa. In this sense, in the map of the world of Fra Mauro (1459, s. Klemp 1968:9) a difference is drawn between "Athyopia" and "Abassia". Claudius Ptolemaeus in his *Cosmographia* (Ulm 1482, s. Klemp 1968:1) distinguishes between "Ethiopia interior" and "Abhÿs" (sic, i.e. abyss), and Sebastian Waldseemüller in his *Carta marina navigatoria* (St. Dié – Strassburg 1516, s. Klemp 1968:12) between "Aethiopia" and "Regnum Habesh". As to the identification of Habessinia and Abassia, s. the map of Christian Ludolf in *Jobi Ludolfi Habessinia seu Abassia …* 1683 (cp. Ludolf 1681).

In many maps, esp. in the 17th–18th cent., the extent of Habessinia/Abessinia is largely distorted in that it reaches nearly all the way to South Africa, e.g., Petrus Kaerius [Pieter van den Kaere], *Abissinorum sive Pretiosi Ioannis imperium*, about 1630 (s. Tooley 1969:114; map 1), *Aethiopia superior vel interior, vulgo Abissinorum sive Presbiteri Ioannis imperium*, 1640 (s. Tooley 1969:28f.; map 2). Later in the 18th cent. it is reduced to East Africa, leaving a huge *terra incognita* in Central Africa, s. *Nova tabula Africae*, about 1770 (map 3), s. Johann Walch, *Karte von Africa*, about 1820 (map 4).

In the Arabic map of the world of Muḥammad al-Idrīsī (1154, s. Klemp 1968:2) al-Ḥabaša appears at the proper place. In Ottoman maps (e.g. *Mufassal Afrika haritası*) of 1323 H. [1905 A.D.] the country bears the name Habeşistan (s. map 5).

In classical Arabic, *al-Ḥabaš* designates primarily *ǧins min as-sūdān* 'a certain race of blacks' (Ibn Manẓūr 1990:278), as found in al-Ḥabaša ('Ethiopia'). All other related forms are derived from this basic concept, as *al-ḥubšān* 'kind of locust' and *al-ḥubāša* 'what is collected (of men and of property), company of men' (Lane 1865, vol. 2, 501). The verbal root *ḥabaša* has the meaning 'gain, earn, collect for the family or household' and does not have any Semitic cognates.

The verbal root cannot be considered as the basis for the derivation of al-Ḥabaša. The very popular idea that the basic concept of this name is "mixture (of peoples)" and therefore very suitable for such a country with so many peoples and languages is already found in Ludolf (1681, ch. 1,1,1): "Habesh colluviem vel mixturam gentium denotat". On the contrary, the concept of "mixture" has developed secondarily out of A. as a multiethnic African country. It is not clear who first brought about this (Western) idea of A. as "Völkergemisch".

The modern terms Tgn. *Ḥabäša* and Amh. *Habäša/Abäša* are considered either as loans from Arabic *Ḥabaša* or as forms developed out of epigraphic Gəʿəz *Ḥabäśät* (with *ś* later on pronounced as *s*) that would require the following sound change: **Ḥabäs(ät)-ya* > *Ḥabäša*. Possibly both solutions are to be combined. The traditional and indigenous designation for the country was later on reinforced by its Arabic designation.

In official documents up to the 19th cent., Habäša designates only some central parts of Ethiopia, s. the Treaty between Ethiopia and Great Britain of 1843 where the "puppet emperor"

Map 3: *Nova tabula Africae*, about 1770

Map 4: Johann Walch, *Karte von Africa*, about 1820

Map 5: *Mufassal Afrika haritası* of 1323 H. [1905 A.D.]

is called *yäḥabäša nəgus* 'king of Ethiopia', and not *nəguśä nägäśtz̈ä'ityopya* (Rubenson 1987:193).

↗Arabia; ↗Inscriptions

Src.: CLAUDIUS PTOLEMAEUS, *Cosmographia,* Ulm 1482; SEBASTIAN WALDSEEMÜLLER, *Carta marina navigatoria,* St. Dié – Strassburg 1516 [map]; HIOB LUDOLF, *Historia aethiopica,* Frankfurt am Main 1681 [map]; IBN MANẒŪR, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol. 6, Beirut 1990; CIH 308; DAE IV, 6/7; RIÉ 180; SVEN RUBENSON (ed.), *Correspondence and Treaties 1800–1854*, Evanston – Addis Ababa 1987 (Acta Aethiopica 1), 193; RONALD VERE TOOLEY, *Collectors' Guide to Maps of the African Continent and Southern Africa*, London 1969, 28f., 114.

Lit.: ALFRED FELIX LANDON BEESTON, "Ḥabashat and Aḥābīsh", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 17, 1987, 5–12; EDUARD GLASER, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, München 1895, 8; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Das Kreuz mit dem Abessinierland", *Mitteilungsblatt des Instituts für Numismatik* (*Wien*) 18, 1999, 5–8; BERTRAND HIRSCH, "Cartographie et itineraires: figures occidentales du Nord de l'Éthiopie aux XV^{e} et XVI^{e} siècles", *Abbay* 13, 1988, 91–122; FRITZ HOMMEL, *Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients*, München 1926; ARTHUR KINLOCH IRVINE, "On the Identity of Habashat in the South Arabian Inscriptions", *JSS* 10, 1965, 178–96; EGON KLEMP, *Africa auf Karten des 12. bis 18. Jahrhunderts: 77 Lichtdrucke aus europäischen Kartensammlungen. Africa on maps dating from the twelfth to the eighteenth century*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1968, 1f., 8, 12; EDWARD WILLIAM LANE, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 8 vols., London – Edinburgh 1863–93; WILHELM MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, Leipzig 1893, 116; WALTER W. MÜLLER, "Abessinier und ihre Namen und Titel in vorislamischen südarabischen Texten", *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* 3, 1978, 159–68.

Rainer Voigt

Acacia

The genus A. belongs to the family *leguminosae* (subfamily: *mimosaceae*), which consists of mostly thorny trees and shrubs. About 750 tropical and subtropical species are known and grow in the warmer regions of the world, but they are particularly abundant in Australia and Africa, including Ethiopia and Eritrea.

In these countries the trees assume significant agricultural, socio-economic, medical and cultural functions, mostly within rural societies. The generally hard, durable and sometimes termite-resistant timber serves as a building material and it is used for poles, posts and tool-handles, as fuel and for making charcoal and kitchen utensils. In the past, planks from *Acacia albida* (Amh. *gərbi grar*, Tgn. *ʿalla* or *garša*, Oromo *garbi*; cp. Fichtl – Admasu Adi 1995:292) were used in Ethiopia for making large, secure doors. Species that produce a large crown are favoured as shade-trees for village meetings and festivities.

Because of their widely extended lateral root system, A. are very valuable for erosion control and soil stabilization. Some A. species have the ability to fix nitrogen in their roots, to the benefit of crops growing nearby. In traditional medicine the tree or its various parts (pods, bark, roots) is commonly used as a panacea for many ailments (*Acacia Senegal*: Amh. *sbansa grar* or *qʷänṭər*, Tgn. *qänṭiba*, Oromo *idabo*), and to treat headaches, colds and stomach-aches (*Acacia albida*); venereal diseases, dysentery, snakebites and gastro-intestinal disorders (*Acacia polyacantha*: Amh. *gəmarda*, Tgn. *gʷəmero*); worms, rheumatism and bilharzia (*Acacia Siberiana*: Amh. *däwäni grar*, Tgn. *ča*ʿ*a*, *gərmo*, Oromo *burquqe*, *fullsa*, *lalato*). Smouldering chips of *Acacia seyal* bark exude smoke that has a medical (antiseptic) effect and women take a smoke-bath using this A. species when they feel ill and during menstruation when they wish to "clean" their bodies.

The high quality, internationally traded *gummi arabicum* is extracted from *Acacia Senegal*. Both children and adults enjoy chewing this gum, which is said to have antiseptic properties. Nowadays, however, it has lost its industrial importance as a binder within food. The seeds of *Acacia tortillis*, for example, and the fruit of *Acacia seyal* are edible and are used as famine food. Flowers of most of the A. species seem to be rather attractive for honey-bees, so that bee-keepers hang their beehives in the branches and harvest excellent honey.

Both the bark and the pods contain tannin and are commonly used for tanning goat's leather, which provides the raw material for many household utensils, including water-containers and baby-carriers, as well as for decorative handicrafts. Təgre-speaking women of Eritrea have adopted strategies to fight pests that under extreme circumstances may destroy their houses within a few weeks. Both the poles and the mats are subjected to a special smoking procedure during which chips of *Acacia Nubica* are burned. The smoke impregnates the mats, which also become water-repellent and can thus withstand the rainy season. Finally, A. branches, pods and flowers are used as animal forage. Branches and thorny twigs provide excellent fencing that is used to protect fields of growing crops from grazing animals.

↗ Medicine

Src.: KERSTIN VOLKER-SAAD, *Beni Amer/Hedareb Women and Food Security*, Tessenei 1997, unpublished report.

Lit.: FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS (ed.), *Traditional Food Plants: a Resource Book for Promoting the Exploitation and Consumption*, Rome 1988 (Food and Nutrition Paper 42); REINHARD FICHTL – ADMASU ADI, *Honeybee Flora of Ethiopia*, Berlin 1995, esp. 292, 304, 307, 309, 311, 312; HANS-JUERGEN VON MAYDELL, *Trees and Shrubs of the Sahel. Their Characteristics and Uses*, Weikersheim 1986, 99–105, 130f., 132–35, 136–39, 140ff., 144–47; MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE OF ERITREA (ed.), *Indigenous Trees and Shrubs of Eritrea*, Asmara 1994.

Ill.: FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS (ed.), *Non-Timber Uses of Selected Arid Zone Trees and Shrubs in Africa*, Rome 1988 (FAO Conservation Guide 19), 2, 9.

Kerstin Volker-Saad

Acacia trees in Arsi near Lake Langano, 1954/55, photo by Eike Haberland, ©Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main

Acts of the Martyrs ↗ Gädlä Sämaᶜətat

Ačäfär

The district of A. (**አቻፋር**) extends from ↗Qʷənzəla on the southwestern shore of Lake ↗Ṭana ca. 50km southwest to the Qilti River, a tributary of the Gəlgäl ('Small') Abbay, and from the Small Abbay west ca. 20km to the hilly uplands at the edge of the western escarpment. Its main population centres are Qʷənzəla and Yəsmala Giyorgis. The original inhabitants may have been related to the ↗Gumuz people, who now live farther west, but if so, they were displaced by the ↗Agäw well before historic times. Until the 17th cent., A. was one of several Agäw districts southwest of Ṭana beyond the bounds of the Christian Kingdom. In the late 16th cent., however, these fertile lands came to the attention of Ethiopia's rulers. A. was the first to succumb to Christian expansion.

In 1586 *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl briefly camped in A., but it was *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, according to the royal chronicler, who "began the destruction of the A. and the Läg" (BassÉt 128; BegCron 44). In annual raids between 1612 and 1614, Susnəyos systematically pillaged this wealthy land, reducing it to a desolate wilderness by killing or enslaving its inhabitants, carrying off their cattle, and driving the survivors into the western hill country. He then resettled the Wäränša and Maya, divisions of the ↗Mäčča Oromo who were his allies, in A. as well as on land east of the Small Abbay area that came to be called "Mäčča" as more Oromo were subsequently settled there.

Hereafter, A. was a pacified district that lay on the western route of march from Gondär to Agäw Mədər, Goğğam, and regions south of the Abbay. Its inhabitants adopted ↗Amhara culture and language and became Orthodox Christians. *Aṣe* ↗Iyasu I often visited A. because his beloved concubine, Qəddəste, resided at Barkänta, close to Qʷənzəla. It was to Barkänta that Iyasu initially retired in mid-1705, setting the stage for his deposition and eventual murder by his son, *aṣe* Täklä Haymanot I.

Until well into the 20th cent., A. lay astride regional trade routes that carried ivory, hides, cloth, and, above all, coffee. Land routes ran from Damot and Agäw Mədər to Takusa and Gondär; overland and water routes linked Däq and Zäge with Dälgi via Qʷənzəla. In the late 1930s, Italian engineers constructed a motor track along the land route through Yəsmala Giyorgis, which by 1938 had become an Italian colonial outpost linked by road and telegraph with Dangəla and Gondär. Under the post-war imperial regime, A. was part of Agäw Mədər, a district (*wäräda*) within Goğğam Province (Baḥər Dar *awrağğa*).

Src.: BassÉt 128f., 134–38, 140, 165–71 (tr.); BegCron 44, 82–86 (tr.); BruNile vol. 3, 257f., 536–46; vol. 4, 24; GuiIohan 11–17, 164f.; CRHist 129–32 (tr.); PerChron 107, 111–14 (tr.); BTafA 329ff., 337; interview with Kuwbənad Wase, Gondär, 19 February 1973.

Lit.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Géodésie d'Éthiopie, ou Triangulation d'une partie de la haute Éthiopie*, Paris 1873, vol. 4, map no. 6; ARNAULD D'ABBADIE, *Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute-Éthiopie* (*Abyssinie*), Città del Vaticano 1980 [repr.], 421–29; ROBERT ERNEST CHEESMAN, *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile: an Abyssinian Quest*, London 1968, 75–105, 213–23, end maps; *Guida* 368ff. [with map]; ALESSANDRO LUSANA, "L'Acefer e il Meccà", *Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana* 1, 2, August 1938, 595–615; TadTChurch 25–28; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Processes of Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: The Case of the Agaw", *JAH* 29, 1988, 5–18.

LaVerle B. Berry

ᶜAd Mäᶜalləm

ᶜA.M. (**ዐድ፡ መዐልም**, also ᶜAd Muᶜallim) is a small ↗Təgre-speaking ethnic group who split over time into three sub-groups. They are nowadays found in the Eritrean ↗Saḥəl region, the ↗Sämhar and ↗Akkälä Guzay.

The ᶜA.M. claim descent from a certain *šayḫ* Ḥubbaddīn al-Muᶜallim, who is believed to have fled from the Umayyads in Arabia with other members of the Qurayš *ašrāf*. As their name suggests, the group's religious prestige derives from their traditional role as a holy clan

providing teachers (Arab. *muᶜallim*) of Arabic language and Islamic law to the various Qurʾānic schools in the Saḥəl and its region. Sources also note their important role in propagating Islam in the Saḥəl and Akkälä Guzay regions. In the literature, special note is given to their association in this context with the ↗ᶜAd Təmaryam and the ↗Ḥabab. According to local tradition, it seems that the ᶜA.M. were for a certain period of time vassals of the Ḥabab and that, in order to escape their state of servitude, they emigrated *en masse* from the Saḥəl towards Kassala. As a result of the Mahdist uprising in the 1880s, they retreated to the ↗Barka region, from where they gradually returned to the Saḥəl as an independent group.

The A.M. mostly breed camels, sheep and goats and trade in salt. In the early 1950s, their number was estimated at 1,000.

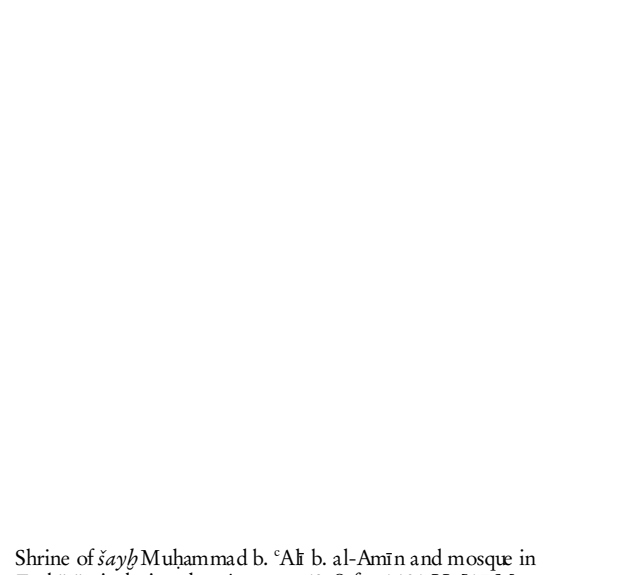
Src.: ENNO LITTMANN, *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*, 4 vols., Leyden 1910–15, esp. vol. 1, 284f. (text) = vol. 2, 341f. (tr.) ["Ṣāura and ᶜAd Maᶜallem and ʾAsfada"]; ANTHONY D'AVRAY (ed.), *The Nakfa Documents*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 53), s. index.
Lit.: JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London – Toronto – New York 1952, 168, 232, 248; ALBERTO POLLERA, *Le popolazioni indigene dell'Eritrea*, Bologna 1935, 192, 211f., 233, 286; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, *The Races and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1944, 43; MUḤAMMAD ᶜUṮMĀN ABŪ BAKR, *Taʾrīḫ Īrītriyā al-muᶜāṣir: arḍan wa-šaᶜban* ('The Contemporary History of Eritrea: Land and People'), Cairo 1994.

Jonathan Miran

ᶜAd Šek

ᶜA.Š. (**ዐድ ሸኽ**, also ᶜAd Šayḫ, ᶜĀd Šayḫ, Ad Shaykh) is a ↗Təgre-speaking group inhabiting the Saḥəl and Sämḥar regions in Eritrea. The ᶜA.Š. trace their descent from *šarīf* Ḥusayn who emigrated from Mecca. The group's more recent history begins with the arrival in the Saḥəl of *šayḫ* al-Amīn b. Ḥāmid b. Nāfᶜūtāy at the beginning of the 19th cent. He gradually gained widespread reputation through his preaching and miracle working among the Muslim Təgre "serfs" of the Christian ↗Bet Asgäde who approached him to seek his *baraka* ('blessing').

Šayḫ al-Amīn married the daughter of Bet Asgäde's *käntebay* and thus began a process of marriages with Bet Asgäde women that eventually resulted in the conversion of a part of that group to Islam. The religious prestige of the ᶜA.Š. as a "holy" family attracted entire families of Təgre vassals and escaped slaves and thus enlarged the family relatively rapidly. Their influence over the Təgre vassals shook the master/serf structure of Bet Asgäde societies and constituted a form of social revolution. In this process many vassals joined the ranks of the ᶜA.Š.



Shrine of *šayḫ* Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. al-Amīn and mosque in Ǝmbärämi, during the *ziyāra* on 13 *Ṣafar* 1421 H. [17 May 2000], photo courtesy of the author

By the 1860s, the *šayḫ*'s descendants had succeeded in converting to Islam a large number of Təgre-speaking groups in the region. The ᶜA.Š. amassed much wealth, especially in livestock, through religious gifts offered by people from all over the region. In the course of time, and as the ᶜA.Š. became larger, sections split off from its main body in the Saḥəl and migrated to the village of ↗Ǝmbärämi (in Sämhar), ᶜAnsäba, and to Barka, in the west, where two of them, the Garabit and the Fäydab, joined the ↗Beni ᶜAmər. In Saḥəl, among the Təgre-speaking Muslims, a saintly cult developed around *šayḫ* al-Amīn's person. His grandson, *šayḫ* Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. al-Amīn (ca. 1808–77) is also venerated as a saint by Muslims of the region and his tomb in Ǝmbärämi has become a sacred place of *ziyāra* ('pilgrimage') performed yearly on the 13th of the Muslim month of *Ṣafar*.

During the Italian period the influence of the ᶜA.Š. was significantly reduced as a result of the Italian authorities' favouring of the Ḫatmīya (↗Islamic brotherhoods). The Italians viewed the ᶜA.Š. as dispersed, uncontrollable and potentially "menacing" through their influence over Təgre-speaking nomadic societies. The colonial authorities doubted their "authentic holiness" and ended their traditional exemption from tribute payment. They tended to prefer the more established, accommodating and centralized structure of the Ḫatmīya.

Src.: ENNO LITTMANN, *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*, 4 vols., Leyden 1910–15, esp. vol. 1, 285 (text) = vol. 2, 342 (tr.) ["ʿAd Šēk"]; MARIA HÖFNER, "Überlieferungen bei Tigrē-Stämmen (I), ʿAd Šēk", *AE* 4, 1961, 181–203; ANTHONY D'AVRAY (ed.), *The Nakfa Documents: the Despatches, Memoranda, Reports and Correspondence…*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 53), s. index.
Lit.: KilHDic 30f.; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London – Toronto – New York 1952, s. index; ALBERTO POLLERA, *Le popolazioni indigene dell'Eritrea*, Bologna 1935, 204–10; STEPHEN HELMSLEY LONGRIGG, *A Short History of Eritrea*, London 1945, 86f., 136, 156, s. index; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, *The Races and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1944, 42f.; DANTE ODORIZZI, *Il Commissariato Regionale di Massaua al 1° Gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911, 171–74.

Jonathan Miran

ʿAd Täkälezan

ʿA.T. (**ዓድ፡ ተከሊዛን**, also ʿAddi Täkälezan) is located on the north-western edge of Ḥamasen plateau, 43 km westwards from Asmära, and is the centre of Dämbäzan, Eritrea.

Originally it was a Christian area named after Täkäle Zan, the ancestral father (s. Kolmodin 1916:11f.). Elders of ʿA.T. have a reputation for rhetorical and poetic astuteness. After a decisive defeat by the British at Kärän in March 1941 (↗Italian war 1935–36), the Italians withdrew to their last line of defence at ʿA.T. The road leading west from Asmära to Kärän and the Sudan border, constructed by the Italians at the beginning of 1887, goes through ʿA.T.

Recently improved, ʿA.T. is presently a bustling small community with modest but basic amenities.

Src.: JOHANNES KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega. Traduction française*, Leipzig – Paris 1916 (Archives d'Études Orientales 5:2), 11f.; *Guida* 221.
Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, *Economic History of Ethiopia. 1865–1935*, Addis Ababa 1968, 288; EDWARD PAICE, *A Guide to Eritrea*, Chalfont St. Peter, England – Old Saybrook, Connecticut 1996, 25.

Ezra Gebremedhin

ʿAd Täkles

ʿA.T. (**ዐድ፡ ተክሌስ**, also ʿAd Täkle) is one of the three Eritrean ↗Təgre-speaking descent-groups, with ↗Ḥabab and ↗ʿAd Təmaryam, who trace their descent to a common ancestor, Asgəde, and who are known collectively as ↗Bet Asgäde.

Tradition traces the foundation of the ʿA.T. to Täkles, son of Mäfläs and grandson of Ḥabib, all descendants of Asgäde (Trimingham 1952:159). Refusing to be dependent on his elder brother Həbtes, founder of the Ḥabab, Täkles migrated (sometime during the 17th cent.?) with his family to the ʿAnsäba valley region and settled there, thus beginning the lineage of the ʿA.T. By the mid-19th cent. the ʿA.T., who had already adopted the Təgre language of their "serfs", converted from Christianity to Islam and thus consolidated their political legitimacy, status and economic position in the region.

The ʿA.T. inhabit the valleys of the southern ↗Saḥəl (especially the ʿAnsäba valley) and were usually attached administratively to the Kärän district. They are agriculturalists and sedentary. Their political and legal organization gradually changed from a tribal to a territorial basis and the distinction between noble and serf gradually broke down. Their number was estimated in the early 1930s at 10,000.

Src.: ENNO LITTMANN, *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*, 4 vols., Leyden 1910–15, esp. vol. 1, 279ff. (text) = vol. 2, 337f. (tr.) ["The Three Maflas: Ḥabāb, ʿAd Təmāryām and ʿAd Taklēs"]; vol. 3, 282–333 (text) = vol. 4b, 589–701 (tr.) ["Lieder der ʿAd Təmā–ryām"]; ANTHONY D'AVRAY (ed.), *The Nakfa Documents: the Despatches, Memoranda, Reports and Correspondence…*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 53), s. index.
Lit.: KilHDic 118; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London – Toronto – New York 1952, 158ff.; ALBERTO POLLERA, *Le popolazioni indigene dell'Eritrea*, Bologna 1935, 192–95, 199–203, s. index; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, *The Races and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1944, 40f.

Jonathan Miran

ʿAd Təmaryam

ʿA.T. (**ወድ፡ ትማርያም**, also ʿAd Tämaryam) is the smallest of the three Eritrean ↗Təgre-speaking

descent groups, with ↗Ḥabab and ↗ᶜAd Täkles, who trace their descent to a common ancestor, Asgäde, and who are known collectively as ↗Bet Asgäde.

The foundation of the ᶜA.T. goes back to Təmaryam, son of Ḥabib and brother of Mäfläs (s. genealogical table in Trimingham 1952:159). Rejecting dependency on his brother Mäfläs, Təmaryam migrated with his family from the Rora range to the Labka valley east of ↗Afᶜabät, settled there and over time organized and led the autonomous ᶜA.T. group. By the mid-19th cent. ᶜA.T., who had already adopted the Təgre language of their "serfs", converted from Christianity to Islam and thus consolidated their political legitimacy, status and economic position in the region.

The ᶜA.T. are pastoralists, who migrate to the north during the winter – towards Sudan and down to the lowlands of the Red Sea coast, where a different rain-system produces grazing during winter months. Their number was estimated in the early 1930s at 7,000.

Src.: ENNO LITTMANN, *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*, 4 vols, Leyden 1910–15, esp. vol. 1, 279ff. (text) = vol. 2, 337f. (tr.) ["The Three Mafla: Ḥabāb, ᶜAd Təmāryām and ᶜAd Taklēs"]; vol. 3, 282–333 (text) = vol. 4b, 589–701 (tr.) ["Lieder der ᶜAd Təmāryām"]. **Lit.**: KilHDic 118; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London – New York – Toronto 1952, 158ff.; ALBERTO POLLERA, *Le popolazioni indigene dell'Eritrea*, Bologna 1935, 192–95, 201ff., 210ff.; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, *The Races and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1944, 41, 43.

Jonathan Miran

Adaama

The town of Adaama (Oromo; mostly known as Nazret, ናዝሬት) is one of the most dynamic towns in Ethiopia as is shown by its rapid growth (in the year 1970 – 39,359 inhabitants, 1984 – 79,954, 1996 – 127,740, 1998 – 139,052). Its altitude is 1,712 m A.S.L. (at the railway-station).

The town was founded between 1912–17. Despite its outstanding location with a mere 100km separating the Rift from Addis Abäba, this town remained until 1954 a small town which owed its existence to the railway. Its expansion started when the Wänǧi Sugar Estate and Refinery opened on the banks of the ↗Awaš river. In 1960 three hydro-electric power plants were built downstream from the Awaš Dam at ↗Qoqa to produce cheap water and energy and thus encouraged the creation of new irrigated farms downstream from A. with the contribution of foreign investment.

In 1967 the Swedes who supervised the Č̣alalo Agricultural Development Unit chose the town as their rear base until they left in protest against the enforcement of the villagization policy in 1986. At the junction of the Highlands and the Lowlands A. is a meeting point between the pastoralists of the Rift, whether nomadic ᶜAfars moving along the Awaš or the Oromo of the depression, and the farmers of the plateaus, who are Oromo too.

Thanks to its good rail connection and extensive lorry service since the opening of the roads to the Rift-Valley Lakes, to ↗ᶜAsäb and to ↗Asälla this town is dedicated to the transformation of cattle and agricultural products. During the 1984 food shortage the European Union built big warehouses in A. to store imported cereals.

Residents of the nearby capital in search of a warmer climate patronize the hotels of the town during the rainy season (*kərämt*) and the ↗Sodäre thermal pool all the year round. A. marks the western limit of the conurbation formed by Addis Abäba and its satellite-towns (Aqaqi, Däbrä Zäyt, Moǧo).

In the administrative system of the Ethiopian Empire Nazret (A.) became the capital of the Yärer Käräyyu *awraǧǧa* (Šäwa province). The Oromo have apparently resigned themselves to establish the capital of Oromiyaa in A.

Src.: OFFICE OF THE POPULATION AND HOUSING CENSUS COMMISSION (ed.), *Ethiopia 1984. Population and Housing Census Preliminary Report* 1, 1, Addis Ababa September 1984; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *The 1994 Housing Census of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1995–96; CENTRAL STATIS-

TICAL OFFICE (ed.), *Report on a Survey of Shoa Provinœ*, Addis Ababa 1966; ID., *Survey of Major Towns in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1968; ID., *Ethiopia Statistical Abstract 1970*, Addis Ababa 1971; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988; *Guida*, s. index.
Lit.: GUNILLA BJERÉN, *Migration to Shashemene. Ethnicity, Gender and Occupation in Urban Ethiopia*, Uppsala 1985; JOHN M. COHEN, *Integrated Rural Development. The Ethiopian Experience and the Debate*, Uppsala 1987; ALAIN GASCON, *La Grande Éthiopie, une utopie africaine. Éthiopie ou Oromie, l'intégration des hautes terres du Sud*, Paris 1995 (Espaces et milieux); ID., "'Fair Borders' for *Oromiyaa*", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 362–78; ID., "Partager une Terre Sainte. Érythrée unitaire, Éthiopie fédérale", in: JOËL BONNEMAISON – LUC CAMBRÉZY – LAURENCE QUINTY-BOURGEOIS, *La nation et le territoire. Le territoire, lien ou frontière?*, vol. 2, Paris 1999, 185–209; ID., "Éthiopie, Érythrée: la ville, expression d'un destin messianique en hautes terres rurales", in: JEAN-LOUIS CHALÉARD – ALAIN DUBRESSON (eds.), *Villes et campagnes dans les pays du Sud. Géographie des relations*, Paris 1999, 151–68; MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *An Atlas of Ethiopia*, Asmera ²1971; ID., *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972.

Alain Gascon

ᶜAdal

ᶜA. (Gəᶜəz: አዳል Adäl; in Arabic sources:) first appeared in historical record at the end of the 13th cent. The ↗Walašmaᶜ ruler of ↗Ifat, after his victory over the Maḫzūmī dynasty of Šäwa, conquered in 1288 together with some other smaller Muslim principalities, that of ᶜA., too. This petty state must have been located south of Ifat, somewhere in the direction of the Harär Plateau.

Since the name ᶜA. seems etymologically to have some connections with the Dankali tribe Aḍaᶜila mentioned in the Chronicle of Awsa and with the Somali name Oda ᶜAlī for their Dankali neighbours, the main population of ᶜA. may have been of ↗ᶜAfar stock.

It may be that ᶜA. was originally only the name of a town which was further given to a whole region (cf. the similar development of the name ↗Zaylaᶜ). Ibn Faḍlallāh al-↗ᶜUmarī (1301–49), the first Arabic author who mentions ᶜA., enumerates it under the seven "mother towns" (Arab. *mudun ummahāt*) of Awfāt (Ifat), and the first Ethiopian source, the history of ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's victories, speaks – a little bit more ambivalent – of the seven great towns (or regions, Ethiopic *səbᶜatu ahgur*), one of which is ᶜA. On the other hand, it also speaks of the waste land (*ᶜabbay bəḥer*) of ᶜA.

In the decades after 1288 ᶜA. must have regained its sovereignty. During ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's wars against the Muslims ᶜA. operated quite independently from Ifat. First, the people of ᶜA. and ↗Mora rose alone against the Ethiopian Emperor, then ᶜA. supported the *qāḍī* ↗Ṣāliḥ and finally it became the ally, not the vassal of the Walašmaᶜ ruler ↗Ǧamāladdīn in the fight against ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon. After the conquest of its capital Talag and the death of its king, ᶜA. had to surrender already before ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's final victory over Ǧamāladdīn.

Soon afterwards, however, ᶜA. must again have become subordinate to Ifat because Ibn Faḍlallāh included it as one of Ifat's "mother towns". This state of affairs might have continued till 1415. In this year the Walašmaᶜ *sulṭān* ↗Saᶜdaddīn Abū l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad was killed and even Zaylaᶜ was conquered by the *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq. The members of the Walašmaᶜ family had to flee to Yemen. Shortly later, they came back. From then on, however, they no longer bore the title "*sulṭān* of Ifat", but "*sulṭān* of ᶜA.". It seems that their homeland Ifat was too much exposed to Christian attacks, so they transferred the centre of their state farther to the south. Their capital became ↗Dakar east of Harär. ᶜA. was no longer part of Ifat, but Ifat part of ᶜA. which from now on was also called Barr Saᶜdaddīn after the above mentioned martyr Saᶜdaddīn. In 1520 the Walašmaᶜ *sulṭān* ↗Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Āzar made Harär the new capital of ᶜA. At the end of the century Christian danger from the north decreased. The ↗Oromo expansion from the south threatened both Christians and Muslims. That is why the centre of the state was

transferred again. In 1576 ↗Muḥammad Gāsā I. b. Ibrāhīm took his residence in Awsa.

The name ᶜA. was taken over by the Ethiopian chronicles which used the term for the state of Harär even after the decline of the Walašmaᶜ dynasty.

The first European to mention ᶜA. was Marco Polo (1298/99) who used the form Adem (Adan, Adenti etc.): "gli Re Saraceni hanno il loro reame verso la provincia Adem" ('The Muslim kings have their kingdom in the direction of [the province] ᶜAdal', Paulitschke 1884:18, n. 1). The Portuguese sources either follow the Ethiopians and speak of Adel, or use as the Arabs do, the name of the town Zaylaᶜ also for its hinterland. Manoel de ↗Almeida says: "reino de Adel a que chamamos de Zeila que com Baly confina" ('The kingdom of ᶜAdal which we call Zaylaᶜ [and] which adjoins Bale', Cerulli 1971:356). The other frontiers of ᶜA. are given by Francisco ↗Alvares (BeckHuntAlvar II, 409, 452f.): Fäṭägar and Šäwa in the west and the Dankali kingdom in the north. At the coast, Zaylaᶜ and ↗Berbera were part of ᶜA. Jerónimo ↗Lobo (Paulitschke 1884:33) tells us that "Arar" (Harär) is the capital of "Adel", referring to the time between 1520 and 1576, while his contemporary Balthazar ↗Tellez gives "Auça-Gurele" as the name of Adel's capital (Tellez 1660:376; quoted by Paulitschke 1884:32, n. 4). That means he describes the time after 1576 when the residence was in Awsa.

In modern Ethiopia the term Adäl refers to the Ethiopian part of Awsa, and in Amharic *Adalo* is used for the inhabitants of that region.

Src.: BALTHAZAR TELLEZ (ed.), *História geral de Etiópia a alta ou Preste Ioam e do que nella obraram os padres da companhia de Jesus*, Coimbra 1660, 376; BeckHuntAlvar II, 409, 452f.; HuntAmd 66f., 73f., 80f., 100ff.; IBN FAḌLALLĀH AL-ʿUMARĪ, *Routes Toward Insight into the Capital Empires. Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, book 4, ed. by FUAT SEZGIN, Frankfurt a. M. 1988 (Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science. Ser. C: Facsimile editions 46, 4), 19; ID., *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, in: MAURICE GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES (ed.), *L'Afrique moins l'Égypte*, Paris 1929, 8–9.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1, 1941, 5–42 [repr. in: ID., *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971, 207–43 (cf. also 294f. on ᶜA. and 182, n. 178 on Adāʿil)]; EWALD WAGNER, "Neues Material zur 'Ausa-Chronik'", in: ULRICH HAARMANN – PETER BACHMANN (eds.), *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beirut 1979 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 22), 657–73, here 660; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Die geographische Erforschung der Adâl-Länder und Harâr's in Ost-Afrika*, Leipzig 1884, 18, 33f.; ENNO LITTMANN, "ᶜAdal", in: *EI*², vol. 1, 176; TadTChurch, s. index; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London – Toronto – New York 1952, 58, 72, 74f.

Ewald Wagner

Adal Täsämma ↗ Täklä Haymanot, *däğğazmač*

Adali ↗ Raḥayta

Ādam b. Kawšan

Garād Ā. (Arab.: آدم بن كوشن, Somali: Adan, b. about 1810, d. after 1857), was the chief of the cultivator Garri tribe of the Somali, which was not split up in clans. This made him very powerful and enabled him to exercise direct influence over rival tribes. Furthermore, Ā., who was famous for his polygamy, succeeded in making extensive connections with other chiefs by means of his five sons and twelve daughters. His sister ↗Fāṭima Gīsti was married to the *amīr* of Harär, ↗Abū Bakr b. *aftal garād* ᶜAbdalmannān b. Muḥammad.

Though reputedly brave, his treachery brought on him a permanent ill fame. For instance, he betrothed a daughter to the eldest son of *garād* Hersi of the Berteri Somali, and then had her married to Muḥammad Wāʿiẓ of the Ğibrīl Abokr tribe. This led to a feud, in which the disappointed suitor was slain. At another time, he plundered a caravan of the chief Šarmaʾarke. Repenting the action, he offered in marriage one of his daughters, who, however, died before the nuptials.

While Richard ↗Burton was on the way to Harär in 1855, he was well received by Ā.K. in the latter's residence in Wällinsin. The *garād* was not only eager to get hold of the presents Burton offered. He also tried to gain his assistance in building a fort to control the country trade and overpower Harär, on which he was nominally dependent. This plan, however, remained unrealized. Burton passed the territory of *garād* Ā.K. again on his way back.

Garād Ā.K. is last heard of in the protocols of the *qāḍī's* office in Harär for the year 1857.

Lit.: RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON, *First Footsteps in East Africa or, an Exploration of Harar*, London 1894, vol. 1, 190ff., 195, vol. 2, 44–51; ABDURAHMAN GARAD, *Harar. Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines Emirats im Horn von Afrika (1825–75)*, Frankfurt am Main – New York 1990 (Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe 3, 426), 56ff., 290.

Ewald Wagner

Adära Bille

A.B. (**አደራ፡ ቢሌ**, d. 1855, "horse-name" Abba Dagät) was a Muslim hereditary chief of ↗Lägä Gora in western Wällo. A.B. had his residence and administrative capital at Gattira (whence the name of the dynasty, Gattiročč, of which A.B. was a prominent member). The chiefdom of Lägä Gora was one of the most powerful political entities that flourished in the region in the 19th cent. In 1798 A.B.'s grandfather, Ali, took part in a campaign to Gondär led by Amäde Kolase (d. 1803), the lord of ↗Wärrä Himäno.

A.B. was a nominal vassal of *ras* ↗Ali Alula and maintained close relations with ↗Bərru Lubo of Qallu in eastern Wällo. These relations were cemented by a dynastic marriage. According to Krapf, Bərru gave his daughter, Fāṭima, in marriage to A.B. in order to prevent the latter from allying himself with the contemporary Šäwan ruler.

However, A.B.'s relations with one of the contemporary Muslim religious leaders, *šayḫ* ↗Ǧaʿfar Bukko, were far from friendly. According to a biographical account written by the *šayḫ*'s son under the title *Misk al-adfar fī manāqib sayf al-ḥaqq aš-šayḫ Ǧaʿfar*, *šayḫ* Ǧaʿfar relentlessly exhorted A.B. to rule on the basis of the ↗*šarīʿa* and strongly disapproved of his disrespect of religious scholars. Sometimes the local Muslim chiefs (including A.B.) were reluctant to antagonize *šayḫ* Ǧaʿfar by supporting those traditional religious leaders, who, reprimanded by the *šayḫ* for violating Islamic law, had appealed to the chiefs for compensation or justice.

Krapf (1860) claims that while travelling through A.B.'s territory in 1842 he was plundered either on the direct orders of, or by those in connivance with A.B.; a predicament which influenced Krapf's perception of the Wällo Muslims whom he depicted as "fanatic and bigoted Mahomedans".

A.B. died while resisting the army of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. He was survived by his son, Ali Adära, who initially fought hard against the Emperor but later submitted; his governorship was then confirmed. According to *däbtära* ↗Zännäb, Tewodros's chronicler, Ali captured a local rebel, Sadiq Darqa, whom he handed over to the Emperor.

Src.: BTafA 874; *däbtära* ZÄNNÄB, *The Chronicle of King Theodore of Abyssinia*, ed. by ENNO LITTMANN, Princeton – New York – Leipzig 1902; JOHANN LUDWIG KRAPF, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa …*, London 1860, 323; *faqīh* MUḤAMMAD [B. ǦAʿFAR], *Misk al-adfar fī manāqib sayf al-ḥaqq aš-šayḫ Ǧaʿfar* ('The Pungent Musk on the Virtues of the "Sword of Truth", *šayḫ* Ǧaʿfar'), ms, n.d., IES.
Lit.: DOMENICO BRIELLI, "Ricordi storici dei Uollo", in: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed.), *Studi Etiopici*, Roma 1945, 78–110; FEKADU BEGNA, *A Tentative History of Wallo, 1855–1908*, B.A. thesis, Haile Sellassie I University 1972; HUSSEIN AHMED, "Introducing an Arabic Hagiography from Wällo", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 185–97; ID., *Islam in Nineteenth-Century Wallo, Ethiopia: Revival, Reform and Reaction*, Leiden 2001; ZERGAW ASHERA, *Some Aspects of Historical Development in 'Amhara/Wallo', ca. 1700–1855*, B.A. thesis, Haile Sellassie I University 1973.

Hussein Ahmed

Adare ↗ Harari

Adäs

A. (Amh., Gurage **አደስ**, Amh. also *bərsännät*, Oromo *koddoo*, Wälaytta *wäbaṭaa*), the myrtle bush or the common myrtle (*Myrtus communis*), is a cultivated shrub, used as an aroma. The plant is one to three metres high, often forming clumps. Young branches are four-angled. Leaves are aromatic and with many glands, dark bright green above and paler below, broader at the base and often sharp-pointed at the apex, 1.5–6.0 cm long and 0.5–3.0 cm wide. The fruit is a dark berry, 6–8 mm long and wide.

A. is commonly cultivated in the highlands of Ethiopia between 1,800–2,500 m A.S.L., mainly in Gondär, Šäwa and Harärge, on a wider scale in southern Šäwa and Goǧǧam. It was probably introduced long time ago.

Adäs (*Myrtus communis*)

Traditionally the dried powdered leaves are used as flavouring in the preparation of bread, and also as fragrance in fresh butter for hair cream. The juice of the dried leaves are used to cure dysentery, headache and stomach complaints. The dried and ground ripe berries are used for seasoning. The powdered fruits, mixed with ↗*bärbäre*, are also made into semi-liquid pastes known as **ድልህ** (*dəllah*) and the more spiced **አዋዜ** (*awaze*). The fresh berries, known as **ቃርያ** (*qarya*), are eaten raw.

Lit.: KaneDic 878, 1307; WOLDE MICHAEL KELECHA, *A Glossary of Ethiopian Plant Names*, Addis Ababa University 1987, 71.

Sebsebe Demissew

Addam

Abba A. (**አዳም**) "from Ǝnfraz" was a 17th cent. church leader, who appears in only one text, copied in Waldəbba in the 19th cent. for *däbtära* Kəflä Giyorgis (s. Guidi 1893). According to this text he defended the unionist doctrine (↗*Täwaḥədo*) at the last synod of *aṣe* Fasilädäs' time, in 1666 at ↗Aringo, against the unctionists (↗*Qəbat*) of Goğğam, lead by ʿəwwər ('blind') ↗Zäʾiyäsus of Gʷanğa.

Lit.: IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Di due frammenti relativi alla storia di Abissinia", *RRALm* 2, 1893, 579–605; ID., "Uno squarcio di storia ecclesiastica di Abissinia", *Bessarione* [anno 4] 7, 49–50, 1900, 10–25, here 16f.; ALOIS GRILLMEIER, *Le Christ dans la tradition chrétienne*, vol. 4: *Le Christ dans un nouveau royaume messianique. La foi au Christ en Ethiopie*, Paris 1996, 482f.; AmhChurchD vol. 3, 214.

Anaïs Wion

Addam: Gädlä Addam

The G.A. (**ገድለ፡ አዳም**) is a detailed apocryphal story of the fate of Adam and Eve after their expulsion from paradise, and the story of humanity. After their expulsion Adam and Eve are filled with deep remorse. They live in the cave of treasures, where the gifts of the wise men to Jesus have been preserved from the time of creation. Each time they leave it, Satan tries to tempt them, until their marriage. After the story of Cain and Abel, the text recounts the history of the Patriarchs until the Deluge, and in less detail the history of Israel until the time of Jesus Christ's birth.

The G.A. is a literal translation of an Arabic original preserved in several mss., the *History of Adam and Eve and what happened to them after the expulsion from Paradise and of their stay in the Cave of Treasures* (Graf 1944:201ff.; partial ed. Battista – Bagatti 1982). The Arabic text is the second part of the *Aksīmāris* (from Gr. ἑξαήμερος, 'six days'), the ↗*Aksimaros* in Ethiopic translation. The connection with the *Aksimaros* is retained in some of the Ethiopian manuscripts. Both *Aksimaros* and G.A. are largely based on the Syriac *Mʿarraṯ gazzē* ('Cave of Treasures', Götze 1924:56–91; Cowley 1988:136–40).

The latest edition by Trumpp (1880) is rather poor (cf. Dillmann 1881), a re-edition based on more mss. is therefore desirable.

Src.: mss: Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Krapf collection [s. GEORG HEINRICH AUGUST VON EWALD, "Über die äthiopischen Handschriften zu Tübingen", *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 5, 1844, 164–201, esp. 179]; WrBriMus 211ff., no. 320 [Orient. 751], III; CRAbb 13, no. 131 [BN d'Abbadie 125], fol. 98r–152v; Paris, Collection É. Delorme (now dispersed), nos. 3, 6 [s. SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Les manuscrits éthiopiens de M. E. Delorme", *ROC* 19, 1914, 347]; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. aeth. 58 [Trumpp's copy of the Tübingen ms.]; EMML 722; EMML 3979, 1; tr./ed. from Eth.: AUGUST DILLMANN (tr.), *Das christliche Adambuch des Morgenlandes. Aus dem Äthiopischen mit Bemerkungen übersetzt*, Göttingen 1853; ERNST TRUMPP (ed.), **ገድለ፡ አዳም** – *Der Kampf Adams (gegen die Versuchungen des Satans), oder: Das christliche Adambuch des Morgenlandes, Aethiopischer Text, verglichen mit dem arabischen Originaltext*, München 1880 (Abhandlungen der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften I. Cl. XV. Bd. III. Abth.); SOLOMON CAESAR MALAN (tr.), *The Book of Adam and Eve, also Called the Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*, London 1882; tr./ed. from Arabic: ANTONIO BATTISTA – BELLARMINO BAGATTI (ed., tr.), *Il combattimento di Adamo. Testo arabo inedito con traduzione italiana e commento*, Jerusalem 1982 (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Collectio Minor 29).
Lit.: ROGER WENMAN COWLEY, *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation. A Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge 1988 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 38), 136–40; AUGUST DILLMANN [Review of Trumpp 1880], *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland*, 1881, col. 559ff.; GEORG GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol.1: *Die Übersetzungen*, Città del Vaticano 1944 (Studi e Testi 118), 201ff.; ALBRECHT GÖTZE, "Die Nachwirkung der Schatzhöhle", *ZSem* 2, 1924, 51–94; 3, 1925, 153–77; JEAN-CLAUDE HAELEWICK, *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamentis*, Turnhout 1998 (Corpus Christianorum), 11, 19ff., nos. 11, 14.

Stefan Weninger

ʿAddi Abbo ↗ Adyabo

ʿAddi Abun

The small town of ʿA.A. (**ዓዲ፡ አቡን**) to the north of ʿAdwa in Təgray is today an administrative and trading centre. The sub-district (*wäräda*) bears the same name. ʿA.A., at the foot of Amba Soloda, was initially called Däbrä (Ǝnda) Marqos,

because of the presence there of St. Mark's Church. Later a *tabot* dedicated to *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot was added to the church, which consequently was called Täklä Haymanot Church.

It is traditionally believed that Däbrä Marqos has been called ᶜA.A. since the area was chosen as the residence of the first Aksumite bishop, *abba* ↗Sälama, in the 4th cent. The Aksumite bishops are said to have lived here since then.

In Təgrəñña ᶜA.A. literally means 'the country [the village] of the ↗*abun*'. Near the bishop's residence there was a small palace where the governor of the area with the title of ↗*abeto* lived. Till this day a part of the territory of ᶜA.A. is known as ᶜAddi Abeto ('the country [the village] of the *abeto*'). Traditional sources indicate that the tribute collected from the area was divided between the bishop and the governor. Both officials had their respective fiefs.

The residence of the Ethiopian bishops is still claimed by the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. In recent times it has come under the jurisdiction of the bishops of Təgray.

Src.: oral informants.
Lit.: *Guida* 240f., 243.

Teclehaimanot Gebreselassie

ᶜAddi Arbaᶜətä

ᶜA.A. (**ዓዲ፡ ኣርባዕተ**) is a sub-district in the northern part of ↗ᶜAdwa in Təgray, northern Ethiopia, on the southern bank of the Märäb river. The name ᶜA.A. means in Təgrəñña 'the country of four'. The four founders of ᶜA. are traditionally said to have come from Ḥənzät, situated in the north-eastern part of ᶜAdwa.

When Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935 (↗Italian war 1935–36), the Təgrayan soldiers encountered the vanguard of the Italian force in ᶜA.A., at a place called Ḥamedo.

ᶜA.A. is a very fertile area, which geographically belongs to the lowland or *qolla* climatic zone. The main agricultural products of the area are *dagussa* (finger-millet) and sorghum. The administrative centre of ᶜA.A. is Rama.

Src.: oral informants.

Teclehaimanot Gebreselassie

ᶜAddi Baro

ᶜA.B. (**ዓዲ፡ ባሮ**) is a village located to the northwest of ↗Däbarwa. Being an ancient trading centre in the ↗Säraye region of the 15th cent., it served as a key commercial link between the coastal port of Massawa and the Ethiopian hinterland. According to the report of Francisco ↗Alvares, "Barra" (ᶜA.B.) was the residence of the ↗*baḥər nägaš* in the 16th cent., before it was replaced by the nearby Däbarwa. An elegant church of the Virgin Mary, managed by numerous priests, was located there. Incense, pepper, myrrh, camphor and other items were exchanged at the local market. It may be identical with Bärrah, mentioned in a 14th-cent. land grant to ↗Däbrä Dəmaḥ of ↗Dawit II (Huntingford 1965:82).

Almost nothing is known about ᶜA.B. till modern times, when most of the fertile agricultural

lands around the town were expropriated (ca. 1904–20) as a result of the Italian land-confiscation policies. Today ᶜA.B. is reduced to a small village with a total population of approximately 600–700 inhabitants.

Lit.: KilHDic 34; BeckHuntAlvar 125ff.; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa – Nairobi 1965 (Monographs in Ethiopian Land Tenure 1), 81f.

Mussie Tesfagiorgis

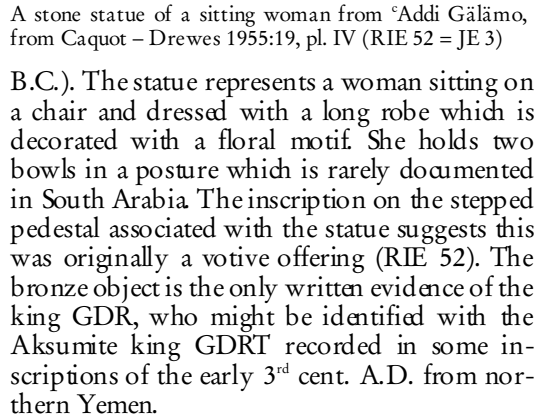
ᶜAddi Gälämo

ᶜA.G. (**ዓዲ፡ ገለሞ**) is an archaeological site in the region of Aṣbi and Darᵓa, to the east of the road from Mäqälä to ᶜAddigrat.

A deposit with objects dating to different periods was found at this site in the mid-1950s. The objects included four bronze bowls, a fragment of an animal figurine, the pedestal for a small statue with a South Arabian inscription and a statue representing a sitting woman, some altars with South Arabian inscriptions, two small altars in alabaster, and a bronze artifact (RIE 180, Caquot–Drewes 1955, perhaps a scepter, Doresse 1960) with a Gəᶜəz inscription of the Aksumite king ↗GDR (3rd cent. A.D.).

Particularly interesting are two bronze bowls in Egyptian or Meroitic style similar to specimens of the early 1st millennium A.D., as these artifacts confirm a continuity of contacts with the Nile Valley up to Aksumite times.

The statue and altars are in a South Arabian style and most likely date to the pre-Aksumite (Ethio-Sabaean) Period (mid-1st millennium B.C.). The statue represents a woman sitting on a chair and dressed with a long robe which is decorated with a floral motif. She holds two bowls in a posture which is rarely documented in South Arabia. The inscription on the stepped pedestal associated with the statue suggests this was originally a votive offering (RIE 52). The bronze object is the only written evidence of the king GDR, who might be identified with the Aksumite king GDRT recorded in some inscriptions of the early 3rd cent. A.D. from northern Yemen.



A stone statue of a sitting woman from ᶜAddi Gälämo, from Caquot – Drewes 1955:19, pl. IV (RIE 52 = JE 3)

Src.: RIE 52, 180.

Lit.: MANFRED KROPP, "Ein Gegenstand und seine Aufschrift RIE 180 = JE 5", in: YAQOB BEYENE et al. (eds.), *Etiopia e Oltre: studi in onore di Lanfranco Ricci*, Napoli 1994 (StAfEt 1), 129–44; ADAMASSOU SHIFERAOU, "Rapport sur la découverte d'antiquités dans les locaux du gouvernement général de Maqallé", *AE* 1, 1955, 11–15; ANDRÉ CAQUOT – ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "Les monuments recueillis à Maqalé (Tigré)", *ibid.*, 15–41; JEAN DORESSE, "Découverte en Ethiopie et découverte de l'Ethiopie", *BOr* 14, 1957, 61–66; ID., *L'Empire du Prêtre-Jean*, I, Paris 1957, 78–87; ID., "La découverte d'Asbi-Dera. Nouveaux documents sur les rapports entre l'Egypte e l'Ethiopie à l'époque axoumite", in: *PICES* 1, 1960, 411–34.

Rodolfo Fattovich

ᶜAddi Kramatən

ᶜA.K. (**ዓዲ፡ ክራ.ማትን**, also ᶜAddi Grametən, ᶜAddi Qrameten) is a small site to the west of ↗Käskäse in Akkälä Guzay, Eritrea. The site was recorded and excavated in the mid-1940s by Duncanson (1947), who discovered the remains of a small building with a stratified deposit.

During the colonial period ʿA.K. was a venue for Italian trade goods heading for Ethiopia. There are a number of monasteries nearby: Ǝnda Abba Mäṭṭaʿ, Ǝnda Abona, Ǝnda Abba Ǝndrəyas, Däbrä Maryam. Among the principal regional attractions is the Italian war monument (two km west of the town), honouring soldiers and officers killed at the Battle of ↗ʿAdwa in 1896.

The population of this still important border town was estimated at 550 in 1938 (s. Guida 237: 'Addi Qualà').

Lit.: *Guida* 237f.; SVEN RUBENSON, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, London 1976, 322f.; EDWARD PAICE, *A Guide to Eritrea*, Chalfont St. Peter – Old Saybrook 1996, 163.

Ezra Gebremedhin

Some pottery (red ware), a stone sphinx and a small altar with a South Arabian inscription were found at this site. Most likely this was a shrine dating to the pre-Aksumite (Ethio-Sabaean) Period. The location at the opening of a valley descending to the lowlands may suggest that the shrine served as a border-marker.

The sphinx represents a crouching male lion with a human head in a possible Egyptian and Meroitic style, and may be attributed to an indigenous god. A short South Arabian inscription of one word (*whbwd*) is engraved on the right leg.

The altar consists of a stone slab on a stepped base with an indented decoration at the top. Three short South Arabian inscriptions were engraved along the frieze.

Src.: RIE 1, 135f.
Lit.: ALBERTO DAVICO, "Ritrovamenti sud-arabici nella zona del Cascasè", *RSE* 5, 1946, 1–6; DENNIS J. DUNCANSON, "Girameten: a New Archaeological Site in Eritrea", *Antiquity* 21, 1947, 158–63; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique*, Leiden 1962, 22f.

Rodolfo Fattovich

ʿAddi Kʷala

ʿA.K. (ዓዲ፡ ክዋላ, for location s. the map above) is an important town of a sub-region in the Southern Region of Eritrea, 86 km from Asmära and 24 km from the Märäb river, on the Asmära-Gondär highway. It served as an Egyptian military depot during the Egyptian-Ethiopian battle at the border village of ↗Gundät under *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV in November 1875.

ʿAddi Qäyyəḥ

ʿA.Q. (ዓዲ፡ ቐይሕ, for location s. the map for ʿAddi Kramatən above) is an important highland market-town and regional administrative centre in the ↗Akkälä Guzay *awraǧǧa* (Däbub administrative zone in modern Eritrea). Populated by Sāho- and Təgrəñña-speaking peoples, ʿA.Q. is located at the terminus of the Ruba Ḥaddas valley that links the highlands of Akkälä Guzay with the lowland Red Sea coastal plain. The town also is situated along a modern and historic roadway connecting the Eritrean highlands with Təgray. ʿA.Q. was the location of an Italian fort, Catholic mission, administrative centre, secondary school and farming operations during the Italian colonial period. During the 1970s and 1980s, ʿA.Q. possessed an Ethiopian military garrison and in 1977 and 1990 was a focus of important military battles between Ethiopian military forces and Eritrean fighters.

Awalu Galba rock shelter (s. the enlarged selection next page), photo courtesy of the author

(Memorie della Società Italiana di Scienze Naturali e del Museo Civico di Storia Naturale di Milano 29, fasc. 1), passim; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Ricerche e studi sull'Etiopia", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 4, 1, 1900, 104–20; MATTHEW CURTIS – YOSEPH LIBSEKAL, "Archaeological Survey in the Adi Qeyeh Area, Eritrea", *Nyame Akuma* 51, 1999, 25–35; GIOTTO DAINELLI – OLINTO MARINELLI, *Risultati di un viaggio nella Colonia Eritrea*, Firenze 1912, 469–567; VINCENZO FRANCHINI, "Altre pitture rupestri nell'Akkelè Guzay", *Il Bollettino* [Istituto di Studi Etiopici, Asmära] 2, 1958, 1–12, 47–51; PAOLO GRAZIOSI, "New Discoveries of Rock Paintings in Ethiopia, Part II", *Antiquity* 38, 151, 1964, 187–90; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Ritrovamenti archeologici in Eritrea", *RSE* 14, 1959, 48–58; ID., "Iscrizioni rupestri dell'Eritrea", *RSE* 15, 1960, 55–95.

Matthew C. Curtis

A rock painting from the Awalu Galba rock shelter (enlarged selection), photo courtesy of the author

Archaeological sites within and surrounding the modern town of ᶜA.Q. include the ↗rock art sites of ᶜAddi Alawti, ᶜA.Q., Awalu Galba (Bäᶜatti Awalo), Däqänamo, Ǝmba Qälay, Ǝmba Tälba, Ǝḫämälä, Ğago, Saro, Səḥillo and Ǝngulä, among others, and a series of ancient homesteads, villages and towns. Rock art sites include both paintings and engravings on rock overhangs and rock-shelter walls and ceilings that depict domesticated animals, wild fauna and human figures. Some of the rock art of the ᶜA.Q. area may have been created between 5,000 and 3,000 years before the present day and, along with associated archaeological deposits in rock-shelter floors, it is central to understanding the origins and development of pastoralism and food production in the northern Horn of Africa. In addition, archaeological research at ᶜA.Q. demonstrates that the ᶜA.Q. area was an integral component of the ancient urban settlement centre of ↗Qoḥayto, located on the adjacent Qoḥayto plateau (Curtis – Yoseph Libsekal 1999), and probably occupied during the pre-Aksumite and Aksumite cultural periods (first millennium B.C. and first millennium A.D.).

Ancient settlement sites containing extensive domestic architecture, cisterns, ceramics, stone tools, bronze artefacts and stone beads are situated immediately adjacent to and within the limits of the modern town of ᶜA.Q. and today are threatened by rock-quarrying and expanding industrial and housing development.

↗Archaeology; ↗Aksumite culture

Lit.: GIULIO CALEGARI, *L'arte rupestre dell'Eritrea. Repertorio ragionato ed esegesi iconografica*, Milano 1999

ᶜAddi Wəgri ↗ Mändäfära

ᶜAddigrat

ᶜA. (**ዓዲግራት**, also ᶜAddi Grat) is one of the most important towns of Təgray, which evolved from earlier political centres and camps of regional governors. ↗Anṭalo, Aläqot and ᶜA. were a few of them. The decline of Anṭalo was followed by the rise of ᶜA. as another prominent, yet short-lived, capital of Təgray.

ᶜA. is located 14°16' N and 39°27' E. It used to serve as the capital of ↗ᶜAgamä. Surrounded by a range of mountains (the peak of which is ↗ᶜAläqʷa), ᶜA. held a strategic position at the junction of the crossroads between ᶜAdwa in the west, Asmära and Massawa in the north and Mäqälä in the south. Towards the east, it is

delimited by the spectacular edge of the north-eastern Ethiopian escarpment dropping into the lowlands. ᶜA. was interconnected with the prominent trade routes linking Təgray and the Red Sea, on the one hand, and such old market-towns as ᶜAdwa, Ḥawzen, Anṭalo and Mäqäle, on the other. It has a settlement history dating back at least to the 14th cent.

Tradition attributes the origin of the name ᶜA., which means 'the country of farmland', to the then popular Təgrayan chief ↗Akḥadom. ᶜA. seems to have been under cultivation for a long time. According to local tradition, it became the centre of the Təgrayan chief, *däğğazmač* ↗Kəflä Waḥid, the viceroy of *aṣe* Fasilädäs during the first half of the 17th cent.

ᶜA. emerged as the political capital of Təgray when *däğğazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu of ᶜAgamä assumed the governorship of the region in the period 1822–30. Säbagadis set up some palaces, churches and markets. This increasingly attracted both natives and foreigners to establish permanent residences and a few shops in the town. ᶜA. was an important market-centre for ↗salt, which was mined in the ᶜAfar districts of Aräḥo and Bärale in eastern Təgray. However, it declined after the death of its patron, Säbagadis, in 1830. It was repeatedly attacked, sacked and plundered by the lowlanders and political rivals of Säbagadis. In the late 1860s the town had a rural appearance and much of it is still under cultivation today.

ᶜAddigrat, engraving from *Illustrated London News*, 21 March 1868, 288

↗Lazarists introduced perhaps the first modern school of northern Ethiopia in ᶜA. at the turn of the 20th cent. However, like most Ethiopian towns, ᶜA. increased its commercial and administrative importance during the period of the Italian occupation (↗Italian war, 1935–36). The Italians introduced the first elements of modern infrastructure, including stronger fortresses, restaurants, residential houses, a health centre, schools, roads, piped water, an electric generator etc. More recently a pharmaceutical factory, which became operational in 1997, was set up in the town. Currently, ᶜA. serves as the capital of the Eastern Təgray zone. Since 1961 it has been the centre of the ᶜA. Eparchy of the Vicariate Apostolic of Abyssinia (↗Catholicism).

Lit.: KEBEDE HAGOS, *The History of Addigrat, c. 1644–1974*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1988; TSEGAY BERHE, *A History of 'Agamä, 1822–1914*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1996; KEVIN O'MAHONEY, "*The Ebullient Phoenix*": *a History of the Vicarate of Abyssinia, 1839–1890*, 3 vols., Asmara 1982, 1987, 1991.

Tsegay Berhe G. Libanos

Addis Abäba

History of Addis Abäba

A.A. (**አዲስ፡ አበባ**, 'New Flower') is the capital and major city of Ethiopia. It is situated at 09°02'N 38°42'E and at an elevation of ca. 2,440 m A.S.L. At the virtual geographic centre of Ethiopia, it was built near the watershed of the two great river systems of the Abbay and the Awaš. The majority of streams in the city flow north to south and many are seasonal. The ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo range of hills dominate the capital to the north, while the city lies on a well-watered plateau surrounded by the mountains: Yärär to the east and the Männagäša and Wäčačа to the west and south-west. Furthermore, A.A. lies on the dividing line between two of Ethiopia's climatic zones, the *däga* and *wäynä däga*, which means that it was a natural local trading centre between two regions, each growing different varieties of flora and fauna. Finally, the gentlest upward indine to scale the highland plateau from the coast occurs at A.A.

The history of A.A. can be divided into six periods: pre-foundation (↗Finfinnee), 1886–1907, 1907–16, 1916–35, 1935–41 and 1941–74.

A.A was the last in a series of provincial capitals of Šäwa, induding Ayyabär, Ayne, Doqaqit, Ḥarr Amba, Ankobär, Qundi, Angoläla, Sälla Dəngay and after 1878 Däbrä Bərhan, which was in turn soon replaced by Ǝnṭoṭṭo. It should be recalled, however, that there was no direct move from one centre to another. The kings of Šäwa would often return to a former residence and hold court there for varying periods of time, none with any real degree of permanency, until after the foundation of A.A. Some were temporary winter residences, while

others were military fortresses or ↗*kätäma*. But even 20 years after her establishment, there was still a fairly real possibility of a move of the capital westward to ↗Addis ʿAläm.

In 1886 *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu persuaded *aṣe* Mənilək II to move the capital from cold and windy Ǝnṭoṭṭo to the plains below and named the new city A.A. By the next year large plots of land (Amh. *säfär*) had been allocated to the major nobility, other important personages and some churches. The local Oromo tribes had their lands confiscated and many were removed. It is important to note that the city was originally founded as a *kätäma*, with the *säfär* laid out mirroring an army on the march. The lands of *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis were furthest to the west, while the palace (↗*Gəbbi*) of Mənilək was in the centre, bracketed on each side by the leaders of the left (*qäññazmač*) and right (*grazmač*) wings of the army. The rear or area to the east of the palace was allocated to a *däğğazmač* or another prominent noble. Many of these original lands can still be traced back to the original military grants. Each *säfär* continued to be settled by each noble's retainers and slaves, usually brought from the lands he controlled. Among those ethnic groups, the Amhara, the Oromo, the Gurage, the Dorze and the Təgrayans would come in the largest numbers.

When *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV died and Mənilək of Šäwa succeeded as emperor, the coronation was not held in A.A. but in Ǝnṭoṭṭo. However, during the 1880s and 1890s the new capital steadily grew in importance. The new *abun*, ↗Matewos, took up permanent residence in A.A. During this period the Emperor appointed Aggədäw, an important merchant from Gondär, as ↗*näggadras* for A.A. Through his hands commercial taxation and the economic life of the empire increasingly flowed. The infant administration of the new city was severely strained by a major national crisis, the famine, cattle plague and cholera epidemic of 1889–92. While the population of Ethiopia decreased substantially, there is much reason to believe that many from the countryside took refuge in A.A. to take advantage of the alms distributed by the Emperor, Empress and nobility. In 1892 much of the palace burned down and had to be rebuilt.

The *gəbbi* was the centre of the administration of the capital. The Emperor retained ultimate control over A.A. and, to a degree, delegated authority to key imperial officials, the most important of which was the *näggadras*, first Aggədäw and after his death in 1900 ↗Ḫaylä Giyorgis Wäldä Mikaʾel. They were most influential in the economic life of the city, especially in the market, or Arada, section. But many aspects of the city's life were dominated by other palace officials, especially the ↗*azzaž* and the ↗*bäğərond*. There was a ↗*kəntiba* of A.A. at this time, ↗Wäldä Ṣadəq, but his role, mostly confined to concessions, was minor in comparison to the other officials mentioned. The *azzažočč* (some responsible to the Emperor, others to the Empress) were, among other functions, responsible for the food traditionally given as part of hospitality (↗*Dərgo*) and for supervising, with imperial approval, the allocation of land in the capital. They also took care of lost animals and slaves. Many of the monetary transactions were supervized by the *bäğərond* of the Emperor or Empress. However, it needs to be remembered that many responsibilities or functions of the court were allocated on a personal basis, according to who was in favour or at the whim of the imperial couple.

In many ways the Ethiopian victory at the battle of ↗ʿAdwa in 1896 was central to the early history of A.A. This victory not only confirmed Mənilək's personal domination of the Empire, but also solidified A.A.'s role as the nation's major city economically and politically. It rapidly became the melting pot of the Empire with people from virtually every ethnic, religious and linguistic minority. Merchants, craftsmen and others from throughout the land were attracted to the capital and left their own individual impact on it. The victory forced regional rulers to take Mənilək's suzerainty more seriously and led to international recognition of Ethiopia's independence by large and small powers. Representatives of provincial and international powers came in increasingly large numbers to A.A. to take up permanent or semi-permanent quarters. The Emperor also forced regional nobles to come to A.A. regularly to pay tribute and homage, and often when they disobeyed or rebelled he and his successors kept them in the capital for extended periods of time. Eventually, during *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's reign, they would lose their regional support. The city had to expand and change in order to accommodate indigenous and international migrants.

The new western residents, mainly merchants and diplomats expected the city to modernize, and Mənilək was keen on experimenting with

A market in old Addis Abäba, early 20th cent. (photo no. 2097-301, © Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg)

western technology, if only very selectively. Of all the foreign minorities, Greeks, Armenians and Italians had the largest impact on the city's history and development. During this early period A.A. saw its first telegraph and telephone service, electrification of the *gəbbi*, flour mills, soap factories, cars and traction engines. New churches were built, like St. George's church.

The first concession for the railway from the coast to A.A. was signed in 1894 through the efforts of the major foreign advisor to Mənilək, the Swiss Alfred ↗Ilg. However, from 1900 to 1902 there was a distinct slowing down of building programs in the capital, because of Mənilək's efforts to create a new capital some 40 km to the west of A.A. at Addis ᶜAläm, where forests were plentiful and there was more wood for fuel and building purposes. Foreign and internal opposition to the move was so fierce that Mənilək finally decided to remain in A.A. and built Ethiopia's first hard surface road to Addis ᶜAläm instead, so as to provide a ready source of wood for fuel and construction. Furthermore, ↗eucalyptus imported from Australia began to be planted widely for the same purposes. The end of the Addis ᶜAläm episode gave a boost to a new building program in the capital: a new mint was begun, new bridges financed, a concession for a cartridge factory let, as well as the concession for the Bank of Abyssinia (↗Banks) and a new school, the ↗Mənilək II Secondary School was introduced. The central market area (Arada) was reorganized and many more permanent buildings planned and built.

The next major period of A.A.'s history lasts from 1907 to 1916, from the establishment of separate administration of the city's land to the accession of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən. During this period *näggadras* Ḫaylä Giyorgis consolidated his power becoming the most powerful man in Ethiopia. His power based on his dominant position in A.A. and his close relationship with *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, the heir of Mənilək. As the latter's health deteriorated, more and more of his power was delegated empire wide, Ḫaylä Giyorgis was a major beneficiary in A.A. and had a significant say in the allocation of the nation's financial resources. The *näggadras* shared much of this power with other members of the new cabinet created in 1907 and of course with the Empress. However, after the death of the regent *ras* ↗Täsämma Nadäw in 1911, his power increased substantially, since the ruler *ləǧ* Iyasu, largely uninterested in the mechanics of day to day rule, delegated a great deal of power to his new Prime Minister, *bitwäddäd* Ḫaylä Giyorgis.

A street in modern Addis Abäba (a view on Churchill Road), 1990s, photo courtesy of Paul Henze

A major shift in economic power also took place at this time when the economic centre of power moved from Harär to A.A. However, only after 1916 would the capital also become the primate city of Ethiopia. This was the culmination of a long process which had begun in 1887 with the conquest of Harär by Šäwa and the foundation of A.A. By 1910 financial capital was increasingly concentrated in A.A., with the imperial couple in control of the largest single amount, followed by the more savvy nobility. The major international import export traders, mainly Indians, French and Armenians, now had their headquarters in A.A., and the size of the A.A. market overtook Harär's. The capital became the largest centre of taxation in the land and those revenues flowed through Ḫaylä Giyorgis.

There were major changes also taking place within the city. The city's land tenure system was reorganized and the capital became the only place in Ethiopia where the buying and selling of land was regularized. Freehold land was introduced for the first time, which had major long-term consequences for the growth of capitalism in Ethiopia. The city's police force was also reformed and made more efficient. Its population had been steadily growing from estimates of about 40,000 to 50,000 in the late 19th cent. and up to 100,000 by 1918, before the great flu epidemic. Two caveats need to be made, however: first, the city's population often decreased by up to 50% during the rainy season and, second, because of the absence of any real census all population figures before 1984 must be considered only rough estimates.

The 1916 coup marks another major turning point in the history of A.A. as well as of Ethiopia. *Ləğ* Iyasu was overthrown and replaced by a triumvirate led by the Empress ↗Zäwditu along with *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən and *fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis. As the leader of the reformist faction in Ethiopia, Täfäri Mäkʷännən used the restructured A.A. municipality as a training ground for future national and provincial administrators. *Käntiba* ↗Näsibu, mayor of A.A. from 1921 to 1930 was a major example, and one of the city's most famous leaders. A.A. became the showcase for reform and modernization in Ethiopia. As *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən slowly increased his power, climaxed by his coronation as Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1930, centralization of power and resources in A.A. grew apace. The capital's role as a primate city dominating the empire grew significantly.

By 1917 the railway had reached the outskirts of

the city. New schools like the Täfäri Mäkʷännən School and others were founded. A new and more prolific printing press, ↗Bərhanənna Sälam, was founded and run by *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən himself. These were just a few of the modernizations attempted. However, all these efforts, although significant in the Ethiopian context, were very much less than what was being done elsewhere in Africa and the Middle East.

Modernization and westernization reached a climax with a flurry of activity in honour of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase's I coronation in 1930. Now that the major competitors for power, *fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis, *abunä* Matewos and Empress Zäwditu, were no longer on the scene, many constraints were removed from the new emperor's plans. New ministries were created, including the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Public Works. The first girls' school, the Empress Mänän School, was founded by the Emperor's consort, and the Empress Zäwditu Memorial Hospital was set up in the capital by the Seventh Day Adventists. Road building continued not unimpressively. Centralization increased as more power was concentrated in the emperor's hands.

In 1935 the Italians invaded Ethiopia and soon made A.A. the capital not only of Ethiopia but of the whole ↗Africa Orientale Italiana, which included Eritrea and Somalia. They planned to make A.A. the showcase of their empire, and the centre of a vast road system which their propaganda compared with the imperial roads of the Roman empire. Grandiose city plans were also drawn up to transform A.A. by a major building campaign. The city was to be segregated into white and indigenous areas and the indigenous areas segregated by religion and ethnicity. A separate market for Ethiopians was created, today's Märkato (↗Addis Kätäma), and the old market, Arada, was reserved for the whites.

The effects of the Italian occupation were major but have sometimes been exaggerated. Clearly, they built on the initial modernization efforts of Mənilək and Ḫaylä Śəllase and speeded up the process considerably. However, the occupation lasted only five years and their planned transformation had only just begun. Ethiopia and A.A. did not in the long term become dependent on her European metropole, Italy, as other African colonies had done. Nevertheless, the Italians clearly reinforced A.A.'s role as a primate city. The road system funnelled increasing numbers of ethnic groups from throughout the empire to settle the capital. However, there was much less emphasis on building up industry and only a few factories were built. The housing designed for Italians was taken over after 1941 by the Ethiopian elite and led to a greater degree of segregation between rich and poor than had been the case before the occupation. However, poor and wealthy urban dwellers have always lived close together in A.A. and the city as a whole has resisted efforts to be segregated along class or racial lines. Furthermore, during the occupation education above the elementary level was restricted to Italians. They also greatly expanded the city's water supply system with new supplies from Gəfärsa and expanded the electric grid. International trading links with India were weakened for a long time with the confiscation of the ↗Muḥammad ʿAlī ("Mohamedally") trading empire, based in Bombay, and the Besse Company, based in Aden. Furthermore, the Italians greatly exacerbated an already existing problem when they systematized and organized prostitutes and ↗prostitution, to ensure that white and non-white troops were serviced. During most of the occupation the Italians were largely confined to the cities which they turned into fortified camps and it was there, and especially in A.A., that the greatest changes were made.

Probably the greatest impact that the Italians had on the city was economic, for they established an urban labour market with monetary remuneration for services. This was a marked change from the previous system where most labour was linked to landowners who were mostly aristocrats. The nobility gathered around them in the various *säfärs* of A.A. their family, retainers, menial labourers and slaves. Few if any of these had been paid. The Italians abolished ↗slavery and in most cases paid for labour, especially in the urban areas. They also confiscated a great amount of land in the capital that had belonged to the emperor and the old aristocracy. Much of this was freed for settlement and encouraged the growth of the urban population. Estimates of A.A.'s population during the Italian occupation range from 90,000 to 300,000. Since there was no real census until the 1980s, all these figures must be considered only as very raw estimates.

The pace of change in the capital increased dramatically after the Italian occupation ended 1941, and during this period the primate city was further reinforced. Growth rates for A.A. during the 1960s have been estimated at 7% with mid 1960s population figures ranging between 443,00 and 560,000. Other estimates give A.A.'s population as continuing to grow: 1970/71 (683,500), 1974 (1,097,600), 1984 (1,412,000) and 1997 (ca. 2,000,000).

On 5 May 1941 A.A. was the first capital to be liberated during ↗World War II. However, the dislocations of war slowed the capital's development and population growth. The British removed many of the factories that the Italians had built in the capital and much of the transport. They also retained a tight hold on the capital, and there was a degree of stagnation in the immediate post-war period.

However, the late 1940s to 1974 marked the most rapid period of expansion in A.A.'s history. Over half of the manufacturing industries in Ethiopia were to be found in the capital and 60% of their fixed assets were concentrated in the city. Most of the industrialisation was focused on the production of non-durable goods for the domestic market. Foreigners owned and/or managed most of the industrial enterprises.

Wealth and land were also concentrated in the hands of the Ethiopian elite and aristocracy. In 1966 5% of the population owned 95% of the private land in A.A. Land speculation was rampant and as a result one third to one half of the capital's land was under-utilized. These were prime contributors to the revolution which was to come. Furthermore, the few industrial plants tended to be concentrated in the growing southern regions of the city, like Näfas Səlk.

During this period A.A. became more and more cosmopolitan and increasingly not just a national and regional centre but also an international one. In 1960 it became in effect the capital of Africa when the ↗Organization of African Unity (OAU) was established in the city and other regional and international organisations followed in the wake of the OAU.

A.A. also continued to be the major national centre for the assimilation of ethnic groups. The major ethnic groups in the capital still were the Amhara, the Oromo, the Təgrəññña, the Gurage and the Dorze. The Oromo assimilated most into the dominant Amhara culture, and the Gurage and Dorze the least, by the indexes of amount of travel to homelands and land ownership in A.A. There were six major factors leading to migration to the city, so that by 1967 56% of the population of A.A. were migrants. Most important was that there were more economic and employment opportunities in the capital than anywhere else in Ethiopia; also there were more educational opportunities. Furthermore, there was the pull of family ties and employee transfers. As we have pointed out, transport facilities, especially the road network, were centred on A.A. and encouraged migration not only from rural areas but also from smaller towns. Social and cultural factors also played a significant role, especially attracting women to the capital. In 1967 47.5% of the A.A. women were unmarried, indicating the major pull that A.A. exerted on married and divorced women of the nation; prostitutes, of course, made up significant proportion of this total. Finally, natural disasters, especially the periodic famine and droughts, influenced many to migrate to A.A.

In conclusion it needs to be said that A.A. was formed from a wide range of peoples, from all parts of the nation. This diversity has given the capital a unique character and energy, helping to create unity out of diversity. A.A. has been in many ways a melting pot, helping Ethiopia to forge a new national identity in the 20th cent.

It is clear that amidst an abundance of written material on Ethiopia, there is a paucity of factual information on A.A., especially reliable population statistics. Overall the largest lacunae research on A.A., as with the whole continent of Africa, is the interdisciplinary history of urban centres. Presently, most of the historical works on A.A. focus on its early history and the

A view of the Mäkʷännən Bridge, with the *Gəbbi* in the background, from an early 20th cent. postcard

period of the Italian occupation. The least amount of work is on the period from 1907 to 1935 and from 1941 to the revolution. There has been more work, proportionally, on urban planning, anthropology and sociology. More research needs to be done on the impact of different ethnic groups and socio-cultural factors on migration to the capital.

↗Urbanization

Src.: FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA, OFFICE OF POPULATION AND HOUSING CENSUS COMMISSION, CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *Statistical Abstract,* Addis Ababa 1994; ID., *Results for Addis Ababa,* vol. 1, Addis Ababa 1995; ID., *Analytical Results of the 1994 Census,* Addis Ababa 1994; GueCopMen s. index.

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Peter Garretson

Modern Addis Abäba

Modern A.A. is divided into four planning zones or sectors. The administrative and educational zone is found in the eastern part of the city. The central zone of the city is largely devoted to various commercial or business activities, together with some government centres, such as the City Hall. The western sector, which is less modernized, is the site of the largest open market in the country, the Märkato (Addis Kätäma). The south-western zone of the city is partly residential and partly industrial.

Administratively, the city is divided into six zones, each consisting of a number of *wärädas* – between two (Zone 6) and seven (Zone 4). Altogether there are 28 *wärädas*. Each *wäräda* consists, in its turn, of a number of *qäbäles*. A *qäbäle* is the smallest urban administrative unit. The total number of *qäbäles* in the city is 330.

The total area of the city was 220 km^2 in 1994 as a result of the incorporation of surrounding peripheral areas such as Kotebe and ↗Aqaqi. The built-up area of the city has been expanding, mainly as a result of the ever-increasing number of houses that have been constructed to provide new residents with proper dwelling- and working-places (CSA 1998). People build their houses as near to the city as possible. As more and more settlers build their houses around the fringe of the original built-up area, the residential area expands in all directions. At present the physical growth of A.A. is towards the east, south and south-west.

The city has continued to grow in a spontaneous or unplanned way, which has been one of its distinctive features since its foundation. In consequence, an uncontrolled expansion of the city takes place through the building of low-cost houses, including those with mud-plastered walls and tin roofs. This kind of urban expansion usually results from the influx of people driven from their native lands by hunger and other problems. There are numerous deprived and overcrowded areas juxtaposed with high-rise buildings, as well as thousands of uneducated and barely literate people.

The results of the 1994 Population and Housing Census show that A.A. had a total population of 2,112,737. Its population has grown from 443,728 in 1961 to 683,530 in 1967, from 1,167,315 in 1978 to 1,423,111 in 1984, and to the present figure in 1994. This increase is attributable largely to boundary changes, natural increase and internal ↗migration (i.e. mostly rural-urban migration and some urban-urban migration). The overall sex-ratio was 94 males to 100 females. This may be the result of a higher number of female immigrants into the city rather than the number of the male immigrants.

The age-structures of the city according to the 1994 results are typical of neither developed nor developing countries. 32 % of residents were children below the age of 15.3 % of the population were in the 64 and above age-category. The proportion aged 15–64 was unusually high, constituting about two-thirds of the total population.

In the 1994 Census, households were divided into two major types: conventional and non-

Map of Addis Abäba during *aṣe* Mənilək's reign, showing the camps of his followers and the sites of foreign legations, from de Castro 1909. annex

conventional. Those who lived in the same housing unit or in connected premises having common cooking arrangements were said to be residing in conventional households. On the other hand, non-conventional households were collective quarters in which a number of unrelated persons resided together and shared common facilities. Examples of a collective quarter included boarding-schools, prisons and hostels. A third type of household was the non-fixed residence of the homeless. In 1994, 98.5% of the residents of A.A. lived in non-conventional and non-fixed households. The average household size for A.A. was 5.1 persons per household.

About 96.7% of all housing units had a piped water-supply, 1.6% of the housing units obtained their water from unprotected wells or springs and 0.8% from protected wells and springs. 74.1% of the housing units had toilet facilities.

95.5% of the housing units in A.A. used electricity. Nearly 3.1% of the housing units used kerosene lamps, while 1.3% used lanterns and other sources of lighting. For heating, 10% of the housing units in the urban areas of A.A. used only firewood, while 8.5% used kerosene and 1.4% used charcoal. Those residents that used a combination of electricity and charcoal were 1.0% of the total population. About 0.9% used electricity only.

The residents of A.A. used various types of kitchen. 6.2% of the housing units had modern kitchens. A modern kitchen is a room devoted to cooking, using electricity, gas, kerosene or firewood on charcoal as fuel, with an appropriate stove and had piped water and sink. 67.4% of the housing units in the urban areas had traditional kitchens, of which 32.5% were privately owned and 34.5% were shared. A traditional kitchen is a room used mainly for cooking, using firewood, charcoal, cotton seeds, sawdust, leaves or barks as fuel, with simple or no stoves and having no piped water or sink. 26.2% had no kitchen facilities at all.

70.5% of the urban housing units of A.A. had radios. Nearly 16% of the urban housing units had televisions sets and 17.8% had telephones.

According to the 1994 Census, the ethnic identity of a person was traced through his or her national origin. The Amhara constituted 48.3% of the total population. The Oromo and Gurage accounted for 19.2% and 13.5%, respectively. These were followed by the Təgrayans (Təgrəñña speakers) with 7.7% and Wälaytta (including Dorze, Gamo, Gofa, Konta, Kullo and Malo) with 2.4%. Foreigners constituted only about 2.1% of the total population of the city. Among these the Eritreans and Somalians comprised 1.3% and 0.2%, respectively, while the other foreigners accounted for only 0.5% of the total population.

Amharic is the mother-tongue of an overwhelming majority of the population of A.A. (72.6%) and is spoken by 24.5% as a second tongue. Oromiffa is the second-largest language spoken as a mother-tongue (10%) and second language (5.7%), followed by Gurage (8.7% mother-tongue and 2.4% second-language speakers) and Təgrəñña (5.4% and 2.2%, respectively). The remaining Ethiopian languages are used by 2.6% of the total population of the city as mother-tongue and by 0.6% as second languages. Only 0.6% of the population use foreign languages as their mother-tongue. However, 4.9% of the population of A.A. speak English as a second language.

According to the 1994 Census, the main religious groups found in A.A. were: Orthodox Christians (82%, ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church), Muslims (12.7%, ↗Islam), Protestants – including Seventh Day Adventists, Pentecostals, Lutherans, Baptists, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Mäsärätä Krəstos, Mulu Wängel, Qalä Ḥəywät etc. – (3.9%, ↗Protestantism), Catholics (0.8%, ↗Catholicism) and followers of traditional and other religions (0.6%).

In 1994 there were 38 high schools, out of which 23 were government owned. The number of elementary and junior high schools stood at 148. In addition there was the oldest and main university of the country, together with a number of colleges (↗Addis Ababa University). 46.6% of the population of A.A. had a formal education and only 36.6% were attending schools at the time of the Census. This showed that more than 80% of the population had been exposed to formal education. 82.5% of the population of A.A. were literate; only 17.4% were illiterate.

Most of the health facilities in Ethiopia are found in A.A., reflecting their uneven distribution. By 1994 there were 12 hospitals, 15 health centres and 13 clinics.

The rapid spread of urbanization, the increase in the population of the city, the expansion of the city and the concentration of economic and social

National Theatre Square with the building of the Commercial Bank, 1996, photo courtesy of Paul Henze

activities have created a strong demand for transportation. Two common carrier systems co-exist in the city. The modern bus service constitutes the main transport service within the city. The other is the privately owned, more diverse and unstructured transport service that is provided by such vehicles as taxis and minibuses. The taxi service is relatively inefficient in terms of the road space used as they can carry much fewer passengers than the bus service. However, taxis can travel faster and can penetrate into areas where regular buses cannot operate efficiently. Finally, A.A. is connected with ↗Djibouti through the railway and has an international airport.

Src.: FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA, OFFICE OF POPULATION AND HOUSING CENSUS COMMISSION, CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY [CSA] (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1998; ID., *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa 1994; ID., *Results for Addis Ababa*, vol.1, Addis Ababa 1995; ID., *Analytical results of the 1994 Census*, Addis Ababa 1994.

Lit.: ABUYE ANELEY, *The Expansion of Addis Ababa City: Its Impacts on the City and the Surroundings*, M.A. thesis, Department of Geography, Addis Ababa University 1999; ANTHONY MICHAEL O'CONNOR, "The Changing Geography of Eastern Africa", in: GRAHAM P. CHAPMAN – KATHLEEN M. BAKER (eds.), *The Changing Geography of Africa and the Middle East*, London 1992, 114–39; MARINA OTTAWAY, *Urbanization in Ethiopia. A Text with Integrated Readings*, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Addis Ababa University 1976; MEKETE BELACHEW, "Spatial Aspects of Urbanization in Ethiopia: with Emphasis on the Primate Pattern of Urban Development", *Ethiopian Journal of Development Research* 12, 2, 1990; LINCOLN DE CASTRO, *Note Etiopiche*, Roma 1909 (Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana), annex (ill.).

Mekete Belachew

Addis Ababa-Djibouti Railway ↗ Railways

Addis Ababa University

The nucleus of A.A.U. was formed with the establishment of the University College of Addis Ababa (UCAA) in 1950. UCAA, which initially consisted of the Faculties of Arts and Science, became a fully-fledged college when it was chartered in 1954. Meanwhile, other colleges have come to be established in the capital and elsewhere in the country: the Engineering College in Addis Abäba (1952), the College of Agriculture in ↗Alämayya (1953) and the Public Health College in Gondär (1954). In 1955, the Building College was opened. In February 1961, these various colleges and the ↗Theological College were brought together to form the Ḫaylä Śəllase I University. *Aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I gave his ↗Gännätä Lᵊul Palace to serve as the administration building and main campus. He had abandoned the palace, where a number of his ministers and favourites were killed in the wake of the abortive ↗Coup d'état of 1960, in favour of the new Jubilee Palace. Following the 1974 revolution, the university was briefly renamed University of Ethiopia (National University) before it came to assume its present designation, A.A.U.

Until 1974 the charter provided for a governance structure in the following descending order of authority: the Chancellor (the Emperor himself); the Board of Governors, composed of ministers and members of the royal family; and the Faculty Council, made up of the university officers, deans, directors and elected members. The Faculty Council later became the Senate. In 1977, the University lost its relative autonomy when it was brought under the Commission for Higher Education, which came to exercise administrative jurisdiction over all institutions of higher learning. Following the change of regime in 1991, the University briefly regained its autonomy. But, following the crisis of January 1993, when peaceful protests by students over the referendum for Eritrean independence were brutally crushed by government forces, a government proclamation in March 1993 effectively placed the University under the Ministry of Education.

The University has expanded its programme over the years to the level where it now offers M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in a number of disciplines. But over and above their academic pursuits, University students in Ethiopia have been actively engaged in community service (such as

conducting literacy programmes) and political struggle, particularly in the years before the 1974 revolution. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, students were required to do a year of national service under the Ethiopian University Service program. University teachers and students were instrumental in exposing the hidden 1973 famine and launching the first famine relief programme. The Ethiopian Student Movement, of which the University was the birthplace and main venue, played a pivotal role in bringing about the revolution. In the wake of the revolution, students and staff were drafted into what was known as the Development through Cooperation Campaign, designed to raise the awareness of the rural population in the spirit of the revolution. Almost all leaders of the political organizations that were active in the revolutionary years or are in power now had their political formation inside the University.

Lit.: ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY (ed.), *Three Decades of University Education*, Addis Ababa 1980; BAHRU ZEWDE, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855–1974*, London – Addis Ababa – Athens 1991; RANDI RØNNING BALSVIK, *Haile Selassie's Students: the Intellectual and Social Background to Revolution, 1953–1977*, East Lansing 1985; FISSEHA HAILE, "Addis Ababa University: a Study of an Institution 1961–1981", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 491–507; MULUGETA SEMRU, "The Development of Higher Education in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 1, 215-31; EDUARD TRUDEAU, *Higher Education in Ethiopia*, Montreal 1964.

Bahru Zewde

Addis ʿAläm

A.ʿA. (**አዲስ፡ ዓለም**, Amh. 'new world') is a small town about 40 km west of ↗Addis Abäba. It is situated at an elevation of ca. 2,360m A.S.L. at 9°01'N, 38°21'E.

A.ʿA. was founded by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II in 1900. The years of its greatest fame were from 1900 to 1903 when the Emperor tried briefly to move the capital of Ethiopia there from Addis Abäba, mainly because of the abundance of wood in the surrounding area.

After its foundation the original Oromo inhabitants were removed to ↗Arsi to make way for the new *säfär*, which the Emperor set up in A.ʿA. for followers he had moved from Addis Abäba. He eventually abandoned his plan because of the continuing opposition, internal and foreign, to the move. Furthermore, the establishment of Australian eucalyptus trees in Addis Abäba basically solved its major wood shortages. However, the Emperor had his engineer Castagna build Ethiopia's first hard-surface road, which linked A.ʿA. to Addis Abäba. A.ʿA.'s second claim to fame was that it was the first city since ↗Aksum to have a resident ↗*nəburä əd*. The appointment of his *šäḥafe tə'əzaz*, ↗Gäbrä Śəllase, was made in 1911 to the church of St. Mary, which retains a further significance because some of its paintings contain contemporary depictions of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu.

After 1903 A.ʿA. receded from the limelight and has largely remained up to the present time a small rural town on the major road to the west, which has continued to supply the capital with significant amounts of wood for building and heating. After the Emperor granted concessions in the area, sawmills were built and it

The church of St. Mary in Addis ʿAläm (photo taken around 1903), from Embassy of Switzerland (ed.) 2000:67

became a centre of forestry products. Before its foundation, the area was referred to as Meṭṭa and often as Gännät.

Src.: GueCopMen.

Lit.: PETER GARRETSON, *A History of Addis Ababa, 1886–1910*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 49); RONALD J. HORVATH, *Around Addis Ababa: a Geographical Study of the Impact of a City on its Surroundings*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles 1966; MARTIN ERIC JOHNSON, *The Evolution of the Morphology of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Syracuse University 1967; RICHARD PANKHURST, *Economic History of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1968; *Guida* 497.

Ill.: EMBASSY OF SWITZERLAND, ADDIS ABABA (ed.), *Bitweded Alfred Ilg and Emperor Menilek II, Pictures of a Unique Friendship and a Common Dream: the Modernization of Ethiopia. Exhibition Catalogue*, Addis Ababa 2000, 67.

Peter Garretson

Addis ʿAläm

A.ʿA. (**አዲስ፡ ዓለም**), which is also referred to as Godgudit because of its slanting topographic features (cp. Amh. *gʷädgʷadda* 'sunken, deep'), is situated in the southern part of the city of ↗Gondär. It is one of the earliest trading and settlement sites of the region and predates Gondär itself. Its establishment is said to have been related to the campaigns of *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I and to the wars of ↗*aṣe* Yəsḥaq against the Betä Ǝsraʾel leader, Gedewon. In fact, there is a sub-quarter in A.ʿA. referred to as Arab Ganda, which is believed be a corrupted form of Ḥarb Gʷända, one of the regiments of ʿAmdä Ṣəyon's army which is said to have been stationed there.

Over time the significance of A.ʿA. seems to have shifted from being one of the earliest settlement sites to becoming a quarter of Gondär with a predominantly Muslim population. This happened during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I. Yoḥannəs, who seems to have been irritated by the existence of a sizeable Muslim population next to his palace, decreed that all Muslims should reside south of the city at A.ʿA. Since then A.ʿA. has been known as Ǝslam Bet ('The house of Muslims'). This decree, besides delineating spatial and occupational differentiations within Gondär, made A.ʿA. the official residence of the Muslims and the chief merchant, ↗*näggadras*, who was most often a Muslim, but at times could be of Greek, Armenian or other descent.

Src.: GuiIyas 9 (text) = 37 (tr.); WALTER C. PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country with an Account of a Mission to Ras Ali*, London 1868 [repr. 1972], 126–30.

Lit.: PankHist I, 122; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Gondar and Adwa: a Tale of Two Cities", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 1989, 57–76; BAHRU ZEWDE, "Gondar in the Early Twentieth Century: a Preliminary Investigation of a 1930/31 Census", *JES* 21, 1988, 57-81, here 70.

Solomon Addis Getahun

Addis ʿAläm

A.ʿA. (**አዲስ፡ ዓለም**, 'new world'), an Amharic novel published by ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase in 1925 A.M. [1932/33 A.D.], is remembered as the first long fictional work which openly campaigned for changes in day-to-day religious life. The author's purpose in writing is said to focus on improving whatever was thought to be wrong in the old tradition and breathing a new lease of life into it.

As stated in the introductory remarks, the novel is a fictionalized debate between the educated young person, Awwäqä, and the traditional priest, Säbagadis. In the story, Awwäqä, inspired by what he heard about European societies, had craved to travel to Europe ever since his early childhood. A Frenchman, by the name of Monsieur La Rousse, visits his village and employs him as a servant. Awwäqä leaves the village without informing his parents and travels to France. He returns to Ethiopia after seven years. All this is narrated within two pages of the 80-page novel.

In the debate with the priest Säbagadis, Awwäqä loudly calls for reform in the choice of marriage partners and criticizes the wastefulness observed in the preparation of ↗wedding ceremonies. He favours the individual choice of one's partner in marriage as opposed to arranged marriages. He even considers the wedding songs too indecent and even licentious. He condemns the lengthy and continuous mourning for the dead at the ↗funerals. He considers ↗*täzkar* not only an occasion for wasting time and money but as a seemingly religious ceremony serving as an occasion to get drunk. On the contrary, Säbagadis considers the telephone the devil's work, through which Satan relays false information. Awwäqä's European clothes are condemned, too, even if he argues that they are more convenient and easier to clean than the local ones. Opposing Awwäqä's views, Säbagadis represents the community's attitude towards the young educated man and his ideas of

social transformation. But the story ends when the priest and Awwäqä reconcile their opinions. Here ends also the missionary adventure of the hero in the novel.

A critical reading of the novel leads one to conclude that it is actually the enlightened church scholar Ḫaruy Wäldä Śəllase himself who appears in the guise of Awwäqä and advocates reform in the religious life of the community. The author tries to change the old laws in order to save the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, which he loves and believes in. In fact, the "New World" should be understood as the new religious life that is expected to come following the enactment of the improved religious laws presented in the novel.

Lit.: AMSALU AKLILU, **አጭር፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥነ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ ታሪክ** (*Aṭṭər yä'ityopya śənä śəḥuf tarik*, 'A Short History of Ethiopian Literature'), ms., Addis Ababa University 1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.]; LÄMMA WÄLDÄ MARYAM, **የብላቴን፡ ጌታ፡ ኅሩይ፡ ወልደ፡ ሥላሴ፡ የህይወት፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäblatten geta Ḫaruy Wäldä Śəllase yähəywät tarik* 'History of the Life of *blatten geta* Ḫaruy Wäldä Śəllase'), B.A. thesis, Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literature, Addis Ababa University 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; ID., "(Belatten Geta) Herouy – life and works", *Menen* 10, 7, April 1966, 30f.; LUIGI FUSELLA, "Le Biografie del Blātengētā Ḫeruy Wâlda Sellāsē", *RSE* 30, 1984–86 [print. 1987], 15–52; *ibid.* 31, 1987 [print. 1988], 23–67; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "La carrière et les idées de Heruy Wäldä Sellase", in: LUIGI FUSELLA – SALVATORE TEDESCHI – JOSEPH TUBIANA, *Trois essais sur la littérature éthiopienne*, Paris 1984, 39–104; FEKADE AZEZE, *The Intellectual in the Ethiopian Novel, 1930–74*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Sheffield 1988, 114–43 (Lit.).

Fekade Azeze

Addis Kätäma

The A.K. (**አዲስ፡ ከተማ**, 'new city'), or Märkato, is the largest market in Ethiopia. The commercial heart of the capital, ↗Addis Abäba, the A.K. is an open market with an area of several square miles. It was originally laid out by the Italians during their occupation of Ethiopia (↗Italian war 1935-36), in order to replace the old market, Arada (also called the Piazza). The A.K. formed an integral part of elaborate new Italian plans for a showcase city for the new Roman Empire. It was meticulously laid out with straight lines so that it could be easily dominated militarily. Placed on the western edge of Addis Abäba, it was carefully separated from the designated "European" sectors. Before and after the Italian defeat there was rapid growth in trade through Addis Abäba and the A.K. because of the changes in Addis Abäba's hinterland to a more cash-based economy. Ethiopian traders based in the A.K. challenged expatriate traders and took over control of Ethiopia's trade from Europeans and Arabs. The A.K. steadily grew with the increased trade and population of the city.

The A.K. is a microcosm of Ethiopia and has a little of everything. According to a 1970s description, it covers several square miles and is the trade and retail centre for the whole of Ethiopia. It is a dense sector with many streets and alleyways. A.K. then had over 13,000 employees, working for about 7,100 businesses, including about 2,500 shops. It also had 1,500 service businesses and 80 wholesale operations. Furthermore, it is the vital exchange point for grains, pulses, oil-seeds, vegetables and animals, besides being an assembly and distribution centre for imports. It is the centre of the coffee trade, the major export of Ethiopia, and holds the regular "coffee auction". The vast bulk of the produce of southern Ethiopia passes through the A.K. before export via the Addis Abäba-Djibouti Railway and the national web of highways.

Lit.: AHMED ZEKARIA – BAHRU ZEWDE – TADDESE BEYENE (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Centenary of Addis Ababa, November 24–25, 1986*, Addis Ababa 1987.

Peter Garretson

Addis Reporter

A.R. was a weekly magazine in English published by the ↗Ethiopian Patriotic Association in Addis Abäba. The maiden issue of January 3, 1969 stated in its editorial that the magazine was "…the first of its kind in Ethiopia". The subscription rates were 16 *bərr* per year, nine *bərr* for six months. Its first editor was ↗Bäᶜalu Gərma. Yaᶜəqob Wäldä Maryam took over the editorship, starting with 11 April 1969 issue (i.e. vol. 1, no. 15). Beginning with the December 1969 issue A.R. became a monthly magazine. The July 1970 issue of the magazine is the last number. The magazine may now be consulted at the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies and at the Press Library of the Ministry of Information and Culture.

A.R. is one of the most essential sources for the study of the intellectual history of the period coinciding with its own history. The various columns deal with vital issues in politics, economics, culture, current events and history. The column "30 Days" presented, in almost every issue, the activities of the Emperor in the

past 30 days. "Addis this Week" highlighted the week's events (lectures, Radio and TV highlights, exhibitions, musical concerts etc.) in Addis Abäba. "(The) View from Arat Kilo" offered criticism and commentary on current local and international issues. Gädamu Abräha was the author of sharp and often witty remarks on various topics, appearing in "From the Cutting Room Floor …". Dimitri Kriazis's "The Roving Camera" presented scenes such as views of lakes, the rivers Baro and Bulbula, eastern Səmen, the outskirts of Danakil, the colourful markets of Harär, the birds of Abyata lake, the snows of Kilimanjaro and the like in beautiful photographs.

Social problems, such as broken homes, crime, muggers, bribery, open-air vendors, drugs, the plight of pensioners, street boys, dangerous driving, housing, public toilets, prices, living conditions, earnings etc. were regularly discussed. Profiles of prominent people of various professions (professors, writers, businessmen, waiters and so on) appear, focusing on the exemplary value of the person's story. Solomon Därässa, perhaps the most prolific of the writers of A.R., wrote artides on culture (films, literature, plays, art, translation, music, poetry and ceramics). Among other notable contributors to the cultural pages of A.R. were Ḫaylä Maryam Goššu, Wärqafärrahu Käbbädä, Richard Pankhurst, Mary Dyson, Sheila Ross, Innes Marshall and Səbḥat Gäbrä Ḫgziʾabəḥer. Nothing that approaches its quality and frequency of appearance has appeared since it ceased publication in 1970.

Src.: *Addis Reporter*, weekly issues nos. 1–44 (January 3/1969 – October 11/1969); monthly issues nos. 1–8 (December 1969 – July 1970).

Lit.: FEKADE AZEZE, "Ethiopian Creative Writing and Criticism in English: a Review and Bibliography", *JES* 18, 1985, 34–50.

Fekade Azeze

Addis Zämän

A.Z. (**አዲስ፡ ዘመን**, 'New Era') is an Amharic weekly government newspaper, originally published on Saturdays. The first issue, which had four pages, came out on 30 *Gənbot* 1933 A.M. [7 June 1941 A.D.]. Each page had three columns. At the end of the fourth page the imprint says: "Printed by the Directorate of Army Printing and Stationery Services, Addis Ababa". A short piece entitled **የአዲስ፡ ዘመን፡ ጋዜጣ፡ መጀመር** (*Yäʾaddis zämän gazeṭa mäǧǧämär*, 'The Beginning of A.Z. Newspaper') states that its primary duty is "to support the Ethiopian people".

The name of the newspaper appears to be derived from the speech *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I made on his entry into Addis Abäba on 27 *Miyazya* 1933 A.M. [5 May 1941 A.D.], after the liberation of the country from the Italian occupation: "I would like to tell you that this day announces the opening of a New Era for the New Ethiopia. Consequently, a new job that we all have to execute shall begin" (the speech was published in the first issue of A.Z.). The statement underlines that the paper was established through the good wishes of the Emperor with the aim of pointing out every task that was necessary and beneficial to the people, explaining what a people should do for its country, its leader the Emperor and the government of the Emperor. The duties of A.Z. were summarized in three words, namely **እውነት** (*əwnät*), **አገልግሎት** (*agälgəlot*), **ረዳትነት** (*räddatənnät*) – 'truth, service, support'. "Truth" meant that everything that appeared in the newspaper would be based on truth, should be non-partisan, and would stand for common benefit. Under "service" it was meant that it intended to serve the Emperor, about whose struggle for liberation it had already written with appreciation, and the government he had established. "Support" stood for the newspaper's role in whatever is beneficial and helpful to the people.

The newspaper has served as the source of local and international information on various fields of development on top of the news it provides. Researchers will greatly benefit from browsing through A.Z. as it is actually the only easily accessible source of information on many topics and events in Ethiopian post-war history. The paper turned into a daily, starting with its issue of 20 *Taḫśaś* 1951 A.M. [29 December 1958 A.D.].

It was, and still is, the main official press organ of the government.

Src.: issues of the newspaper since 30 *Gənbot* 1933 A.M.

Fekade Azeze

Addisge

A. (**አዲስጌ**) is a small district in ↗Tägulät, located 14 km south of Sälla Dəngay. It is a small highland ridge, starting about 3 km north-east of the town of Gudo Bärät and bordered by steep river valleys. The plateau is about 2,900 m

A.S.L. The district does not figure as an administrative division of any significance in historical sources.

A. is primarily known for the many notables who originated there, especially in the early 20th cent. The most prominent members of the 'A. family' were *ras bitwäddäd* ↗Täsämma Nadäw, *ras* ↗Dästa Damṭäw, *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Ǝndalkaččäw, and his son, ↗Ǝndalkaččäw Mäkʷännən. These notables did not have a strong independent power base but rose to high positions through loyal service to the Emperor.

Src.: BTafA 757, 952, 975.

Lit.: MÄKʷÄNNEN ƎNDALKAČČÄW, **መልካም፡ ቤተሰቦች** (*Mälkam betäsäbočč*, 'A Nice Family'), Asmära 1949; *blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **ዝክረ፡ ነገር** (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba ²1962, 283, 511.

Svein Ege

Addiya

A. (7°25'N, 36°30'E) was a historical capital of the kingdom of ↗Käfa located in the north-eastern part of the Käfa province, about 45 km north-east of ↗Bonga. Its legacy as a political centre of Käfa goes back to the early days of the Käfa kingdom, perhaps to about the time of its inception (ca. 14th cent.). A.'s history as the oldest capital of the kingdom has a very limited mention in historical documents. Almost all of what we know is based on oral tradition. Lange (1976) has documented a statement referring to A. as a capital of the kingdom during the reign of Minǧilli, the first king of the ↗Minǧoo dynasty (the second dynasty to rule Käfa).

The most significant traditional and cultural link we have today that helps us confirm A.'s legacy as the oldest capital of Käfa is the traditional belief known as ↗*eqo*, which finds its origin in A.

A. continues to be worshipped today as a spiritual capital and birthplace of the *eqo* belief. After moving around Käfa with the shift in capitals of the Käfa kings, the seat of the supreme *allamo* ('priest') has moved back to its original home, A.

Lit.: WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *Dialectics of Divine "Kingship" in the Kafa Highlands*, Los Angeles 1976 (African Studies Center UCLA, Occasional paper series, Monograph 8).

Amanuel Karlo Gano

Adgəna Tägäläba

The term A.T. (**አድግና፡ ተገለባ**, lit. 'if our donkey escapes') is derived from the place names Adəgna, a village in the Ǝggäla region near the borders to Säraye and Ḥamasen, and Gäläba, in southern Eritrea, at the border with ↗ʿAgamä. As a territorial denomination it means the territory between these areas, i.e. whole ↗Akkälä Guzay.

The A.T. (alternatively **ሥርዓት፡ አድግና፡ ተገለባ**, *Śərʿat Adgəna Tägäläba*, 'The customs of A.T.') is the compendium of customary law for Akkälä Guzay, which had been adopted in 1937 A.M. [1943/44 A.D.] by a traditional council of elders. Aiming to unify the manyfold written and unwritten customary law codes of Akkälä Guzay, the authorities of the ↗British Military Administration had, quickly after having taken over the colony in 1941, initiated a wide discussion among local "law preservers". This in turn culminated in the compilation of the A.T. The villages in Akkälä Guzay appointed 29 district chiefs and 83 traditional experts of customary law in order to draft a common law code. Then they all ratified it with their signatures. *Ras* ↗Täsämma Asmärom presided the meetings, which started in mid-1942 and culminated in the A.T. code, enforced on 7 January 1944.

The A.T. replaced the previously valid local law codes **ሥርዓት፡ አከለን፡ ጉዛይን** (*Śərʿat Akkälän Guzayn*), **ዖናይን፡ ለጓይን** (*ʿOnayn Lägʷayn*) and **ሥርዓት፡ ምዴም፡ መሓዛ** (*Śərʿat Məʿem Mäḥaza*). The new A.T. code was based on an older version of the *Śərʿat Adgəna Tägäläba*. According

to a local tradition, this had first been established around 1829 and then recorded in writing by governor *däğğazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu; this was amended several times.

The A.T. law code achieved only a partial success in the radical reform of marriage customs with the aim of reducing the generally very high expenses incurred by marriage. Annual assemblies traditionally met in ↗ʿAddi Ḳäyyəḥ to discuss possible revisions.

According to Italian colonial and later to British regulations local litigation – concerning civil law – had to be solved by the *corti native* ('indigenous courts') or by the local *dañña* ('judge') on the basis of customary law; this accounted for the urgent necessity of a unified code. Today the A.T. is still recognized by the Eritrean government as relevant for local litigation, but is secondary to national Eritrean law. The Civil Code drafted by the Eritrean Liberation Front incorporated existing customary law, particularly family law and law of succession. The Code was valid for the civilian population, but not for the fighters (Department of Justice 1988:6).

Src.: ሥርዓት፡ አድግና-ተገለባ (*Śərʿat Adgəna-Tägäläba*, 'The Customs of Adgəna Tägäläba'), Asmära 1938 A.M. [1945/46 A.D.]; IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT – GOVERNMENT OF ERITREA, SUPREME COURT, *The Law of "Adghena Tegheleba"*, ms. [signed "Gebrehiwot"], ca. 1952; ZERA YACOB ESTIFANOS – WOLDE MARIAM ABRAHAM – GERIMA GHEBRE MESKEL, ሕግን፡ ስርዓትን፡ ናይ፡ መሬት፡ ዓይቦ – *Codes and Bylaws of Eritrean Regions and Counties*, West Germany 1990; *The Law of Adigna Tegheleba, Translated from Tigrinia into English*, ms., Asmära 2001; DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE [of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front], *Administration of Justice under the EPLF*, ms. May 1988.

Lit.: FRIEDERIKE KEMINK, *Die Tegreñña-Frauen in Eritrea, Eine Untersuchung der Kodizes des Gewohnheitsrechts 1890-1941*, Stuttgart 1991 (SKK 101), 28; FELICE OSTINI, "Nuove redazioni di vecchi statuti – lo statuto di Adghenà-Ghelebà nell'Acchelà Guzai", *Il Bollettino* (Istituto di Studi Etiopici, Asmara) 1, 1953, 79-84; ILARIO CAPOMAZZA, *Il diritto consuetudinario dell'Acchelè-Guzai*, Asmara, Colonia Eritrea 1909 [esp. "Legge di 'Mehem Mahaza'", 47-82]; KJETIL TRONVOLL, *Mai Weini, a Highland Village in Eritrea. A Study of the People, their Livelihood, and Land Tenure During Times of Turbulence*, Lawrenceville – Asmara 1998, 76, 96, 108, 130, 208, 253.

Wolbert Smidt

Adḫani

A. (**አድኃኒ**) was a disciple of *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot and lived in the first half of the 14th cent. He was appointed the ↗*nəburä əd* of Damot, "from Upper Goğğam to Kʷəmal" by the *abunä* ↗Yaʿəqob, who also appointed eleven other monks to other districts including ↗Filəppos of Däbrä ʿAsbo (Libanos). At least one copy of his *Gädl* is known to exist (KinBibl 61), but it has not been published.

Src.: BORIS TURAIEV, *Vitæ sanctorum indigenarum*, II. *Acta S. Aronis et S. Phillipi*, Louvain 1905 (CSCO 30 [SAe 13]), 197; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Täklä Haymanot of Shoa", *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 14 (text) = 28 (tr.); EMML mf. 7346, fol. 32r.

Lit.: TadTChurch 176f.; KinBibl 61f., no. 9; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Monastic Holy Man and the Christianization of Early Solomonic Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 1984 (SKK 73), 94.

Steven Kaplan

Adḫanom Səʾəlu

Abba A.S. (**አድኃኖም፡ ስእሉ**, b. 1921, Dəgsa, Akkälä Guzay, d. 2000, Sägänäyti) obtained a Doctorate in Sociology at the Angelicum University in Rome (1964). Soon afterwards he was appointed Vice-Rector of the Ethiopian Vatican College, where he stayed for five years (until 1970).

A.S. devoted his entire life to the formation of the youth in the Diocesan Seminary of Kärän. He acquired his ↗Gəʿəz liturgical knowledge by reading liturgical books and discussing the matter with various scholars of the same liturgy. A.S. is well known not only for his articles on the liturgy, but also as a translator of various works with great accuracy into his mother-tongue, ↗Təgrəñña (e.g., 1979, 1998). He is also known as the first reviser of the four Gospels, previously translated by the Evangelical Church, in a popular Təgrəñña with footnote comments. A.S. translated into Italian the pre-Anaphora and four Anaphoras of the Gəʿəz liturgy (Adhanom Sulù 1969). He published some studies on Gəʿəz liturgy (e.g., 1989/90, 1992). He tended to adapt and acculturate everything he translated to the local culture.

The fact that his name appears as early as 1952 in ErDizBio shows that he was already at that time a relevant personality in the field of liturgical literature and questions related to local culture.

↗Anaphoras; ↗Bible; ↗Qəddase

Src.: some of A.S.'s most important works are: ADHANOM SULÙ, *L'individuo nella società familiare abissina*, Ph.D. thesis, Pontifica Università S. Tommaso "In Urbe", Roma 1964; ID. (ed., tr.), *L'Ordinario e quattro anafore della messa etiopica*, Roma 1969; ADḪANOM SƏʾƏLU, ቅዳስ፡ ታሪክ (*Qəddus tarik*, 'The Sacred History'), Aśmära 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.]; ID. (ed.), ቅዳስ፡ ወንጌል (*Qəddus wängel*, 'The Holy Gospel'), Aśmära 1966 A.M. [1973/74 A.D.]; ID., ንክርስቶስ፡

ምሳል (ኢሚታስዮን) (*Nəkrəstos məməsal imitasyone*, 'The Imitation of Christ [of Thomas à Kempis]'), Aśmära 1979 A.M. [1987/88 A.D.] [revision of Francesco da Bassano's Təgrəñña tr. *Nay goytana Iyäsus Krəstos imitasyo mäṣḥaf. Krəstos məʾənti məməsal*, 'Book of the "imitatio" of Our Lord Jesus Christ. To Imitate Christ', 1932]; ID., ናይ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥርዐተ፡ አምልኮ (*Nay Ityopya śərʿatä aməlako*, 'The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Rite'), Aśmära 1982 [1989/90 A.D.]; ID., መግለጺ፡ ቅዳሴ (*Mägläṣi qəddase*, 'The Commentary on the Mass'), Aśmära 1992 A.D.; ID., ፊሎተያ፡ መፍቀሪ፡ እግዚአብሔር (*Filotäya mäfqäri əgziʾabḥer*, 'Filothea: the Lover of God'), Aśmära 1993 A.D.; ID., ናብ፡ ሞት፡ ንምስንዳው፡ ዝግበር፡ አስተንትኖ (*Nab mot nəməssəndaw zəgəbär astäntəno*, 'Preparation to Be Done in Approaching Death'), Aśmära 1998 A.D. [a revision of Angelo da Ronciglione's Təgrəñña translation of St. Alfonsus Liguori's *Apparecchio alla morte*, entitled *Ṣəbəqti mot nəmərkab məʾənti məssəndaw*, 'Preparation to Looking for a Good Death', 1904].

Lit.: ErDizBio 6.

Habtemichael Kidane

Adkämä Məlgaʾ

The A.M. (**አድከመ፡ ምልጋእ**, also Adkämä Məlǝggaʾ, Adkämä Mälgaʾ) are a Təgrəñña-speaking descent group of ↗Agäw origin (MikaʾelHasama 1992). In the early 14th cent. this Agäw group, led according to oral tradition by the brothers Adkämä and Məlgaʾ, migrated to ↗Säraye from Säläwa south of Təgray (for their genealogy s. Garrone 1904:1009; Pollera 1935:138–41). During the 14th and 15th cent., several important rulers of Säraye were related to the A.M. (*aqaṣän* ↗Bəlen Sägädä). Under the leadership of the *mäkʷännən* of Säraye, Wärasinä Ǝgziʾ, "son of Məlgaʾ", and his grand nephew Täsfa May (15th cent., apical ancestor of the Däqqi Täsfa), they brought most of what is today the highlands of Eritrea under their rule. By virtue of their numbers they progressively modified the ethnic balance in the northwestern highlands in their favour, at the expense of the more ancient Balaw, Nara and Kunama populations (Conti Rossini 1911–12:639; LusStud 61; Kemink 1991:39ff.).

Wärasinä Ǝgziʾ was a contemporary of the rebellious religious leader, ↗Ewosṭatewos, whom the A.M. welcomed as a refugee. Newly emerging northern leaders such as Wärasinä Egziʾ used the Ewosṭatean movement for enhancing their local autonomy. Ewosṭatewos unsuccessfully attempted to establish his supreme religious authority over the A.M., his failure stemming from Wärasinä Ǝgziʾ's claim for unrestricted leadership. A conflict arose when Ewosṭatewos asked him to renounce bigamy, after which, as the hagiography reports, Ewosṭatewos was first jailed, then forced to leave Säraye for the land of the Agäw Bilin, and later exiled to Nubia (LusStud 59ff.).

Unlike the Bilin who had arrived earlier in the first wave of Agäw immigration, the A.M. seem to have adapted the Təgrəñña language at an early date, in a process of assimilation with the Təgrəñña-speaking majority of the local population. When the ↗Däqqi Täššəm rose in prominence in Ḥamasen, their traditional enmity toward the A.M. began (cp. Kolmodin 1915:47, 64f.). The A.M. were for some time during the 17th–18th cent. incorporated into their realm (cp. ↗Bambolo Məllaš). From that time the A.M. lost predominance, their political influence becoming limited to the local level. Today the A.M. live in several villages in Säraye, notably in Qʷäḥayn and May Ṣəʿada.

According to oral tradition their law, **ሥርዓተ፡ አድከመ፡ ምልጋእ** (*Śərʿat Adkämä Məlgaʾ*), was first set up in the 15th cent. in May Gif (Täk̲äla) by representatives of the seven **ዓዲ፡ ሕጊ** (*ʿaddi ḥəggi*, 'law villages', i.e. those villages responsible for the preservation of the law). The written code had been lost, but had been memorized and was amended in regular assemblies. It was first published by Capomazza (1912) under Italian colonial rule, recorded on the basis of oral tradition. An assembly initiated by the Commissario of Säraye, Eugenio di Savoia-Genova, Duca di Ancona, revised the code in 1940 at ʿAddi Wəgri (↗Mändäfära; published in Italian in two vols., Conti Rossini 1948, Ricci 1953). The text of a new revised version was published in 1944 under the ↗British Military Administration to support the work of traditional judges in Säraye. It is today still in use locally, and is traditionally – due to the traditional dominance of the A.M. – valid for the whole of Säraye, with very few exceptions. The prevalence of *rəsti* ownership of land (Tgn. for ↗*rəst*) is characteristic of this law.

Src.: ILARIO CAPOMAZZA, *Istituzioni di diritto consuetudinario del Seraè. La legge degli Atchemè-Melgà*, Macerata 1912; *Consuetudini giuridiche del Seraé, raccolte dall'assemblea dei suoi notabili ad iniziative del Commissariati regionale di Addi Ugri*, part 1 ed. by CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, Roma 1948 (RSE Suppl. vol. 7), part 2 ed. by LANFRANCO RICCI, Roma 1953 (RSE Suppl. vol. 11); JOHANNES KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega. Traduction Française*, Upsal 1915 (Archives d'Études Orientales 5:2), 22, 24, 36, 47, 64f.; **ሥርዓተ፡ አድከመ፡ ምልጋእ** (*Śərʿat Adkämä Məlgaʾ*, 'The Customs of the Adkämä Məlgaʾ'), Aśmära 1936 A.M. [1944 A.D.]; ZERA YACOB ESTIFANOS – WOLDE MARIAM ABRA-

HAM – GERIMA GHEBRE MESKEL (eds.), **ሕግን፡ ስርዓትን፡ ናይ፡ መሬት፡ ዓደቦ** – *Codes and Bylaws of Eritrean Regions and Counties*, West Germany 1990.
Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia. 2. La seconda migrazione Agau dell'Eritrea", *RSO* 4, 1911–12, 599–651; ID., *Principi di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916; DENNIS J. DUNCANSON, "Sir'at 'Adkeme Milga' – a Native Law Code of Eritrea", *Africa* 19, 1949, 141–49; VITTORIO GARRONE, "Sugli Atchemé-Melgà", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 41, 1904, 994–1017; MIKAʾEL HASAMA, **ዘንታ፡ ኤርትራ** (*Zanta Erətra*, 'History of Eritrea'), Asmära 1992; FRIEDERIKE KEMINK, *Die Tegreñña-Frauen in Eritrea, Eine Untersuchung der Kodizes des Gewohnheitsrechts 1890–1941*, Stuttgart 1991 (SKK 101), 39–42, 68; KilHDic 38; LusStud 58ff.; FELICE OSTINI, *Diritto consuetudinario comparato, corso universitario di giurisprudenza*, ms., Asmara 1951 [lezione prima], 5; ALBERTO POLLERA, *Le popolazioni indigene dell'Eritrea*, Bologna 1935, 138–41; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Serʿat Adkeme Melga' (1944)", *Oriente moderno* 30, 1950, 208f.; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Une page d'histoire des Adkama de la province du Seraé en Erythrée", in: YAQOB BEYENE et al (eds.), *Etiopia e oltre: studi in onore di Lanfranco Ricci*, Napoli 1994 (StAfEt 1), 245–54; GIUSIPPINA TROYA TORTI, [a review of *Sərʿat Adkämä Məlgaʾ* (1944), *Sərʿat Loggo Čəwa* (1946)], *RSE* 9, 1950, 85–89 (Lit.); EDWARD ULLENDORFF, [review of Carlo Conti Rossini 1948], *African Affairs* 53, 211, 1954, 175f.

Wolbert Smidt

Admas Mogäsa

A.M. (**አድማስ፡ ሞገሳ**, ca. 1530–93) is the royal name of *ətege* Śəllus Ḫayle, daughter of the mighty feudal lord, ↗Robel of Bora, a prominent commander of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl's army. Robel died in a battle against Muslim invaders, and in 1552 Ləbnä Dəngəl's widow *ətege* Säblä Wängel married A.M. to her younger son ↗Minas because his elder brother *aṣe* Gälawdewos had no male progeny. In 1559 Gälawdewos was killed in battle and Minas became Emperor with the royal name of Admas Sägäd, while Śəllus Ḫayle received the corresponding name of A.M.

After a reign of four years, *aṣe* Minas died, and in 1563 their elder son ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl was enthroned. However, he had to flee from his rebellious warlords, and his grandmother Säblä Wängäl gave shelter and refuge both to Śärṣä Dəngəl and his brothers, while A.M. was in vain trying to find support of the mighty lord ↗Ḫamälmal. Later, A.M. proved she had learned well this lesson of Christian charity and family feelings. When at the turn of the 17th cent. her orphaned great-grandnephew (later Emperor) ↗Susənyos was rescued from Oromo captivity, she also gave him shelter in her dower-estate of Dagen in Goğğam and provided him with a proper Christian education. A.M. was greatly respected all over the country, and her death in 1597 was deferentially recorded on pages of the "Short Chronide".

Src.: BégCron 38f.; CRHist 6ff.; PerChron I, 6; II, 5.

Sevir Chernetsov

Admasu Bərru ↗ Ayyalew Bərru

Administrative division

Historical concepts of administrative division

A.d. of Ethiopia of the past, especially prior to the 16th cent., can not be reconstructed with any detail due to the scarcity of sources (Aksumite inscriptions, Ethiopian historiography and hagiography, accounts of Europeans and some Arabic sources, s. HuntGeogr 1-27). Nevertheless, a general outline can be done. As it can be seen from the information available, A.d. in Ethiopia was never identical to the territorial one, even though closely connected to it. In the rugged terrain of Ethiopia territorial units with their natural borders (river gorges, mountain ridges etc.) were more durable in contrast to the administrative ones which depended upon the usual vicissitudes of Ethiopian political life, i.e., primarily upon the ability of the monarchs to exercise effective control over the territories of their kingdom.

According to the principle always proclaimed by the emperors, the power of the Ethiopian monarch was boundless, but, in reality, the territorial units of the kingdom were of several major types according to the degree of actual royal control. One might say that the A.d. of the Empire in the past reflected the degree to which a region was under the control of the central imperial authority. Therefore, two models of state administration coexisted in Ethiopia through the centuries: 1) the model of indirect administration: every district had a great degree of independence as far as home matters were concerned, whereas the whole of the state was federative. The imperial authority was limited there, but the population and local nobility were usually loyal to the monarchs, and governors appointed by the emperor were accepted; 2) the model of direct administration: in lands of the royal domain where the emperor exercised unlimited power in district administration; the greater the number of such districts was, the more the state was brought under the central control of the emperor. Apart from these, there were territories (mostly non-Christian), where the population

obeyed the rulers only from local ruling families and was loyal to Christian emperors only as far as their rulers were, and the emperors had to chose governors among members of local ruling families.

In terms of historical continuity in Ethiopia, model 1 (of indirect control of the central state authority) prevailed. It was exercised over the military and economic provincial administration and the judiciary (s. below: *yärəst agär)*. Usually the rulers of such provinces pretended to belong to the ancient ruling families of a given region or the whole country. The emperor had a limited capability to appoint a governor of such a province as he wished. The rulers of such provinces had their own armies and their incomes were not controlled by the emperor. They had the power to appoint the governors of their districts and they had a considerable position in the emperor's council (**ምክር፡ ቤት**, *məkər bet*). Their fundamental obligation towards the emperor consisted in the payment of tribute, the amount of which was set for the whole province in products typical for it (grain, butter, honey, cattle, horses, salt etc. From the turn of the 19th and 20th cent. products were often replaced by money). The rulers were also obliged to raise their army in response to the emperor's call in case of military campaigns.

The A.d. based on the indirect model of administration found expression, *inter alia*, in the titles of the local governors, such as ↗*nəguś, nägaš, mäkʷännən*, ↗*šum*, e.g. *yägoğğam nəguś*, ↗*baḥər nägaš*, ↗*təgre mäkʷännən*, ↗*wag šum* etc., which indicated a high degree of regional independence from the emperor. In some matters (e.g., in the judiciary) the governors of such provinces adopted the ↗customary law of the people living in the given region. On the other hand, however, they and their families paid traditional visits to the emperor and during their stays at the court trained in general law and the administration of the rulers of the state. As far as the titles and competence of the local dignitaries were concerned, their courts constituted miniature copies of the emperor's court (↗*Gəbbi*). Competence, authority and ranks of the governors bearing the same title (e.g. *wag šum*, *šum tämben*, *šumᶜagame*) were dependent on the positions their territories held within the kingdom.

Model 2, much rarer in the history of Ethiopia, was realized mainly in the 15th cent. and from the second half of the 19th cent. until, at least, the 1990s of the 20th cent. This model is based on the strict dependence of the local administrative system on the central authority and on exerting economic, judicial and military control over the population by right of norms instituted by the Empire. All the moves and reforms carried out by the state authority at the end of the 19th cent. and later can be interpreted as strengthening this very model of administering Ethiopia (see below: *qälad agär,* and further on).

These two ways of administering the state coexisted at the same time and intertwined through the history of Ethiopia, induding the second half of the 20th cent. Attempts at the unification and centralization of the state resulted in the decentralization and, conversely, the decentralization brought about the tendency towards unification. For example, *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob introduced a uniform government, appointing in the place of hereditary governors of provinces first his children and then his own subordinates, who held the title *raq masäre* (they administered in, e.g., Damot, Goğğam, Bägemdər, Təgray, Angot, Gäñ, Ifat and Šäwa). On the other hand, he increased the prestige and the territorial reach of maritime governors by conferring on them the titles of *baḥər nägaš* as well as *təgre mäkʷännən* and putting under their administration northern territories (such as Šire, Särayä, Ḥamasen and Bur). But *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam repealed the majority of positions set by his father and restored the authority of the local families, giving them freedom in administering their provinces, on condition that they paid tribute and raised an army for the emperor if need be. So, for example, in Amhara, Šäwa and Damot, the governors held the well-known title ↗*ṣäḥafe lam* ('one who registers cows'). A *nägaš* ruled in Goğğam, a *nəguś* in Gäñ, a ↗*gärad* ruled in Hadiyya, Gänz or Däwaro. These titles were connected with local traditions and reflected the dignitary's position in the Empire.

During the period of the 17th–18th cent. ↗Gondärine kingdom the territory of the Empire decreased, but still consisted of the major provinces in the north, centre and south. The Gondärine emperors were gradually losing control over these provinces, which led to patrimonial division at the turn of the 18th and 19th cent. (↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*). In this period the most important self-governed "princedoms" were the following: Gondär with the seat of the emperors, which assumed authority over Bägemdər, Damot and Dämbəya; Goğğam; Təgray as well as Səmen and Lasta; Šäwa. These provinces consisted of

districts, their number and territorial reach were unstable. The highest positions in the hierarchy of territorial administration were held by regional governors entitled, *inter alia*: the *ras bitwäddäd* ruling in Damot, the *təgre mäkʷännan*, the *šäḥafe lam* of Amhara, the *goǧǧam nägaš*.

The first province to gain independence was ↗Šäwa, which emerged as an entity out of a number of smaller districts and stopped paying tributes in the first half of the 18th cent. The changing titles of dignitaries of Šäwa in the period of patrimonial division indicate the strengthening of the province's position. Šäwa's dignitaries first held the title *abeto* (or ↗*abetohun*), known since the 16th cent. and indicating relationship to the emperor's family. From the beginning of the 18th cent., as Šäwa was gaining independence from Gondär, they held the title ↗*märəd azmač* (the first being ↗Səbəstyanos, the last ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase). Then, the rulers of Šäwa adopted the title ↗*ras*, to which the governors of the most important provinces were entitled since at least the 16th cent. Finally, in the first half of the 19th cent., the rulers of Šäwa began to hold the title *nəguś*, which was one of the oldest and highest titles of Ethiopian provincial governors. The number of provinces ruled by *nägäšt* decreased in the period of strong central authority and vice versa. In the first half of the 20th cent. this title could be given only in Šäwa, Gondär, Təgray and Goǧǧam.

The administrative structure of the Empire was strongly influenced by the territorial conquests of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. Conquered territories were basically administered after the second model (direct rule). However, the method of administering depended also on the size and strength of the socio-political organization of the ethnic groups of the annexed area. These factors determined the way in which the Empire imposed its domination. The Emperor left intact the socio-political organizations which agreed to accept peacefully the domination of the Ethiopian state and to pay a fixed tribute (see below: *qurṭ agär*). In the course of time these regions lost their independence and in the 1920-30s of the 20th cent. were fully subordinated.

The other method was to deprive the population of a conquered area of the right to possess land. This land was then again divided among natives, who became officials within the imperial administrative apparatus. The amount of land was determined by the state regulation. This concerned numerous and mighty groups of population such as the ↗Oromo. In some regions the subordination consisted in attaching a certain number of farmers to imperial officials and in this way assuring the maintenance of the military and administrative system of the Empire.

In all conquered regions local administration consisted of the representatives of the Ethiopian State. The members of the administrative authority (army, judiciary and home security apparatus) from the lowest to the topmost rank were dependent on the emperor for prestige and income. It also concerned the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, since the Emperor determined the number of churches and clergy and granted land depending on the density of population and the size of a district.

Independently of the way in which the imperial domination was imposed on the given region and the way it was executed, the conquests of *aṣe* Mənilək II enlarged significantly the areas subjected to the emperor. He could regulate the grants of land, control the amount of taxes, fill local posts, decide on the extent and borders of territorial units and create privileged groups. The area and the number of population of the annexed territories surpassed the area and the population of the indirectly ruled territories. This allowed to strengthen the economic, military and political position of the central state authority. From the second half of the 19th cent., the emperor had more and more possibilities to unify the state, to decrease the independence of provinces and regulate the A.d. of the country. This was manifested, among other things, in putting limits on the number of administrative positions to be filled by the candidates of the rulers of indirectly ruled provinces. For instance, a *nəguś* could appoint two *ras*, one *afä nəguś*, no more than five *däǧǧazmač*; a *ras*, however, could appoint no more than three *däǧǧazmač* and any number of lower-ranked dignitaries. It was also manifested in the creation of obligatory military contingents, which were kept by great dignitaries for the emperor (*nəguś* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Aboyye – 30,000 soldiers, *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis – 17,000 etc.).

A.d. understood as a division of a given territory made from the point of view of a state according to legal principles of its functioning, came into being in Ethiopia in the 20th cent., when the country was proclaimed a constitutional monarchy. From the epoch of the first Constitution (1931) until today, the uniform A.d. of the state

has always been formally established and legally justified by the central authorities. This is the essential difference as compared to the administrative systems functioning in Ethiopia before. Previously, **አገር፡ አገዛዝ** (*agär aggäzaz*) – the administration of a territory subject to the imperial government – was based on the **የጥንት፡ ስሪት** (*yäṭənt sərrit*, 'traditional law') that regulated the level of political and economic subordination to imperial authority of the inhabitants of a given region. This idea may be seen in the names of the regions composed with the word *agär*, which expresses the concept of "land, region, country, territory, fatherland (neol.)" in the Semitic languages of Ethiopia (esp. in Gəᶜəz, Təgre, Təgrəñña, Amharic) and had a semantic field covering all the meanings from a small district to a whole country. Such names can be found in historiographical records, for instance, in the chronicles of *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (15th cent.) and *aṣe* Iyasu I (17th-18th cent.), or the chronide of the Šäwan princes (19th cent.). They occur regularly during the epoch of the conquests of Mənilək II in the second half of the 19th cent. Thus, according to *yäṭənt sərit*, Ethiopia was divided into four kinds of regions, i.e.:

1) **የርስት፡ አገር** (*yärəst agär*, 'the land of hereditary legacy'), which was to be found in particular in Šäwa, Goğğam, Bägemdər, Wällo and Təgray, that is in the regions of the traditional Ethiopian Empire;

2) **ቀላድ፡ አገር** (*qällad agär*, 'measured land') can be identified as the regions conquered mainly in the 19th cent., but it is mentioned also before that, as early as the second half of the 17th cent. Such regions, populated at the turn of the 19th and 20th cent. mainly by the Oromo, could be found in Šäwa, Wälläga, Arsi, Sidamo and Käffa; Šäwa and Bägemdər are mentioned as early as the second half of the 17th cent.;

3) **የቁጥር፡ ገባር፡ አገር** (*yäquṭər gäbbar agär*, 'the land of counted farmers'); in these regions, inhabited above all by the ↗Gurage, ↗Beni Šangul and Cushitic peoples of south-west Ethiopia, the farmers were attached to land; it does not seem that there is any evidence of the existence of this kind of region in Ethiopia before the time of *aṣe* Mənilək II;

4) **ቁርጥ፡ ግብር፡ አገር** (*qurṭ gəbr agär*, 'the land of fixed tribute'); it seems that these regions existed only from the turn of the 19th and the 20th cent. until 1920; their name denotes regions which accepted the authority of *aṣe* Mənilək II after peaceful negotiations; in return for a fixed annual tribute, the people of these regions retained autonomy. At the beginning of the 20th cent. the most important *qurṭ gəbr agär* countries were: Awsa, Beni Šangul, Gimma, Guba and Wälläga Qälämo. They were incorporated into the empire in 1918 and in 1920 their administrative structure was transformed into the type 2) or 3) regions mentioned above.

Although the division cited above seems to refer mainly to types of ↗land tenure, in reality it is connected with the administration of territorial units, officials' titles and hierarchy. There are lists of the officials of the territorial administration and detailed lists of the names of localities belonging to specific *agäroč̌* named above (Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl 1942:143-53; Mantel-Niećko 1980:231-37). It has to be remembered that the officials' titles and their ranking differed in different districts and provinces.

In general, in Ethiopia at the turn of the 19th to 20th cent. there were several dozens of territorial units of different size and significance with the governors holding different titles, from *nəguś* to ↗*balambaras*. Appointing and removing governors enabled Mənilək to stabilize his personal power and keep balance among his dignitaries.

Around 1910 *aṣe* Mənilək made the first step towards the unification of the A.d. of Ethiopia and organization of a new administration, starting from the restructuring of the judiciary system. Ethiopia was divided into six large units (**ክፍል**, *kəfl*, pl. *kəfloč̌*, 'parts, regions'), each comprising many regions. For each *kəfl*, two judges called ↗*wämbär* (all of them residing in Addis Abäba) were put in charge of the judiciary (Gäbrä Śəllase 1959:338f.). Every *wämbär* had three secretaries (*säḫafi*) and had to deal with the people from his *kəfl* only. Nevertheless, in spite of Mənilək's attempts, in his last years the country was divided in up to 80 territorial units of different size and significance.

↗Geography, historical

Src.: GueCopMen 531–34; *blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **ዝክረ፡ ነገር** (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba 1942 A.M. [1949/50 A.D.], 109–66; ID., "The Land System of Ethiopia", *EthObs* 9, 1957, 283–301; *ṣäḫafe təᵓəzaz* GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE, **ታሪክ፡ ዘመን፡ ዘዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ** (*Tarikä zämän zädagmawi Mənilək nagušä nägäśt zäᵓityopya*, 'Chronicle of Mənilək II, King of Kings of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], 336–39.

Lit.: ASMELASH BEYENE, "Some Notes on the Evolution of Regional Administration in Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Journal of Development Research* 9, 1, 1987; ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Geschichte Äthiopiens*, Ber-

lin 1978, vol. 2, 621–46; JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *The Role of Land Tenure in the System of Ethiopian Imperial Government in Modern Times*, Warszawa 1980 (Rozprawy Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 116) [Lit.]; ID., "The Division of Ethiopia into Regions According to the Native Land Typology in Use at the Turn of XIXth and XXth Centuries", in: *PICES* 5a, 469-78; SVEIN EGE, *Class, State, and Power in Africa. A Case Study of the Kingdom of Shäwa (Ethiopia) about 1840*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 46), 142–90; HuntGeogr 1–27, passim; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "Ethiopian Place-Names", *African Language Studies* 3, 1962, 182–94; HIOB LUDOLF, *Historia Aethiopica sive brevis...*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1681 [English tr. by JOHN PHILLIPS, *A New History of Ethiopia*, London 1684]; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Political Geography of Ethiopia at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 613–31; TadTChurch 94-98.

Joanna Mantel-Niećko

Modern concepts of administrative division

The idea of a triple territorial division of the country (in three grades) was introduced with the promulgation of the first Constitution of Ethiopia on 16 July 1931. As it is announced in a special "inventory" (**የዝርዝሩ መግለጫ**, *yäzərzəru mägläča*) to the Constitution, Ethiopia was to be divided into 14 units (**ክፍል**, *kəfl*) with no given names (ch. 5, art. 42). Ch. 5, art. 43 of the "inventory" stated that in each of the 14 units there would be a town (**ዋና፡ ከተማ**, *wanna kätäma*, ch. 5, art. 45) with an imperial palace as well as the residence of the governor of the region (**አገረ፡ ገዢ**, *agärä gäzi*). There would also be built such houses as the municipality, court, post office, hospital, school and military office. The large regions (*kəfločč*) were to be divided into an unspecified number of units called **አውራጃ** (*awraǧǧa*, pl. *awraǧǧawočč*, 'subprovinces'), and these in their turn into **ወረዳ** (*wäräda*, pl. *wäräločč* or 'districts', ch. 5, art. 42, s. also Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl 1942:785). But this first modern A.d. of Ethiopia, based on statute law and uniform for the entire state, seems never to have been fully implemented by the central government. In reality, on the eve of the Italian invasion Ethiopia was divided into 32 "territories" or "possessions" (**ግዛት**, *gəzat*) of uneven and varying size, with the governors bearing different titles. The distinction between the provinces and sub-provinces was not always clear. Some of the administrative units in the north, such as Səmen, Bägemdər, Təgre (Təgray) etc., retained old historical names, privileges and "much of their old historical and cultural identity" (s. Perham 1948:262ff., map 1; cp. Daniel Gamachu 1994:93, annex 5). On the contrary, the borders of some provinces, especially in newly conquered, predominantly Muslim and pagan areas, were very much subject to disintegration, and their population experienced a more direct rule.

During the period of Italian occupation (1936-41), the territory of the Ethiopian Empire was integrated into the Italian colonies in East Africa (↗Africa Orientale Italiana). On May 1936 Ethiopia was divided into five governorates (*governi*): 1. Eritréa (with the capital Asmära), 2. Amára (Gondär), 3. Haràr (Harär), 4. Gálla e Sidáma (Gimma), 5. Somália (Mogadishu) and 6. Governatorato di Áddis Abéba (s. *Guida* 1938:33), in 1938 replaced by the governorate of "Scioa" – Šäwa. This division was made on the premise that the borders of the governorates contained ethnic groups speaking one language (e.g., all Təgrəññña-speaking areas were included within Eritrea). Governorates were divided into smaller administrative units (*commissariati, residente, viceresidente*).

After the Liberation, partly as a result of political transformations, changes were introduced in A.d. Decree no. 1 of 1942 introduced 12 provinces called *awraǧǧa*, with governors appointed by the Emperor. Every *awraǧǧa* was subdivided into *wäräda*, **ዋና፡ ምስለኔ** (*wanna məsläne*) and **ምክትል፡ ምስለኔ** (*məkəttəl məsläne*) units. The governors of these units were appointed and paid by the central government (*Nägarit Gazeṭa* 1, decree no. 1). In 1946 the territorial division was changed once again. According to Decree no. 6, the *awraǧǧa* became **ጠቅላይ፡ ግዛት** (*ṭäqlay gəzat*, usually translated as 'governorate-general' or 'province'), *wäräda* became *awraǧǧa* (*gəzat*) and *məslene* became *wäräda* (*gəzat*), which was further divided into smaller subdistricts, *məkəttəl wäräda* (Decree no. 6). Until the inclusion of Eritrea as a federal territory of the Empire on the 11 September 1952, there were 12 *ṭäqlay gəzats*, namely: 1. Arusi (with the capital city Asälla), 2. Bägemdər and Səmen (Gondär), 3. Gamu Gofa (Gidole), 4. Goǧǧam (Däbrä Marqos), 5. Harärge (Harär), 6. Illubabor (Gore), 7. Käfa (Gimma), 8. Šäwa (Addis Abäba), 9. Sidamo (Yərga ᶜAläm), 10. Təgre (Mäqäle), 11. Wälläga (Neqemte), 12. Wällo (Däse). According to some sources, there were, all together, 72 *awraǧǧa*, 349 *wäräda* and 1938 *məkəttəl wäräda*. The Federal Territory of Eritrea (1952–62) was divided into the following six provinces: Ḥamasen, Akkälä Guzay, Särawe [Säraye], Məṣəwwaᶜ on the Red Sea, Kärän and Aqordät (s. Chamber of Commerce [ed.]

1954:390-406). In the following years this A.d. was often subject to revisions and corrections on all levels. From time to time capitals of administrative units were moved. E.g., in 1960 Bale (with Goba as its capital) was once again constituted as a province, having been formed out of a large portion of Harärge. By July 1964 three new *awraǧǧa* units appeared in the 14th *ṭäqlay gəzat*, Erətra (Eritrea): Saḥəl, ʿAsäb and Täsänäy (the third to become later ↗Gaš Setit). By the same date the total number of *awraǧǧa* and *wäräda* units amounted respectively to 99 and 444, but the number of *məkəttəl wäräda* units was reduced to 1328 (cp. CSA 1964:183f.).

In the 1955 Revised Constitution the territorial division of the Empire was not mentioned, but – for the first time in the history of Ethiopia – the capital of the country was officially established as **መናገሻ፡ ከተማ** (*mänagäša kätäma*; ch. 8, art. 123). In the late 1960s the governors of Təgre (Təgray) and Erətra were the only remaining officials with robust political ties to their provinces, reflecting the traditional system of strong regional leadership. The duties of the provincial administration included principally home security, administration of justice and tax collection. The local administration remained in the hands of the landed gentry, unchanged as compared to the old tradition.

In 1966 the structure of local government below the provincial level was set out by the Local Self-Government Order. This law provided for the creation of elected councils to take over the functions of local administrations at *awraǧǧa* level (in the next years this was not implemented throughout the county). The largest urban centres had a separate status as chartered municipalities. In late 1960s, the level of *məkəttəl wäräda* was abolished, reducing A.d. to three-stage system.

After the ↗Revolution of 1974, as during the previous period, changes of A.d. took place from time to time, e.g., instead of *ṭäqlay gəzat* a new term **ክፍለ፡ ሃገር** (*kəflä hagär*) was introduced. Names of some provinces were slightly changed: from Gamu Gofa to Gamo Gofa, from Təgre to Təgray. Finally, on 12th September 1987 the Constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia was promulgated. Part 3, ch. 8, art. 59-61 created a completely new A.d. of the country. The People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia was constituted as an **አሐዳዊ፡ መንግሥት** (*aḥadawi mängəśt* 'unitary state'), comprising **የራስ፡ ገዝ፡ አካባቢ.** (*yäras gäz akkababi*, 'autonomous regions') and **አስተዳደር፡ አካባቢ.** (*astädadär akkababi*, 'administrative regions'). "Autonomous regions shall have as many units of administration as necessary" (art. 61, point 1), while "units of administration (will be) hierarchically established from the highest to the lowest level" (art. 60, point 1). There were five autonomous regions: 1. Erətra, 2. Təgray, 3. ʿAsäb, 4. Dərre Dawa, 5. Ogaden, and 24 administrative regions named (according to the Amharic and English version of this proclamation): 1. Sämen Gondär (North Gondär), 2. Däbub Gondär (South Gondär), 3. Sämen Wällo (North Wällo), 4. Däbub Wällo (South Wällo), 5. Məsraq Goǧǧam (East Goǧǧam), 6. Məʾərab Goǧǧam (West Goǧǧam), 7. Mätäkkäl, 8. Asosa, 9. Wälläga, 10. Sämen Šäwa (North Šäwa), 11. Addis Abäba, 12. Məʾərab Šäwa (West Šäwa), 13. Däbub Šäwa (South Šäwa), 14. Məsraq Šäwa (East Šäwa), 15. Məʾərab Harärge (West Harärge), 16. Məsraq Harärge (East Harärge), 17. Arsi, 18. Bale, 19. Gambella, 20. Illubabor, 21. Käfa, 22. Sämen Omo (North Omo), 23. Däbub Omo (South Omo), 24. Sidamo and 25. Boräna. The Amharic denomination of the capital city, Addis Abäba, was as a **ርእሰ፡ ከተማ** (*rəʾəsä kätäma*; part 4, ch. 16, art. 117).

The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia was promulgated on 8 December 1994. This Constitution (ch. 5, art. 47) proclaimed the A.d. of Ethiopia into nine units called **ክልል** (*kəllil*) which is translated in the English version of this constitution as "State" (but often are referred to as "Regions" as well). Ethiopia is referred to as **ፌደራላዊ፡ ሪፐብሊክ** (*federalawi ripäblik*, 'Federal Republic'). Since 1994 *kəllil* became a new term for a unit of division of the country. There are nine States of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia: 1. Təgray (with the capital Mäqälä), 2. ʿAfar (Asayta), 3. Amhara (Baḥər Dar), 4. Oromiyaa (Adaama/Nazret), 5. Sumale (Giǧǧiga), 6. Beni Šangul/Gumuz (Asosa), 7. *Yädäbub baḥeročč baḥeräsäboččənna ḥəzbočč kəllil*, 'Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region' (Awasa), 8. *Yägambella ḥəzbočč kəllil*, 'The State of the Gambella Peoples' (Gambella). The "States" are further divided into "zones" and *wäräda* units. Addis Abäba and Harär obtained a special status of "city - states" or chartered cities, and Dərre Dawa was equated to a separate region. Addis Abäba, the federal capital, was defined as *rəʾəsä kätäma* (ch. 5, art. 48).

After obtaining independence on 24 May 1993, Eritrea created new administrative boundaries in 1995. The new A.d. included the following provinces (Tgn. **ዞባ** *zoba*): ᶜAnsäba (the capital Kärän); Däbub (Mändäfära), Däbubawi Qäyyəḥ Baḥri, 'Southern Red Sea [province]' (ᶜAsäb); Gaš Barka (ᶜAqordät); Maᵓəkäl, lit. 'Central [province]' (Asmära); Sämenawi Qäyyəḥ Baḥri, 'Northern Red Sea [province]' (Məṣəwwaᶜ).

↗Geography

Src.: "Constitution of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia", *Federal Nägarit Gazeta*, 1 January 1995; *ibid.* 15, 2, 1955, 3–20; *ibid.* 47, 1, 12 September 1987; *ibid.* 47, 14, 18 September 1987, 1–24; *The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 8 December 1994 [unofficial English Translation from the Amharic Original]; DANIEL GAMACHU, "A Nation in Perpetual Transition: the Politics of Changes in Administrative Divisions and Subdivisions in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 2, 83–113 (Lit.); *blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŚELLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **ዝክረ፡ ነገር** (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba 1942 A.M. [1949/50 A.D.], 79f., 777-808, esp. 785; **በነጉሥ፡ ነገሥት፡ ቀዳማዊ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ፡ የቆመ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሕገ፡ መንግሥት** – *Constitution d'Éthiopie*, 9 *Ḥamle* 1923 A.M. [16 July 1931 A.M.]; *Guida* 33; IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT, CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE [CSA] (ed.), *Ethiopia. Statistical Abstract, 1964,* Addis Ababa 1964, 183–206; THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE (ed.), **መሪ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ለኢትዮጵያ** – *Guide Book of Ethiopia,* Addis Ababa 1954, 390–406.

Lit.: IRVING KAPLAN et al., *Area Handbook for Ethiopia,* Washington 1971, 286; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Kəlbl ṣərfät näw", *Ethiopian Register* 3, 2, 1996, 51–56; JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, "Law that Generates Instability: the Case of the Ethiopian Proclamation of September 1987", *NEASt* 12, 2–3, 1990, 83-91; ID., "Who Lives in Ethiopia, Where and Who is the Governor?", *African Bulletin* 46, 1998, 65–75; MARGERY PERHAM, *The Government of Ethiopia*, London 1948.

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ᶜAdohyammára and ᶜAsahyammára

ᶜAd. and ᶜAs. are the two former main political ↗ᶜAfar coalitions. ᶜAd. is the nominalization of *ᶜadóh yan mára* ('the people [*mára*] who are really white [ᶜ*adó-h*]') in ᶜAfar. The word is also pronounced *ᶜadoyammára* or *ᶜadó ya mára* ('the people who say [*ya*] white'). It is often misspelled in the European sources as "ᶜAdo maara" or "Adoimara". It is opposed to ᶜAs. 'the Red people' (with the same variants *ᶜasayammára* or *ᶜasá ya mára*).

This division has been given various explanations. Deschamps (1948:22f.), based on a tradition among the Debné of the Gōbaᶜád, explains the terms as referring to geographical distribution: the "White" living near the Red Sea shore. Franchetti (1930:233f.) claims that ethnic origin differentiates the "White" of Arab descent from the "Red" of an autochthonous stock. Lewis (1965:155) follows Odorizzi (1907:936f.), arguing that the ᶜAfar are divided into two classes: the "Asaimara" (the Red), or nobles, and the "Adoimara" (the White), or commoners. This is contradicted by the Adᶜáli, head of the sultanates of ↗Tagūra and ↗Raḥayta, who are "White". According to Chedeville, relying on Áwsa chronicles, the original meaning of the two words is political and linked to the wars which raged at the end of the 18th cent. for the control of the fertile lands along the river ↗Awaš.

The reference to colours appears to be political, each colour referring to one coalition of tribes. The above mentioned period of struggle was for this reason given the name of *ᶜídi-k ᶜísi* ('White and Red'). It led to the end of the dynasty of *imāms* who had been in power since 1600 in Áwsa and to the victory of the "Red" Mōdaytó (Aydāḥissó) after the battle of Darma (1843). With the end of these wars, the original and precise meaning of this opposition between a White party and a Red party was slowly erased. While the Adᶜáli sultanates of Tagūra and Raḥayta are clearly ᶜAd., the complexity and diversity of the situation along the Awaš valley, where the competition for grazing lands never stopped, must be emphasized. Some subgroups changed from "White" to "Red". Thus the Maᶜandíyta of Immînó (Áwsa) are "Red", while the Maᶜandíyta who stayed in the Mabla mountains are "White". A third "Black" party seems to have disappeared and had been included in the White party after failing to reach Áwsa.

Subgroups which were not part of the scramble are neither "Red" nor "White". These include the ᶜAblé among the "White" Adᶜáli and the Ankâlá in the Bōri (↗Buri) peninsula ruled by the "Red" Dammohoytá.

Every major territorial entity (*bāḍó*) nominally headed by a member of a "White" or "Red" subgroup (or *kedó* 'tribe') includes groups of the other opposite party. The sultanate of Biḍu (called "Biru" by non-ᶜAfar), headed by the "Red" Dammohoytá Aḥawtó, comprises two other "Red" groups and three "White" groups. It can also be a mixed *bāḍó*, as the Dōdá one (including four "Red" and two "White" *ḍintó*, *Sēká-k Badoytá-m mēlá* and *Tamít kē Ḥaḍa-m mēlá*). In all there are nine ᶜAs. *bāḍó*: the Northern ᶜAfar include Biḍu, Buri, ᶜÍddi, Ḥertó and Teru (the two last severely weakened by constant ↗Wağarat [=Waydarat] raids); the Southern

ᶜAfar include Áwsa, Fantóyta, ᶜAggínni and Baᶜádu. There are nine ᶜAd. *bāḍó*: the Northern ᶜAfar include Dâhí-m mêlá and Balᶜossuwá; the Southern ᶜAfar include Raḥayta, Tağūra, Gōbaᶜád, Abūsá-mára, Badoytá-m mêlá, Debné (of Mullú) and Southern Wêᶜímá (Erär).

Lit.: EDOUARD CHEDEVILLE, "Quelques faits de l'organisation sociale des 'Afar", *Africa* 36, 1966, 173–96; DIDIER MORIN, *Le Ginnili, devin, poète et guerrier afar*, Paris 1991 (Langues et cultures africaines 16); ID., *Poésie traditionnelle des Afars*, Paris 1997 (ibid. 21); IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho*, London 1969, 155–73 (Lit.); HUBERT JULES DESCHAMPS, *Côte des Somalis*, Paris 1948, 22f.; RAIMONDO FRANCHETTI, *Nella Dancalia etiopica, spedizione italiana, 1928–29*, Milano 1930; DANTE ODORIZZI, *La Dankalia italiana del Nord*, 1907.

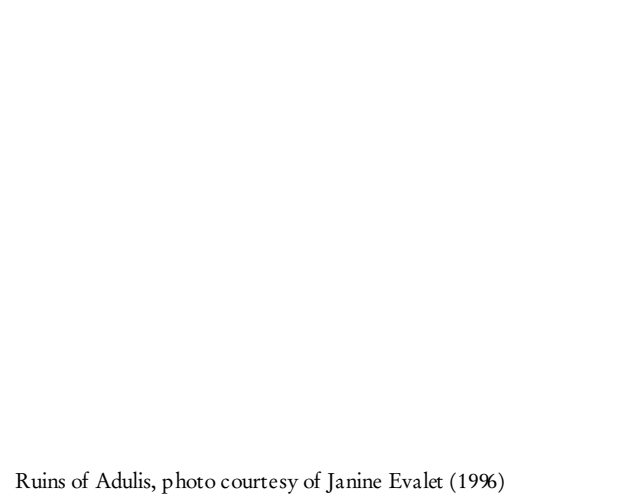
Didier Morin – Getachew Kassa

Adulis

A. (15°N, 36°40'E) was ↗Aksum's main port during the zenith of the Aksumite Empire, and is often mentioned in foreign reports. Through this port the Aksumite state maintained extensive trade contacts with the Roman and Byzantine empires, Southern Arabia, and India.

It seems that the city lay some distance (20 *stades*) from the actual port, which the sources refer to as "the harbour of the Adulitae", or ↗Gäbäza, perhaps a reminder of the original kingdom of Gäbäz which is mentioned in the inscription DAE 8 ("the king of Gäbäz, SBL, submitted to King Ǝllä ᶜAmida [Ousanas?] of Aksum"). A further suggestion/relict of this might be detected in the fact that the *Adulitae* are sometimes mentioned separately from the Aksumites and others. Ptolemy (d. ca. 160 A.D.), for example, names the *Regio Troglodytica* along the Red Sea coast, "in which live the *Adulitae* and the *Avalitae*"; later Epiphanius, listing nine kingdoms of the "Indians", refers to both Aksumites and Adulites. A. may also be identified with WDTT, as recorded in the geographical lists of the Egyptian 18th dynasty (ca. 1450 B.C.) as part of the Land of ↗Punt.

For Pliny (d. 79 A.D.), A. was a large centre of Ethiopian trade "founded by slaves from Egypt who had run away from their masters". A., according to Rackham (1952), means 'freeman's town'. At about the same time we have a major account of the trade of A. from the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, with lists of imports and exports. A. was an important emporium in the mid-1st cent. A.D., and most likely in Ptolemaic times as well. The port was possibly frequented by Greek and Phoenician ships in the 7th cent. B.C.,



Ruins of Adulis, photo courtesy of Janine Evalet (1996)

and was used by the Southern Arabs as a gateway to the plateau from the 6th–9th cent. A.D. Goods ranging from salt and slaves to gold and jewellery passed through A.

↗Cosmas Indicopleustes visited the town around 520 A.D., when it was governed by "Asbas" in King Kaleb's reign, and recorded the famous inscription ↗Monumentum Adulitanum. The text as he supplies it is an amalgam of two inscriptions, one originating from Ptolemy III of Egypt (r. 246–21 B.C.) and the other an Aksumite inscription dating from perhaps the 3rd cent. A.D., carved on a stone throne. It recounts the king's extensive campaigns in Ethiopia and even across the sea in Arabia. Unfortunately the preamble with the royal name is missing, but the text does mention A., stating that the king came there in his 27th year to sacrifice to Zeus, Ares and Poseidon. Maps in some of Cosmas Indicopleustes' manuscripts illustrate both the "customs-house of Gabaza" close to the coast, and "Aidoulis" further inland. The name Gäbäza, near A., is noted in the *Martyrium Sancti Arethae* as the place where ships were congregated for Kaleb's ↗Ḥimyar war.

The ancient site of A. is located in the coastal plain of the Gulf of ↗Zula, ca. 40 km to the South of Massawa, at the northern side of the river Ḥaddas, and at about four km from the coast. Test excavations conducted at A. unearthed the existence of a late prehistoric settlement beneath the Aksumite town, dating from the mid-2nd to early 1st millennium B.C. At this time A. was part of a coastal Afro-Arabian cultural complex including Sihi (Saudi Tihāma plain), Wādī ᶜUrayq (Yemeni Tihāma plain), and Sabir (Aden), stretching as far as the Ḥaḍramawt coast to the east and Mäṭära on the Eritrean plateau to the west.

The Aksumite site occupies an area of ca. 21 ha; a small site can also be found at Gäbäz. Aksumite A. was evidently a considerable city, as the excavations have shown. Remains of several collapsed buildings were found. Churches have been excavated there, one of them by the ↗Napier's British military expedition in 1868. Decorative elements made of imported marble from the ↗Byzantine empire were used. A great deal of imported Roman-Egyptian and Byzantine-Syrian pottery, dating from the 2nd–7th cent. A.D., occurs on the surface. The museum at Asmära today exhibits some similar elements as those from ↗Paribeni's excavations (1906), which revealed the bases of monumental buildings. A hoard of gold coins belonging to King ↗Ǝsraʾel of Aksum was found at A., together with many other Aksumite coins. Later excavation by Anfray (1961-62, under the auspices of the Ethiopian Institute of Archaeology) revealed an area of domestic housing, and, symbolic of the port's commercial significance for Aksumite exports, an ivory tusk.

Bishop Moses of A. is mentioned by Palladius, and the existence of a See of A. is confirmed by the *Notitiae Episcopatuum*. A., mentioned in Justinian's time by Procopius and Nonnosus, for example, may have remained active at least for another century or so, until the rise of Islam, when Aksum seems to have largely lost its Red Sea commerce during its decline. It has been customary to claim that the town was destroyed in 640 A.D. as the result of an Arab expedition, but the evidence is equivocal. Excavations revealed traces of fire, but the Arab expedition itself was counted a failure.

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Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Deux villes axoumites: Matara et Adulis", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 725–45; FEDERICO DE ROMANIS, *Cassia, cinnamomo, ossidiana*, Roma 1996; RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "Punt: the Archaeological Perspective", *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 6, 1996, 15–29; ENNO LITTMANN, "Preliminary Report of the Princeton University Expedition to Abyssinia", *ZA* 20, 1906, 176–82; ANDREA MANZO, "Breve notizia su un viaggio di studio in Eritrea", *RSE* 37, 1995, 115–33; DAE vol. 4, no. 8; STUART MUNRO-HAY, "The Foreign Trade of the Aksumite Port of Adulis", *Azania* 17, 1982, 107–25 (Lit.); ID., *Aksum. An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity*, Edinburgh 1991; ID., "The British Museum Excavations at Adulis, 1868", *Antiquaries Journal* 69, 1989, 43–52; ID., *Ethiopia and Alexandria, The Metropolitan Episcopacy of Ethiopia*, Warszawa–Wiesbaden 1997 (Bibliotheca nubica et aethiopica 5), 47ff.; ROBERTO PARIBENI, "Ricerche sul luogo dell'antica Adulis", *Monumenti antichi* 17, 1907, 437–572; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, "Mosè, vescovo di Adulis", *OrChrP* 13, 1947 (Miscellanea Guillaume de Jerphanion), 613–23; ERNST HONIGMANN, "Un évêque d'Adoulis au Concile de Chalcédoine", *Byzantion* 20, 1950, 296–301; JOHN HENRY FREESE, *The Library of Photius*, London 1920 (Translation of Christian literature, ser. 1: Greek texts 3), part 1, 17ff.; HENRY BRONSON DEWING (ed., tr.), *Procopius, The History of the Wars*, London 1914, 191.

Rodolfo Fattovich – Stuart Munro-Hay

ᶜAdwa

ᶜA. (ዓድዋ, also ᶜAduwa) is a historic town in central ↗Tägray and the former capital of the *awraǧǧa* by the same name. The name ᶜA. is also applied to the wide, fertile valley, at the northeastern edge of which the town is found. The population of ᶜA. was estimated at 6,000 in 1935 (*Guida* 240), 15,712 in 1970 and 24,519 in 1994.

The etymology of the name is uncertain. Dillmann (1878:196) suggests that it originated from *ᶜAd Awa, 'the city of the Awa', where "Awa" could have been the name of the **Aὐα** people mentioned in the Greek Inscription of Adulis (↗Monumentum Adulitanum). The inclusion of ᶜA. [Adwa] in a land deed of the 6th cent. Aksumite king Gäbrä Mäsqäl (Huntingford 1965:30) is not of any significance as the document is undoubtedly apocryphal. However, the

Detail from one of the earliest engravings of ᶜAdwa, early 19th cent., from Lefebvre 1845-48:15

deed from the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl in which the name is mentioned is authentic. In this case the name probably refers to the entire valley, which was then the *gʷəlt* of the monastery Ǝnda Abba Gärima (Conti Rossini 1910:37).

Long before ᶜA. came to be a residence of the ruling elite, it was probably, like ↗Gondär, a caravan-stop and a settlement of craftsmen and Muslim merchants. Sometime in 1561 or 1562 the Jesuit missionaries established their mission centre at ↗Fəremona to be close to this caravan-stop, convenient for corresponding with Goa and receiving their annual allowances.

In a way the history of ᶜA. can be read through that of its churches. The tradition credits the 18th-cent. Ṣäᶜazzägan *ras* ↗ᶜAndä Haymanot with the construction of an old church Ǝnda Maryam Ṣəyon, and with the foundation of ᶜA. However, this church was probably built by *däğğazmač* ↗Zämaryam, rebellious *mäsfən* of the province, who was appointed governor of Təgray by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs I (1667–82). About 1680 ᶜA. was the seat of his administration. The importance of ᶜA. was the reason why the town was given a relatively long description by the Frenchman Charles ↗Poncet, who passed through it in 1700.

The church of Ǝnda Mikaʾel was constructed in July 1749 by *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul (Crummey 2000:108). The next church, that of Ǝnda Gäbrəʾel, was built by *däğğazmač* ↗Wäldä Gäbrəʾel, the son and successor of Mikaʾel Səḥul. Its construction was completed long before his death in 1788 in a battle with *ras* ↗Ali Gʷangul.

The churches were built on top of the hills overlooking the valley of the river ↗ᶜAsäm, on the left side of which had flourished the old settlement of merchants and the area that came to be known as Ǝslamge, or the quarter of the Muslims. "Slange" (a corruption of Ǝslamge) is still the local name for the parish of Ǝnda Mädḫane ᶜAläm, the church built by *däğğazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu (d. 1831). This part of ᶜA., where Armenian and Greek merchants and Arab craftsmen lived and intermarried with local merchants and craftsmen, is described in the travel accounts. It was here that the fine cotton clothes, the elegant saddles and trappings and the artistic silver and gold jewellery were produced (DAE III, 51–59).

The last important church, that of Ǝnda Śəllase (↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase) was built in the early 1870's by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV on the location where the house of *ras* Mikaʾel Səḥul had once stood. His church, too, with its paintings by the distinguished cleric of Goğğam, *alläqa* ↗Luqas, and innumerable other historic and artistic relics, including the flag used by its founder, disappeared in the flames which completely destroyed it after the ↗Revolution of 1974, during the *Därg* period.

Aṣe Yoḥannəs IV made ᶜA. the residence of his court for a few years at least (1871, 1874, 1875), and returned to the town several times on different occasions. The town's prosperity praised in the travel accounts came to an end as unexpectedly as the death of Yoḥannəs in 1889.

ᶜA.'s commerce and cottage industry were destroyed when the Italians established themselves in Eritrea and began to flood northern Ethiopia with imports of cheap Japanese and American cotton textiles. ᶜA. was hardly affected by the Italian presence from 1935 to 1941. Remembering the role the hills and ridges played in their 1896 defeat, the Italians intended to create an "Italian ᶜA." to the north of the town, at the foot of the Fəremona of the Jesuits, where formerly they had their consulate. The result was a few administrative buildings and military barracks.

After a century of depression and poverty, the town has begun to experience a slight economic revival under the administration of the Tigray People's Liberation Front, which has built a textile factory and a reservoir for the supply of water. As the town has considerably expanded in the last ten years it has acquired a sixth church, Ǝnda Kidanä Məḥrät.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar, s. index; JAMES THEODORE BENT, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians; being a Record of Travel and Research in Abyssinia in 1893*, London – New York 1896; BruNile; *Guida* 240ff.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Documenta ad illustrandam historiam. I. Liber Axumae*, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1910 (CSCO 58 [SAe 27]), 37f., no. 31 (tr.); IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT, CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE (ed.), *Ethiopia. Statistical Abstracts 1970*, Addis Ababa 1970, 32; CHARLES WIL-

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Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia, from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*, Urbana, IL 2000, 108; DAE III, 51–59; AUGUST DILLMANN, "Über die Anfänge des Axumitischen Reiches", *Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1878, 177–238, here 196; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa – Nairobi 1965 (Monographs in Ethiopian Land Tenure no. 1), no. 4, 30; PankHist I, 192–98, 215–27, II, 89–107, see index, (Lit.); AUGUSTUS BLANDY WYLDE, *Modern Abyssinia*, London 1901; ZEWDE GABRE-SELLASSIE, *Yohannes IV of Ethiopia: a Political Biography*, Oxford 1975, s. index.

Merid Wolde Aregay

ʿAdwa, battle of

On 1 March 1896 a major battle took place near the town of ↗ʿA. between an all-Ethiopian army headed by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and an Italian colonial army commanded by General Oreste ↗Baratieri. It ended with a decisive Ethiopian victory. The battle of ʿA. culminated two decades of Ethiopian military successes against foreign invaders and intruders in the north (the Egyptians, the Sudanese Mahdists and the Italians), as well as against numerous local peoples conquered in the south. The ʿA. victory ushered in a new era in Ethiopia's history and determined much of its 20th-cent. developments.

The confrontation with Italy had begun in February 1885 following the Italian landing and occupation of ↗Massawa. Though they were defeated by *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda in ↗Dogʿali, on 25 January 1887, the Italians, exploiting *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs's conflict with the Mahdists, managed to capture Asmära (December 1888). After Yoḥannəs was killed by Mahdist bullets (in the battle of ↗Mätämma, on 10 March 1889) the Italians marched to the river Märäb and on 1 January 1890 declared their colony of Eritrea. Their simultaneous negotiations with the new Emperor Mənilək resulted in the Treaty of Wəčale (2 May 1889, ↗Italo-Ethiopian convention of 1889), which postulated Ethiopian recognition of Italian Eritrea, but left two points of contention. Mənilək refused to accept the ↗Märäb as Eritrea's border and the Italians interpreted artide 17 of the treaty as implying their protectorate over the whole of Ethiopia. Thus the Italian occupation of Eritrea gave a new momentum to the conflict between imperialist Italy and Mənilək's new regime. It was a confrontation over the very sovereignty of Ethiopia, an issue which was to be determined by the March 1896 battle.

During the 1890–96 period, trying to promote their imperialist goals in Ethiopia, the Italians resorted to a twofold strategy. One dimension of it, advocated mainly by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was diplomatic. They did their best to tempt Mənilək to accept their interpretation of Article 17 and tried to mobilize other European powers to exert pressure on the Ethiopian monarch in this direction. This line of action – appeasing the Šäwan court in Addis Abäba – was nicknamed "politica scioana". It stood in contrast with, but also completed the other dimension of the Italians' imperialist scheme, which was nicknamed "politica tigrigna". The latter option focused on subversive activities in Təgray, on exploiting the centrifugal tendencies of provincial leaderships. The pivotal element in this policy (pursued mostly by the Ministry of Colonies and the government of the colony of Eritrea) was the hope turning the Təgrayans' resentment against the new Šäwan Emperor into an open revolt, which would dismember the country and pave their way to its control.

Mənilək resisted the Italians and managed to stem their double effort. Insisting on the redemarcation of the border with Eritrea and denying the Italians' claim to a protectorate over Ethiopia, the emperor allowed the Italian "politica scioana" no gains. Though negotiations continued all throughout the period under discussion, by mid-1894 a diplomatic stalemate had prevailed. Mənilək also managed to stem the "politica tigrigna" by gradually wining over all the provincial leaders. In June 1894, even the leading figures of Təgray, headed by *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs and *ras* Alula, travelled to Addis Abäba to pay their homage to the Emperor. Mənilək's power rested now on the successful occupation and annexation (which had started in the mid-1870s) of vast territories in the

Positioning of the army forces during the battle of ᶜAdwa (©Evgenia Sokolinskaia 2002, after Pétridès 1963)

south, the distribution of their lands among his loyal followers and the channelling of their commerce to the capital. He was thus in position to build an all-Ethiopian army comprised mainly of the various provincial forces. Though still traditionally mobilized, commanded and supplied, these Ethiopian forces – already reflecting the newly accumulated wealth of Mənilək's provincial elite – were mostly equipped with firearms.

The count-down towards the military confrontation began after the rainy season of 1894. *Ras* Mängäša Yoḥannəs, back in Təgray, began building an Ethiopian advance force. In December the Italian appointed governor of Akkälä Guzay, ↗Bahta Ḥagos, revolted against the Asmära government. On 12 January 1895 Mängäša, retaliating on an Italian raid on ᶜA., penetrated into Eritrea, engaged Italian forces at Kʷäᶜatit and was forced to retreat two days later. In March 1895 Baratieri invaded Təgray in full force and occupied most of it.

In September 1895 Mənilək issued an ↗*ᶜäwaǧ*, a call to arms, for the entire Ethiopian population. A substantial part of the assembled forces was sent to Təgray under *ras*↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel, *ras*↗Mikaʾel ᶜAli and *ras*↗Wale Bəṭul. On 7 December they inflicted a defeat on the Italians in ↗Ambalage (the latter suffered some 2,000 dead) and on 21 January 1896, after a long siege of the invaders in ↗Mäqälä, the Italian garrison there surrendered. The survivors were allowed to return to Eritrea with their arms.

Meanwhile, both major armies were assembling. By mid-February 1896 a 20,000-man strong Italian army – half of it local Eritrean recruits – equipped with 52 modern mountain-guns was entrenched some 30 km east of ᶜA. The Ethiopian imperial army, headed by Mənilək himself, camped near the town. Various estimates put the number of its fighting men at over 100,000, 80,000 of them with firearms. By one account their composition was as follows: army of *aṣe* Mənilək: 35,000 infantry (25,000 gunmen, 10,000 lancers), 8,000 cavalry; *ətege*↗Ṭaytu: 5,000 infantry; *ras* Wale: 8,000 infantry (6,000 gunmen, 2,000 lancers); *ras*↗Mängäša Atikäm: 8,000 infantry (5,000 gunmen, 3,000 lancers); *ras* Mängäša Yoḥannəs and *ras* Alula Ǝngəda: 5,000 gunmen, 5,000 lancers, 3,000 cavalry; *ras* Mikaʾel of Wällo: 6,000 gunmen, 5,000 lancers and 5,000 Oromo cavalry; *ras* Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel: 25,000 gunmen; *fitawrari* Gäbäyyähu: 8,000 infantry; *nəguś* Täklä Haymanot: 5,000 gunmen, 5,000 lancers and 3,000 cavalry (Pétridès 1962:156f., cp. also Pankhurst 1996 with slightly varying figures). The huge Ethiopian force depended on a roughly similar number of followers, who saw to its supplying in much the same way Ethiopian traditional armies had acted for centuries. As in practically all previous battles fought as from the 1870s in the north, its tactics remained geared on the same routine: manoeuvring the enemy into the open, shooting at him en masse from the distance, the cavalry storming later to end the task. This kind of tactics had been successfully implemented in such major battles as ↗Guraᶜ (March 1876 against the Egyptians), ↗Kufit and Mätämma (September 1885 and March 1889 against the Su-

danese). In one decisive recent battle it was, however, a failure. When Emperor Yoḥannəs's army faced the Italian army of general ↗San Marzano in late March 1888 on Eritrean soil nearby Säḥaṭi (Dogʿali), all attempts by *ras* Alula and *ras* Mikaʾel to lure the Italians into the open failed. The Ethiopians themselves had no option of storming the better-equipped, modernly supplied, entrenched Italians (one attempt at that proved disastrous), and the confrontation turned into a war of attrition, logistics and supplies. After the Ethiopian army had consumed all its supplies and exhausted provisions from the country around, Yoḥannəs had to break his camp and withdraw, practically abandoning Eritrea to the Italians.

Much to his disaster Baratieri deviated now from San Marzano's tactics. He knew that Mənilək was logistically far better prepared than Yoḥannəs had been in 1888, while his own army was much too far from Massawa to be conveniently supplied, as San Marzano had been. He decided to gamble on his better mobile artillery and firing power and initiated an attack. On the night between 29 February and 1 March, one of his divisions remained camping while three others began moving towards ʿA. The plan, however, was discovered by spies sent by *ras* Alula, who acted as Mənilək's chief military adviser. While the three Italian columns separated from each other, some of their commanders losing their way, the Ethiopian forces positioned themselves on the hills. They found their enemies precisely where they wanted them – in the open and exposed to crossing fire. The results were disastrous for Baratieri. The day of 1st March 1896 ended with some 7,000 Italians (including Eritrean recruits) dead, some 1,500 wounded and 3,000 prisoners. The Ethiopians suffered some 4,000–6,000 dead and some 8,000 wounded, but their victory was decisive. Baratieri and the rest of his force retreated beyond the Märäb and the prisoners began a humiliating march to Addis Abäba. Eritrean recruits among the prisoners were punished by mutilation. The Italian prisoners were not freed, prior to lengthy negotiations and the intervention of other European Powers and the Papacy.

As the Italians were retreating hastily, *ras* Alula demanded from Mənilək to pursue them into Eritrea. He said he would recapture Asmära and drive them to the sea. Mənilək's refusal, and his order to dismember the all-Ethiopian army, has remained controversial to this day. Many argued that he refrained from freeing Eritrea, afraid of thus reuniting the Təgrañña speakers. Others maintained it was a very sober decision. The Ethiopian forces, even after ʿA., had no capabilities of storming entrenched modern positions.

Mənilək preferred to capitalize diplomatically on the victory, and in this he was successful. Within less than two years, all the major European Powers signed treaties with Ethiopia in which they recognized its sovereignty and territorial integrity. (Negotiating with the defeated Italians, Mənilək now accepted the Märäb border with Eritrea.) The victory of ʿA., indeed, consolidated the independence of the Ethiopian state. Instead of falling to European imperialism, like nearly all societies and political entities in Africa and the East, Ethiopia emerged now much stronger than before. Her sovereignty – with the notable exception of Mussolini's disastrous adventure in the 1930s – was not to be challenged any more. The collective memory of the victory remained vivid in the consciousness of Ethiopians and ʿA. Day became perhaps the more meaningful national symbol, never to be really overshadowed by other national holidays later introduced by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I or Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam. In March 1996, the centenary of ʿA. was celebrated all over the country. The international community of Ethiopianists gathered in Addis Abäba and in ʿA. to shed new lights on the battle and its significance. Most papers presented did reaffirm that the late-19th-cent. victory over European imperialism was the most formative development in Ethiopia's modern annals, and that indeed ʿA. left a legacy which shaped much of the country's 20th-cent. history.

↗Boundaries; ↗ Italian war 1895–96

Src.: *şähafe təʾəzaz* GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE, **ታሪክ፡ ዘመን፡ ዘዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ** (*Tarikä zämän zädagmawi Mənilək nəguśä nägäśt zäʾityopya*, 'Chronicle of Mənilək II, King of Kings of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.]; GueCopMen s. index; ORESTE BARATIERI, *Memorie d'Africa (1892–1896)*, Milano – Roma – Firenze 1898; CORTICELLI, *Inchiesta tecnico-militare, sul combattimento del 1. Marzo*, Roma 1896.

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Haggai Erlich

Adyabo

A. (**አድያቦ**, also ᶜAdyabo, ᶜAddi Abo, traditionally explained as 'the country of Father[s]') is the most westernly district in the sub-province of ↗Šire, Western Təgray, directly south of the Märäb. It used to be divided into two districts, Laᶜəlay Adyabo ('upper A.') and Taḥtay Adyabo ('lower A.').

A., seems to have been attested (as Adäbo) as early as in the 4th cent., in an inscription of ↗ᶜEzana (RIE 187, cp. Conti Rossini 1928:133). In later times A. appears in land charters of the Emperors ↗Dawit II (Huntingford 1965:32) and ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob. The last one of these, confirmed by ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (Conti Rossini 1909:28f.), informs that some parts of A. were given as a fief to ↗Däbrä Bizan, the center of Ewosṭatean movement. Late in the 17th cent. *aṣe* Iyasu I passed through A., as he proceeded to fight the "Šanqəlla" (GuiIohan 165, 169). In the mid-19th cent. Ṣadiq, one of the local governors of A., fought against the ↗Kunama, enlarged the territory under his power into the north-west lowlands and for some time made most of the northern Kunama his tributaries (Munzinger 1864b:3f.; Hassenstein 1864:44f.) and even made raids against ↗Nara.

Travellers' accounts of the 19th cent. described A. as a thickly forested area and a hunting ground for various wild animals (e.g., Lefebvre 1840, Parkyns 1843–44). Elephants were found in particular abundance. Its ecological diversity, soil fertility and resource-rich lands made A. conducive for agricultural development and reliable pastoral economy. A large number of landless peasants and pastoralists from Təgray, Eritrea and even Sudan migrated to A. beginning from the early 20th cent.

During the last decade before the ↗Italian war of 1936–41, A., which formed a significant part of the border with Eritrea, was a region of constant tension and military incidents. After the liberation A. remained in Šire, divided between two *wärädas*. The Imperial government developed a symbolic state farm in A., the Taḥtay Adyabo-Ḥadägti Agricultural Development Unit (TAHADU). In the wake of the 1974 ↗Revolution, however, most its workers were influenced by the politics of different insurgent groups, especially the Ethiopian Democratic Union, the Eritrean Liberation Front and the Təgray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). The TPLF launched its armed struggle from its first base of operation at Dädäbit, in Taḥtay Adyabo.

A. is still one of the remaining fertile and resource-endowed districts of Təgray, with rich gold and marble deposits.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Documenta ad illustrandam historiam. I. Liber Axumae*, Parisiis — Lipsiae 1910 (CSCO 58 [SAe 27]), 28, no. 16 (tr.); GuiIohan 165, 169; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa – Nairobi 1965 (Monographs in Ethiopian Land Tenure no. 1), 32; WERNER MUNZINGER, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Schaffhausen 1864a, 404–35; ID., "Bericht über seine Reise von Massaua nach Kordofan, 1861 und 1862", in: THEODOR VON HEUGLIN et al. (eds.), *Die Deutsche Expedition in Ost-Afrika, 1861 und 1862*, Gotha 1864b, 1–13, here 3f.; BRUNO HASSENSTEIN, "Bemerkungen zu den Karten", in: *ibid.*, 37–46, here 44f.; THÉOPHILE LEFEBVRE, *Voyage en Abyssinie exécuté pendant les années 1839–1843*, Paris [n.d.], vol. 1, 211–21; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia*, London 1953, vol. 1, 245–351; RIE 187; CORRADO ZOLI, *Etiopia d'oggi*, Roma 1936, s. index.

Lit.: GIOVANNI ELLERO, *Antropologia e storia d'Etiopia. Note sullo Scire, l'Endertá, i Tacruri e il Uolcait*, ed. by GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, Udine 1995, 14, 16f., 29, 37, 44, 110, 128; **ደደቢት** (*Dädäbit*), February 1994 [Publication of the TPLF on the 17th anniversary of the Organisation]; JOHN YOUNG, *Peasant Revolution in Ethiopia: The Tigray People's Liberation Front, 1975–1991*, Cambridge 1997.

Tsegay Berhe G. Libanos

Adyam Sägäd ↗ Iyasu I

Adyam Sägäd ↗ Iyasu II

Aʾəlaf Sägäd ↗ Yoḥannəs I

Aʾəməro

A. (**አእምሮ**, lit. 'knowledge, intellect'), a handwritten Amharic weekly, is often considered to be the earliest Amharic newspaper. In fact, another handwritten Amharic daily of unknown title, produced by *blatta* ↗ Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabaḥer and distributed by him before 1900 at *aṣe* Mənilək's court, could be referred to as the very first Amharic newspaper (s. Pankhurst 1962:260).

A. was established in 1902 by the Greek Andrea Kavadia and ceased "publication" in 1903, because the arrival of the printing machine *aṣe* Mənilək had promised was delayed. Its circulation was limited at first to 24 handwritten copies (Gaselee 1932; Zervos 1936:269) and to 200 copies later when a copying machine was available. Though it resumed publication towards the end of 1914, it was interrupted again in 1916, according to Pankhurst (1962:262), due to the editor's pro-German inclinations, and revived in 1924 to expand into an eight-page paper, which carried on until the Italian occupation in 1935.

Each copy of the issues of 1906–07 A.M. [1914–15 A.D.] had three pages of news and one page of advertisements. The news focused on the war in Europe (casualties were reported), on visits of leaders and delegates and on agreements on economic and political matters. The news about local issues dealt with: the activities of the Emperor and the noblemen; religious leaders and their speeches; decrees of the government; appointments and promotions; life in the capital; and letters to the editor. In the issues covering the period 14 June 1924 [7 *Säne* 1916 A.M.] to 31 August 1935 [25 *Näḥase* 1927 A.M.] the paper dealt mainly with current world events. Contemporary relationships among European countries, foreign news and politics, especially issues concerning power politics and the balance of power, dominate the pages.

Many articles condemn tribal differences and preach the need for Ethiopian unity, highlighting its role in the achievement of better education, civilization and way of life. Among the things common to most of these moralistic writings are repeated references and allusions to religious works with loud biblical overtones. The language they use and the evidence they cite to support their arguments almost always came from religious texts. As of 20 July 1935 [13 *Ḥamle* 1927 A.M.] A. begins continuously to publish articles on Italy's intentions to invade Ethiopia.

Many articles describing religious holidays or reporting wedding ceremonies of the aristocracy and the nobility and the birthdays of their families were published during the five years before the Italian invasion. Gaselee (1932) and Pankhurst (1962:271) state that in 1929 the circulation of the newspaper was 200 as opposed to that of ↗*Bərhanənna sälam*, which had a circulation of 500 copies.

Src.: *Aʾəməro*, 7 *Säne* 1916 A.M. [14 June, 1924 A.D.] – 25 *Näḥase* 1927 A.M. [31 August 1935 A.D.] (ca. 200 issues out of 572 have been examined).

Lit.: STEPHEN GASELEE, "The Beginning of Printing in Abyssinia", *Library* ser. 4, 11, 1932; ADRIEN ZERVOS, *L'empire d'Éthiopie. Le miroir de l'Éthiopie moderne 1906–1936*, Alexandria 1936; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Foundations of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 3, 1962, 247–90; **የብርሃንና ሰላም ቀዳማዊ ኃይለ ሥላሴ ማተሚያ ቤት የ50ኛው ዓመት የወርቅ የቤልዩ** 1914–1964 (*Bərhanənna sälam qädamawi Ḫaylä Śəllase mattämiya bet yäʿamsaññaw ʿamät yäwärq yubelәyu*, 'Bərhanənna Sälam Ḫaylä Śəllase I Printing Press. Golden Jubilee 1921–1971'), Addis Abäba 1971; FEKADE AZEZE, "The Possible Role of Newspapers in the Study of Ethiopian Literature and Literary 'Criticism': the Case of Berhanena Sälam and Aemero", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 163–74 (Lit.); ID, *The Intellectual in the Ethiopian Novel, 1930–74*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Sheffield 1988, 41–45.

Fekade Azeze

Aʾəməro

A. (**አእምሮ**, also known as "A. of Gondär") was a ↗*däbtära*, master of ↗*qəne* poetry and leading singer. A., whose background and early life are obscure, was a learned clergyman who was said to have served the Bäʾata church in Gondär during the last quarter of the 19th cent. He was an expert of ↗*qəne* and ↗*zema* and as such he ran one of the outstanding schools in this field in Gondär during the 1880s. He was also famous for his powerful voice and ability to sing, a talent which attracted numerous worshippers from within and outside the city of Gondär.

He was taken captive together with his wife by the ↗Mahdists in 1888 when they overran the city, and he allegedly embraced Islam out of his own conviction in the Sudan.

Src.: AmhChurchDic vol. 5, 106; ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄŚƎLLASE, **ኢትዮጵያና መተማ የአጼ ዮሐንስ አጭር ታሪክ** (*Ityoṗyanna Mätämma. Yäʾaṣe Yoḥannəs aṭṭər tarik*, 'Ethiopia and Mätämma. A Short History of Emperor Yoḥannəs'),

Addis Abäba 1910 A.M. [1917/18 A.D.]), 17; MÄNGƎŚTU LÄMMA, መጽሐፈ፡ ትዝታ፡ ዘአለቃ፡ ለማ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ወልደ፡ ታሪክ (*Mäṣḥafä təzzəta zä'aläqa Lämma Ḫaylu Wäldä Tarik*, 'The Book of Reminiscences of *aläqa* Lämma Ḫaylu Wäldä Tarik'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], 98.

Bairu Tafla

Ešcoly (Weintraub), Aaron Ze'ev

A. (b. 1901, d. 1948) studied in Berlin, Liège and Paris and also taught briefly at the Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes (↗Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales). Although he emigrated to Palestine in 1925, he continued to conduct much of his research in Paris. His scholarly writings included studies of ethnology and Jewish messianism, many of which were published posthumously. He took a special interest in the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel. His publications on this subject included a bibliography, published in 1937, which listed over 600 items on the group, a general introduction to their life and literature in Hebrew, *Sefer Ha-Falašim* (1943), and an edition and translation of Betä Ǝsraʾel religious texts, *Recueil de textes falachas* (1951), which appeared posthumously.

Src.: AARON ZE'EV AEŠCOLY, *Recueil de textes falachas*, Paris 1951 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Éthnologie 5); ID., *Sefer Ha-Falašim* ('The Book of the Fälaša'), Jerusalem 1943, ²1973; STEVEN KAPLAN – SHOSHANA BEN-DOR, *Ethiopian Jewry: an Annotated Bibliography*, Jerusalem 1988, nos. 20–38, 278–84.

Lit.: ZEEV GRIES, "*Sofaro šel ha-mašiah* ('The Messiah's Scribe')", *Davar*, 14 October 1994, 23 [Supplement].

Steven Kaplan

Aethiopica – Revue philologique

A. was a journal of Ethiopian studies that was edited in 1933–36 by Sylvain ↗Grébaut (vol. 1, 1933 in 3 nos., vol. 2, 1934 in 4 nos., vol. 3, 1935 in 4 nos., vol. 4, no. 1, 1936). Its articles were mainly written by the French and in French, but it was published in New York by the Alma Egan Hyatt Foundation.

A. (altogether 466 pages) contains many short but important articles on Ethiopian literature, Classical Ethiopic (↗Gəʿəz) text editions (with translation) and observations made on the basis of unpublished manuscripts. See, for example, an inventory of (333) "manuscrits éthiopiens de la Mission Griaule" in vol. 1 (1933, 23–35), vol. 2 (1934, 16–22, 50–54, 65–69, 110–14), and vol. 3 (1935, 27–32, 82ff., 154–61). Among the many classical Ethiopic texts edited are "Édition des spécimens poétiques", vol. 2 (1934, 33–36), vol. 3 (1935, 41–44, 118–24, 175–81); "Prière pour l'Éthiopie et les Éthiopiens", vol. 3 (1935, 102–8); "Deux formules de bénédicité", vol. 3 (1935, 49–57); "Un nouveau recueil des miracles de l'enfant Cyriaque", vol. 3 (1935, 33–36, 85–91); "Un recueil ancien de Mawâseʾet", vol. 4 (1936, 7–13). Note the interesting "Édition des dialogues Gəʿəz-Français", in vol. 4 (1936, 23–32).

Nearly all contributions are from the editor. A few notes are (as in ↗*Æthiops*) from Marcel ↗Griaule, Michel ↗Leiris, Aaron ↗Ešcoly, Marius ↗Chaîne, and Geneviève Nollet ("Les miracles de Gabra-Manfas-Qedous", vol. 1, 1933, 41–47, 64–73; vol. 2, 1934, 37–43, 70–81; vol. 3, 1935, 109–14, 162–70). The journal does not appear to be well-known.

Since 1998 the title is associated with the yearly publication *Aethiopica. International Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, edited at the Asien-Afrika-Institut, Hamburg.

Lit.: JOSEPH TUBIANA, "Æthiops – Æthiopica – Æthiops 1922–1938. Sylvain Grébaut à la tâche", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 7–26.

Rainer Voigt

Aethiopistische Forschungen

The AeF is a monographic series, whose over 60 volumes (published as of 2003) are devoted to the traditional spheres of ↗Ethiopian studies, such as philology, linguistics, history, art and culture. Founded in 1977 and edited until 1993 by Ernst ↗Hammerschmidt, it is published by Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden (till 1993 by Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden – Stuttgart).

The primary focus of AeF is philology and history. The preference lies with critical text editions, such as, Weischer's edition of Qerəllos [vols. 2, 4, 6, 7, 31], Heide's edition of the Testaments of Isaac and Jacob [vol. 56] and, especially, the sub-series "Novum Testamentum Aethiopica" where critical editions of the New Testament texts appear (e.g., Zuurmond's editions of Gospels of Mark and Matthew [vols. 27, 55], Hoffmann and Uhlig's Catholic Letters [vol. 29]), but also with philological research (Hammerschmidt's study of anaphoras [vol. 25]). The texts edited in the AeF series are often in languages other than Gəʿəz, e.g., Amharic works of Aṣmä Giyorgis Gäbrä Mäsih edited by Bairu Tafla [vol. 18], Harari documents edited by Wagner [vol. 13] or Arabic *Sīrat al-Habaša*

by al-Haymī edited by van Donzel [vol. 21].

A great deal of attention in the AeF is also devoted to editions of historic texts and historical studies (cf. Bairu Tafla's edition of chronicle of Yoḥannəs IV [vol. 1], his studies of Ethio-German [vol. 5] and Ethio-Austrian [vol. 35] relations or Pankhurst's studies on the history of Ethiopian towns [vols. 8, 17]).

A number of AeF volumes are devoted to language studies (cf., for example, publications by Leslau on Muḫər, Argobba [vols. 11, 47], by Hartmann and Kapeliuk on Amharic [vols. 3, 23, 37] or by Mohammed Ali and Zaborski on Oromo [vol. 30]), to anthropology (e.g., Molvaer, Aspen on Amhara [vols. 44, 58]) and to bibliography (cf. Lockot's German-language [vol. 9] and English-language bibliographies [vol. 41] or Wagner's bibliography on Harär [vol. 61]).

Lit.: SIEGBERT UHLIG, "Die *Äthiopistischen Forschungen* in der internationalen Wissenschaft", in: SIEGBERT UHLIG – BAIRU TAFLA (ed.), *Collectanea Aethiopica*, Stuttgart 1988 (AeF 26); *http://www.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/AEF*.

Siegbert Uhlig

Æthiops - Bulletin Geᶜez

Æ. was a journal of Ethiopian studies that appeared in Paris (Geuthner publishing house) rather irregularly from 1922 to 1938 and was edited by Sylvain ↗Grébaut. There appeared six volumes (vol. 1, 1922 in 4 nos., vol. 2, 1923 in 4 nos., vol. 3, 1930 in 4 nos., vol. 4, 1931 in 4 nos., vol. 5, 1936 in 2 nos., vol. 6, 1938, 1 no. only). The lacuna in the early thirties was filled up by the journal ↗Aethiopica (1933–36).

Nearly all of the many short but important articles (altogether 304 pages) are written by the editor and deal with classical Ethiopic ↗Gəᶜəz literature and text editions (with translation). Many contributions contain valuable grammatical notes, additions to August Dillmann's *Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache* (1899) and morphological and lexicographic additions to August Dillmann's *Lexicon linguae Aethiopicae* (1865). Only a small part of these notes, that are often based on unpublished manuscripts, has been incorporated into Grébaut's *Supplément au Lexicon linguæ Æthiopicæ* (1952). The journal does not appear to be well-known.

Lit.: JOSEPH TUBIANA, "Æthiops – Æthiopica – Æthiops 1922–1938. Sylvain Grébaut à la tâche", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 7–26.

Rainer Voigt

Aethiops ↗Ityopis

Afä gubaʾe

A.g. (**አፈ፡ ጉባኤ**, 'mouth of the assembly') is a person acting or speaking on behalf of an assembly, council or a group of people (↗*Gubaʾe*). The second component denotes, among other things, a formal religious or secular gathering of delegates at a specific place and a particular time, such as **የኒቅያ፡ ጉባኤ** (*yäniqəya gubaʾe*, 'the Council of Nicaea' of 325 A.D.), **የቦሩ፡ ሜዳ፡ ጉባኤ** (*yäboru Meda gubaʾe*, 'the Council of Boru Meda' of 1878 A.D.) etc. *Af* signifies a person acting as a spokesman for a particular authority or a body of persons, as in the case of **አፈ፡ መምህር**, *afä mämhər*, **አፈ፡ ንጉሥ**, *afä nəguś*, **አፈ፡ ዓቃቤ፡ ሰዓት**, *afä ᶜaqqabe säᶜat*, **አፈ፡ ዝኾረ፡ እድ**, *afä nəburä əd*. While these examples refer to formal titles attached to specific offices, the temporary nature of the assignment has rendered A.g. merely a pseudo-titular position.

Src.: DTWDic 130; THMDic 835.

Bairu Tafla

Afä nəguś

A.n. (**አፈ፡ ንጉሥ**) is the title of the Imperial Chief Justice. The first component of the titular phrase denotes mouthpiece or representative, as in *afä gubaʾe*, *afä liq*, *afä mämhər*; hence, A.n. signifies one who speaks (or gives verdict) on behalf of the emperor. The provincial *nəguś* also appointed

Æthiops, cover page of the first issue

officials with a similar title, though those officials did not enjoy the same rank outside their jurisdiction.

The prerequisite for holding the office was either high learning in the interpretation of the ↗*Fəṯha nägäśt* and other traditions or a widely acknowledged sagacity and diction. In the case of the latter, a learned legal consultant was appointed to assist him. The A.n. was one of the highest court functionaries and as such he was usually a member of the Imperial Crown Council; he also commanded occasionally a military unit of his own. But his major task was to preside over the court of appeal. His decision was final, except in murder and treason cases, though the subjects could exercise their right of appeal to the sovereign, who presided over the court of justice (↗*Čəlot*) twice a week. A case had to be commented on by all (from the lowest in rank to the highest) present in the **ሰቀላ** (*säqäla*, 'courtroom') before the sovereign pronounced the verdict. In this process, the A. was the last official to speak, and his pronouncement was usually (but not always) confirmed by the emperor.

When exactly the office of A.n. was first instituted is not clear. The ↗*azzaž* and the ↗*blatten geta* apparently had pre-eminence in the Imperial Court of Justice from the 15th to the 18th cent. The A.n. rose to prominence in the second half of the 19th cent., particularly during the reigns of Tewodros II, Yoḥannəs IV and Mənilək II. In the era of the latter, the office was dominated by A.n. ↗Näsibu for over 30 years. In 1907 he included the newly established Ministry of Justice, thereby becoming the Chief Justice of the Empire as well as the Chief Executive in matters of the judiciary.

In the era of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I the two functions were separated, the A.n. being restricted to hearing appeals. An innovation of the period was also the creation of an assistant bearing the title of **ምክትል፡ አፈ፡ ንጉሥ** (*məkəttəl afä nəguś*, 'vice-A.n.').

↗Gəbbi

Src.: DillmLex 809; ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Dictionnaire de la langue amariñña*, Paris 1881 (Actes de la Société Philologique 10), 587; JOSEPH BAETEMAN, *Dictionnaire amarigna-français suivi d'un vocabulaire français-amarigna*, Dire-Daoua 1929, 644; *blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ SELLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **ዝክረ፡ ነገር** (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba ²1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 645f.; DTWDic.

Lit.: ALFRED ILG, "Über das Gerichtswesen in Äthiopien", *Jahresbericht der Geographisch-Ethnographischen Gesellschaft in Zürich pro 1911/1912*, 1912, 1–33.

Bairu Tafla

Afä qesar

A.q. (**አፈ፡ ቄሳር**, 'mouth of Caesar') is a peculiar title invented "for natives" by the Italian colonial authorities in Ethiopia (↗Africa Orientale Italiana) in imitation of the traditional Ethiopian title ↗*afä nəguś*. It was granted on 3 May 1939 by the Viceroy of Ethiopia Amedeo di ↗Savoia, Duke of Aosta, to ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus "in consideration of his particular merits to Italian East Africa". Probably it was done to compensate Afäwärq for the title of *afä nəguś* he had had bestowed on him by the future *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1925 when appointed President of the Special Arbitration Court. However, contrary to the views of some researchers (Gérard 1971:281), this Italian title was connected with no administrative function and was only honorific. This ephemeral title would be forgotten completely were it not associated with such a personality as Afäwärq, the first Amharic novelist.

Lit.: ALAIN ROUAUD, *Afä-Wärq, un intellectuel éthiopien témoin de son temps 1868–1947*, Paris 1991 (Contributions à la connaissance des élites africaines 6), 188f.; THOMAS LEIPER KANE, *Ethiopian Literature in Amharic*, Wiesbaden 1975, 12; ALBERT GÉRARD, *Four African Literatures: Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic*, Berkeley 1971, 281; ALBERTO SBACCHI, *Il colonialismo italiano in Etiopia: 1936–1940*, Milano 1980, 180.

Sevir Chernetsov

Afʿabät

A. (**አፍዐበት**, in Tgr. folk etymology 'mouth of God'), is a Təgre settlement, mentioned first in the 19th cent., in an area inhabited since ancient

times. Aksumite remains are reported ("Af Abed" in Blanford 1870:198; Danielli – Marinelli 1912:529). Heuglin (1877:128) describes A. as an arid plain in a valley, south-east of the Rora Baqla highlands, with the main seasonal camp of the pastoralist ↗ᶜAd Tämaryam of the Ḥabab. Inmidst of the plains there was a small dome with the tomb of the ᶜAd Tämaryam leader Šikar *wäld* Fiqaq (s. on him Sapeto 1857:226ff), erected a few years before by his son *šayḫ* Muḥammad *wäld* Šikar, as A. was their traditional centre. There were several other tomb buildings. A seasonal river, Athara, has its springs in the mountains west of A., passes it and flows into the Red Sea, like other small rivers north and south, parallel to it. In the east of A. the Labka valley provides a traditionally used route to the Sea. Early maps also note A. as a Təgre (seasonal) settlement. Later is loses its importance as a caravan market; only nearby Qub Qub in the North of A. on the new street between Kärän and Naqfa is mentioned in the 1930s, which had an Italian administrative post (*Guida* 215; KilHDic 44).

A. remained a seasonal camp and market until the 1950s, when US missionaries opened a school and a clinic and a police post was built. The government settled ↗ᶜAd Šek, ↗Bet Asgäde and other Təgre groups in A., but this was soon followed by local insurrections. When, in 1968, a garrison was established, A. developed into a town. It was captured in April 1977 by the Eritrean Liberation Front; their land reform, however, faced resistance from the local elders. After its recapture in 1978, A. became the headquarters of the *Nadäw* ('destroyer') command, a major supply depot and reserve base. It was the centre of Ethiopian Army intelligence, and the major base for offensives against the independence fighters in Saḥəl.

The 17–20 March 1988 battle of A. was one of the most significant engagements between the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) and the *Därg*. The town of A. was occupied; high-ranking commanders were captured, and, in the valley to the north, four divisions were effectively finished off. Within two weeks, the army stationed in western Eritrea pulled out of their garrisons in Täsänäy, Ḥaykota, Barentu and Aqordät, its remnants regrouping around Kärän. From now on, the movement's eventual success appeared almost certain.

Today A. is the capital of the homonymous sub-province in the *zoba* Sämenawi Qäyyəḥ Baḥri, with around 25,000 inhabitants.

Lit.: GIUSEPPE SAPETO, *Viaggio e Missione Cattolica fra i Mensâ i Bogos e gli Habab con un cenno geografico e storico dell'Abissinia*, Roma 1857, 221, 226ff; WILLIAM THOMAS BLANFORD, *Observations on the Geology and Zoology of Abyssinia*, London 1870, 198; THEODOR VON HEUGLIN, *Reisen in Nord-Ost-Afrika. Schilderungen aus dem Gebiete der Beni Amer und Habab*, Braunschweig 1877, 128f.; GIOTTO DAINELLI – OLINTO MARINELLI, *Risultati scientifici di un viaggio nella Colonia Eritrea*, Firenze 1912, 529; *Guida* 215; KilHDic 44ff.; DAN CONNELL, *Against All Odds: a Chronicle of the Eritrean Revolution*, Lawrenceville 1993; JEREMY HARDING, *Small Wars, Small Mercies: Journeys in Africa's Disputed Nations*, London 1993.

Richard Reid – Wolbert Smidt

ᶜAfar

ᶜA. (ᶜAfár) is the self-designation of the people inhabiting the desert regions of Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti, from the ↗Buri peninsula to the Gulf of ↗Tağūra and to the foothills of the Ethiopian plateau. ᶜA. groups traditionally live in towns at the edge of the ᶜA. territory in ↗Bati, ↗Massawa, ↗ᶜAsäb, and in the port of Djibouti. No precise census has been made of the population, whose number should not exceed half a million inhabitants distributed within an area of 150,000 km².

To the south, the ᶜA. are bounded by the ↗ᶜIssa Somali, to the south-west and to the west by the ↗Oromo, and to the north-west by the ↗Sāho, to whom they are linguistically related. The country is arid, with large zones consisting of lava, stone and salt. The ↗Awaš (Wēᶜáytu in ᶜA. language) is the only permanent river.

The name ᶜA. is not mentioned in ancient sources, unless it appears in the form "Afara" on

the map attributed to the Spanish pilot Nuño Garcia de Toreno (1522). The word has no explanation in the ᶜA. language. If Franchetti's (1930:226) hypothesis of a corruption of the mythical ↗Ophir (Gen 10:29) must be rejected, one may conjecture, due to continuous Arabian influx, a possible (but forgotten) link with the Omani group called ᶜAfār or ᶜIfār, living south of al-Mudaibi and of the Duruᶜ territory, and west of the Wahiba Sands. The same eponymous ancestor ᶜAfrāʾ is mentioned in the genealogies (a woman in the ᶜIfār's case).

The Southern ᶜA. are known as "Adäl" in Amharic (first mentioned in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, Kropp 1994) and "Danākil" in Arabic (sg. Dankalī). This name is used by the ↗Dankáli subgroup and has no etymological link to *donek* (*doyník*) 'boat', contrary to Odorizzi's assumption (1937:1).

"Danakil" is used in Amharic to designate the Northern ᶜA.; "Ṭənṭal" or "Ṭəlṭal" is also used by Təgrəññа speakers to designate ᶜA.-speaking groups such as the Ḥertó, and must be etymologically linked to "Dankal" (first mentioned by ↗Ibn Saᶜīd in the 13th cent., who seems to have confused the ᶜA. subgroups Ankālá and Dankáli).

Didier Morin

ᶜAfar ethnography

The ᶜA. territory is divided into major political and territorial units called *bāḍó* (generally translated as 'sultanate'), whose chiefs bear various titles: *amóyta* in ↗Áwsa and Bîḍu, *dardár* in Tağūra and ↗Raḥayta; *rēdántu* in the north. Each *bāḍó* is divided into *ḍintó* (from a verb meaning 'to be at peace, to sleep'), in which each tribe (or patrilineal clan, *kedó,* Northern ᶜA. *kidó*) has its definite territory. The Ethiopian Constitution of 1995 has established the ᶜA. Federal Region.

The possession of the land is collective (*wanó*) and subject to temporary tenancy agreements (*ᶜisó*). Recent droughts and seasonal incursions from the surrounding pastoralist groups (Somali on the southern frontier) have severely endangered the fragile equilibrium between man, animal, water and grass and created conflicts between cultivators in the former state farms and herdsmen along the Awaš valley. The bad reputation of the ᶜA. has been created by various explorers, a harsh environment and permanent incursions of the latter being responsible for frequent conflicts.

The traditional pastoralist tent (*daboytá*) is made of palm-fibre (*Hyphaene thebaica,* ᶜAfar *ᶜungá*). The tent is the wife's property. People live traditionally on milk and meat (and fishing on the Red Sea coast). Durrah is bartered in markets in exchange for skins and livestock. In Áwsa, cultivation, which already existed before the ↗Mōdaytó domination (19th cent.), goes back to the coming of Harálla (↗Harla) groups from Ifat (13th cent.), who drained the marshes of Kaló and developed agriculture under a "chief of the flooding [irrigation?]" (*baddá-h abba*).

Along with the ↗*šarīᶜa* (of the Shāfiᶜī code), the traditional customary law (*madᶜá*) based on jurisprudence gives the scale of compensation for various degrees of injury and offences. Being an ᶜA. means to share duties (hospitality, loyalty, solidarity) and to accept the *madᶜá* penalties. It is the *ᶜafarré-m* 'what all the ᶜA. have in common'. Crime is a collective responsibility of the *kedó* (the patrilineal clan) and is followed either by a war of reprisal or by compensation.

In rural areas, the age-group (*fiᶜmá*) plays an important role in terms of solidarity and social control. In such villages as Tağūra, it tends to play a more formal role in ceremonies and festivals. Kinship is classificatory. Marriage is based on limited exogamy and the first union is preferentially with a cross-cousin (*absumá*). For a male, his *absumá* is the daughter of his paternal aunt, for a girl her *absúma* is the son of her maternal uncle. Marrying someone else's *absumá* is a matter of legal feud (in such case even entailing vengeance by killing). Marriage with one's *nangaltá* ('offspring of maternal aunts') is forbidden.

ᶜAfar men, early 20th cent. (photo no. 4028-671, © Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg)

The extent of new practices such as marriages with non-ᶜA. women among recently settled and urban groups is largely unknown. Excision and infibulation seem to be systematically performed (↗Circumcision, female).

↗ᶜAdohyammára and ᶜAsahyammára

Src.: KrAmdS, s. index.

Lit.: MARCEL CHAILLEY, *Notes sur les Afars de Tadjoura,* Paris 1980; EDOUARD CHEDEVILLE, "Quelques faits de l'organisation sociale des Afars", *Africa* 36, 1966; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho*, London 1955, 155-76 (Lit.); DANTE ODORIZZI, "La Dankalia italiana del Nord. Relazione sulla Colonia Eritrea", *Camera di Deputati* 32, 1937, 1; RAIMONDO FRANCHETTI, *Nella Dancalia etiopica,* Milano 1930, 226.

Didier Morin

ᶜAfar history

Although the exact influence of the ᶜA. inside the kingdom of ᶜAdâᶜal (between the 13th and the 16th cent., ↗ᶜAdal) is still conjectural due to its multiethnic basis, as compared to their direct role in the formation of the kingdom of Dankáli, the name "ᶜAdal" is clearly borrowed from the Adᶜáli, which is the most ancient dynasty among the southern ᶜA. through the eponymous ancestor Adâᶜal.

An ancient influx of ↗Təgre-speaking groups into ᶜA. could explain some coincidences, cp. the prefix *ᶜad-* in Adᶜáli and *ᶜad* 'sons (of)' in various Beni ᶜAmər clan names (ᶜAd ᶜAlī, ᶜAd Ḥamad Bakīt). The historical evolution of the ᶜA. can be reconstructed from internal sources (mainly through traditional genealogies). They show that the tribal distribution changed after the collapse of ᶜAdal at the end of the 16th cent. A new political distribution is demonstrated by "The legend of Ḥaḍal Mâḥis" ('the man who was under the tree in the morning'), which is the core of an "ethnic novel". As it relates, among Ḥaḍal Mâḥis's sons there were Mōday (ancestor of the Áwsa Mōdaytó), Adaᶜâl (ancestor of the Adᶜáli), Sambol Lakʿóli (ancestor of the Dammohoytá and Têru Ḥaysantó), and Uluᶜtan (ancestor of the Uluᶜtó group). The first, third and fourth of these show that new nomadic groups challenged the dominant families, leading to new territorial divisions.

In the north, prior to the 15th cent., the Ankālá seem to have dominated scattered tribes, such as the Ḥadarmó (or Ḥadāréb, or ↗Ḥadārém, including the former Beğa and now Beni ᶜAmər Hadārab, s. ↗Hadaareb), Dulúm and Dankáli, from the Gulf of Tağūra to Buri (and even up to Sawākin according to Ibn Saᶜīd). At the beginning of the 15th cent., the Dankáli on the coast (Miᶜdír, ↗Baylūl) took over the Ankālá, except in Buri.

During the 17th cent., the kingdom of Dankáli became a vassal of Ethiopia and was weakened by the influx of the new nomad groups, Dammohoytá, Dulúm and Abōná. In the 18th cent., the Dammohoytá from their main town Miᶜdīr entered Buri, with the Balʿossuwá in the south-west. The Dankáli Fādiltó ruled over Baylūl.

During the 19th cent., Ankālá power declined in Buri, where they were confined by the ruling Dammohoytá to the less fertile part of the Peninsula around Makᶜannilé. The taking over of Áwsa by the Mōdaytó, who always considered Baylūl as part of their zone of influence, favoured the replacement of the Dankáli by the Nassár group, who, in their turn, were replaced by the Afᶜará coming from the eastern spurs of the Ethiopian plateau.

In the south, after the failure of the "second conquest" (↗Nūr b. Muğāḥid's death in 1567, emigration of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's family in Áwsa, 1577), the former territory of ᶜAdal split under growing Oromo pressure into "sultanates" (*bāḍó*). In the first half of the 17th cent., Tağūra (Tagórri), Raḥayta (Raḥaytó) became independent under the two branches of an Adᶜáli dynasty. The name "Tagora" appears on the anonymous map attributed to Diego Homem (ca. 1565).

From the hinterland behind ᶜAsāb and the south of Mount ↗Mūsa ᶜAli, corresponding to the high Wēᶜimá valley, waves of migration and a new period of ᶜA. history set the ᶜA. ᶜAdohyammára and ᶜAsahyammára in opposition to each other for the conquest of the Awaš valley. The groups coming from the Adᶜáli sultanates went southwards, while the Dāhí-m mēlá went northwards along with the Dammohoytá, who emerged from *wādī* Dammáhu and ruled over the sultanate of Bîḍu.

At the end of the 18th cent., from the eastern edge of Áwsa, the Mōdaytó tried to weaken the local Harálla and the *imāms*. Ḥanfaḍé Ayḍâḥis (r. 1832-62) won the final battle at Darmá (1834).

The rulers of Šäwa claimed the title of "King of ᶜAdal" (↗Śahlä Śəllase) but needed to remain on good terms with ᶜA. in order to ensure the safety of the caravan routes. Áwsa came under Ethiopian control after the battle of ᶜArraddó (January 1896).

The southern part of the Red Sea coast became a French Protectorate (1862, 1884 and 1885 treaties signed with the sultans of Tağūra, Raḥayta and ↗Gobaᶜad). In the name of Italy, Count Pietro ↗Antonelli signed a "convention for friendship and commerce" at Hadelè Gubò (ᶜA. *addalegúb* 'Deep-Camp', March 1883; later, on 9 December 1888, it was changed into a treaty of protectorate) with the *sulṭān* of Áwsa ↗Muḥammad Illalta, Ḥanfaḳé's son. On the Red Sea coast the territory bought (1869-70) from the Ankālá chiefs of ᶜAsáb by Father Giuseppe ↗Sapeto for the Rubattino Company was acquired by the Italian government (March 1882, ↗Colonia di Assab) and led to the creation of the Colonia Eritrea in 1890.

Lit.: DIDIER MORIN, *Poésie traditionnelle des Afars*, Paris 1997 (Langues et cultures africaines 21), 2–20; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London – New York – Oxford 1952, 171–77.

Didier Morin

ᶜAfar language

The ᶜA. language (*ᶜafar-áf*) belongs to the Lowlands East ↗Cushitic sub-group. The language is close to the ↗Sāho dialects.

The "frontier" between the two mutually intelligible ᶜA. dialects follows a theoretical line perpendicular to the Red Sea coast, starting from the port of ↗Baylūl towards the Ethiopian plateau and the ancient frontier between the kingdoms of ↗ᶜAdal and ↗Dankali. Apart from lexical variations, the non-deletion of a vowel in an open syllable before a stressed syllable (Southern dialect *ublé* 'I saw', Northern dialect *ubulé*) is a major isogloss with the subjunctive *-o* (*-u* in Southern ᶜA.). Inside the Southern dialect (Áwsa and Baᶜádu areas), one can note the vibrant realization [r] of the retroflex /ɖ/ in the intervocalic position. There are no differences in pronominal or verbal forms.

Apart from the numerous stylistic variations, the simple declarative sentence in ᶜA. fits the standard Cushitic type: Subject – Object – Verb word order. The consonant system includes: labials *f, b, m*; dento-alveolars *t, d, ḍ, n, l, r, s*; velars *k, g*; pharyngals *ḥ, ᶜ*; laryngal *h*. The vocalic phonemes are *i, e, u, o, a*, and long *ī, ē, ū, ō, ā*.

ᶜA. is a stress language with one relevant prosodic contrast on every syntactic unit: *áwka* 'boy', *awká* 'girl', *ḥaḍá-l māhisé* 'he was in the morning [*māhisé*] near the tree [*ḥaḍá-l*]'; *ḥaḍal māḥis* 'the one who was in the morning near the tree' (anthroponym, one stress on this compound noun).

The ten word list for ᶜA. is: *ínki* 'one'; *nammáy* 'two'; *sidóḥ* 'three'; *girá* 'fire'; *lē* 'water'; *alsá* 'moon'; *ayró* 'sun'; *ᶜabál* 'blood'; *arrabá* 'tongue'; *boddimá* 'tooth'.

Independent personal pronouns are in both dialects: *anú* 'I'; *atú* 'you'; *úsuk* 'he'; *is* 'she'; *nanú* 'we'; *ísin* 'you (pl.)'; *úsun* or *óson* 'they'. ᶜA. along with Saho (and Beğa) retains a prefix-conjugation for nearly half of the verbs, a most ancient feature of the Cushitic languages: *t-ubl-é* 'she [*t-*] saw [*bl-* past]'; *ab-t-é* 'she [*t-*] made [*ab-* past]'.

A Latin ᶜA. orthography initiated by Ḥámad ᶜAbdallah Ḥámad "Dimis" (of the Debné Loᶜoytātí clan of the Gōbaᶜád region) and ᶜAbdulkāder Maḥámmad "Rādó" (Maᶜanḍíyta clan of Rēdimá from Arraᶜtá), has been developed since 1976, but genuine modern literary works are still unknown in this new orthography, which is mainly used for official purposes, in newspapers or private letters. Its main innovations are the non-conventional use of the letter *x* for the notation of the retroflex /ɖ/, of the letters *q* and *c* for the pharyngals q and ᶜ. Their choice meets two main requirements: offering "ᶜA. solutions" differing from the Somali orthography concerning similar sounds and graphically recalling the Arabic script. Allegedly, *q* is visually inspired by the , *c* by the and *x* by the . Chosing this idiosyncratic system, the ᶜA. distance themselves from the Somali.

Lit.: ENID MAY PARKER – RICHARD J. HAYWARD, *An Afar-English-French Dictionary (with grammatical notes in English)*, London 1985; DIDIER MORIN, "Dialectologie de l'afar-saho", in: GIDEON GOLDENBERG – SHLOMO RAZ (ed.), *Semitic and Cushitic Studies*, Wiesbaden 1994, 252–66; LOREN BLIESE, *A Generative Grammar of Afar*, Dallas 1981 (Lit.); ID., "Afar", in: BendNonS Lang 133–65; ID., "The Lexicon. Key to the Culture", *JES* 8, 2, 1970, 1–19.

Didier Morin

ᶜAfar literature

Apart from religious poetry and historical chronicles written in ᶜA. mixed with Arabic, ᶜA. traditional literature is oral.

As in other Cushitic cultures, ᶜA. poetry (*gad*) is sung in public, narratives (*missíla*) are told in private. The poet *gadabé* (fem. *gadába*, pl. *gadabá*) is 'the one who makes *gad*'. This generic term *gad* has no signification in ᶜA., while in Beğa *gād* (from the verb *ingid* 'to throw') means

'the composition of the poem'. Such an historical link has to be taken into consideration due to the ancient presence of ↗Beğa groups among the ᶜA., as, e.g., the ↗Balaw of Sawākin (whose name is kept by the ᶜA. Balawtá).

In both ᶜA. and Beğa traditions, poetic composition is not based on the verse but on the fragment taken as an indivisible entity actualized by the melody. Music and rhythms have a regional distribution and imply variations in terminology. The following classification is relevant for the southern part of the ᶜA.-speaking area and is based on information given by the poet ↗Ḥámad Laᶜdé (of the Debné Ḥarká-m mēlá of the Gōbaᶜád, b. 1940, d. 1981). The oral traditional genres are divided into religious and profane and masculine and feminine chants:

1. masculine religious chants: *mablúd*, *nabí sāré* 'praise of the Prophet', *awliyá-s sāré* 'praise of the saints', *doᶜá* 'prayer'.

2. feminine religious chants: *hiğīké*, *hêbal*.

3. masculine profane chants: a) *hórra*, *hiyyōlé*, *hārummé* during marriages; b) war chants *dábal*, *tirtirá*, *gērár*; c) praise chants *fōḍimá-s sāré* 'praise of the oryx accompanied by the flute', *daᶜár sāré* 'praise of the *wadi*'; various flock praises: *gālí sāré* 'praise of the she-camel', also called *arowwáh*, *orowwáh*, *gāl-áf*, *lāhí sāré* '[praise] of the cow', *wadár sāré* '[praise] of the sheep'; *farás sāré*, *ᶜádar* '[praise] of the horse'; woman's praise: *mareytá-s sāré* 'mistress praise', *lālé*; d) *kássow* 'evening chants'; e) vaticination *ádal* (of the *ginníli* 'soothsayer'); f) warrior's initiation *kālíb gáḥsa*.

4. masculine and feminine profane chants: *sáḍḍaᶜ* 'joust', *ḍâfu* 'satire', *maḍḥádis* 'regrets'.

5. feminine profane chants: a) praises during marriages: *malābó*, *ᶜibná-h orórbi*, *kallâyl*; b) praises in private: *horrorró* 'lullaby', *awkí sāré* 'boy's praise', *hellallé* 'lovers's praise', *kēké*; c) vaticination *ádal* (of the *kalluwallê*); d) exorcism *ᶜafár dār*, *baddí kúbur*.

Compared to other traditions, ᶜA. poetry is remarkable for its mode of creation and conservation. Quoting anonymous fragments is the core of the poetic composition. Here, intertextuality can be defined in terms of word-for-word loans and paraphrases. Additions (new compositions) to already known pieces are bound to become anonymous as soon as they enter the collective memory. As such, every genre appears to be a *cento*, since every recitation is made of fragments put all together, end to end, following a defined musical line. The beat and the melody are definitive of the genre. The same fragments may appear under different melodies.

As a whole, the poetry is based on two independent and complementary systems: the music "on the mouth" (*af*) and memory (*kas*). To be a poet means to be able to recite without interruption according to a conventional melody. The "bad poet" is criticized for his "lack of speech" (*yabtí uḍḍānê*). Since there is no literary dominant dialect, each major territorial entity (*bāḍó*, often translated as 'sultanate') has its own poetic and political tradition. Each generation favours its contemporary poets, whose names rapidly vanish as soon as they become part and parcel of the collective memory.

The names of prominent figures whose fame has gone beyond their *bāḍó*, are retained and quoted as authors. Such are, e.g., Tolá-ḥ Ḥanfaḍé (Ḥanfaḍé son of Tolá), Daḥrumá of the Lubák-Kubó, known in Áwsa and in the Gōbaᶜád, or among the Sāho, whose poetry is based on the same principles as the ᶜA.'s, and ↗Faḍé-k Ôbe (a Sāhó Đasamó, first mentioned in Reinisch 1889:290f.).

Src.: LEO REINISCH, *Die Afar-Sprache*, Wien 1885; ID. *Die Saho-Sprache*, 2 vols., Wien 1889–90.
Lit.: FREDERIC BLIESE, "Afar Songs", *NEASt* 4, 3, 1982–83, 51–76; DIDIER MORIN, *Des paroles douces comme la soie: introduction aux contes dans l'aire couchitique (bedja, afar, saho, somali)*, Paris 1995 (Langues et Cultures Africaines 19); ID., *Poésie traditionnelle des Afars*, Paris 1997 (Langues et Cultures Africaines 21) [Lit.]; ID., *Le Gimnili: devin, poète et guerrier Afar (Éthiopie et République de Djibouti)*, Paris 1991 (Langues et Cultures Africaines 16) [Lit.]; GEORGES GLOVIS SAVARD, "War Chants in Praise of Ancient Afar Heroes", *JES* 3, 2, 1965, 105–08.

Didier Morin

ᶜAfar Depression

The ᶜA.D. lies within the ↗Rift Valley structures of north-east Ethiopia, extending into south-east Eritrea, now organised within the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia as Zone 2 of the ᶜAfar Regional State, which was formed in 1992, and consists in the depression area of the *wärädas* Dallol, Berhale, Afḍera and Erebeti.

In the past, the ᶜA.D. has been the scene of much naming and renaming of physical features by explorers and travellers of various nationalities (Lewis 1969) but now there is a resurgence of ᶜAfar toponyms promoted by the new state. Thus, Egogi Bad (Nesbitt 1934) became the Italian lake Giulietti (s. *Guida*), which was retained

in an anglicized spelling by Mohr as Julietti. This became Afrera (Afdera) and now bears the regional name of Afxeera. Similarly, Kibrit ʿAle (the Arabic 'Mountain of Fire') has become Gada ʿAle, and the adjacent lake, once Karumbae Bad, shortened to Lake Karum in various publications, is now Lake Assal. "Danakil" is a word rejected by the ʿAfar who see it as a highland term of abuse. Names in this article reflect a view of those in most common academic use.

The ʿA.D. is the site of the most active and complex consequences of the plate tectonics involving movements of the African and Arabian shields. There is therefore continuous change in such features as magnitude of volcanic activity by location and the precise altitude of various parts of this low-lying area. In this section of the East African Rift System a complex pattern of fault lines marking the southward extension of the Red Sea along the line of the eastern escarpment of the plateau, and a branching system extending along the Red Sea coast towards the Gulf of Aden, meet faults aligned with the southern edge of the Arabian plateau (Gouin 1979). The latter extend westward notably at the latitude of Addis Abäba, along the line of the Ənṭoṭṭo escarpment. These major fault systems have produced a triangular area lying between the horst of the ʿAfar (Danakil) Alps, the eastern scarp of the Ethiopian highlands and the scarp of the Somali plateau to the south (Mohr 1963). This is never far from sea-level except for the numerous volcanic features which dominate the landscape (Mobile – Esso 1968). The large areas of flat plain are deceptive because they occupy a graben whose floor is thought to be at the level of the deepest areas of the Red Sea trough. The graben has filled with a complex mixture of sediments and evaporates which are the source of minerals of interest to man since prehistoric times. Stretching south from the Gulf of ↗Zula, the graben began as an arm of the sea stretching towards the Gulf of Tağūra. It was eventually (perhaps more than once), cut off by the quaternary lava flows (Aden series) and the processes of infill began (CNR – CNRS Afar Team 1973). However, the northern part, stretching from approximately 14°30'N to the southern end of Lake Afdera has a surface some 75 m B.S.L. This is the Kobar Sink within which processes of evaporation and condensation in the very high temperatures, combined with the upwelling of concentrates and the sporadic occurences of short pluvial periods usually from July to September produce changing levels of water and lake over the floor away from the central lava fields (Tazieff 1970; Robson 2002).

Long term dimate data is not available. All evidence points to very high daytime temperatures in excess of 50°C with very high humidity and to night temperatures falling well below zero. Data from Dallol (1960–66) suggested an annual mean of 34.3°C. This would be exceeded further south in the plain.

Running down the centre of the A.D. is a line of volcanic activity marking points along continuing faulting where the magma lies close to the surface. With a range of new technologies (Amelung 2000; Burgi – Caillet – Haefeli 2001), trends in this activity are now being observed more closely. Erta ʿAle (Smithsonian National Museum 2002) which has given this name to the chain of volcanic centres is now seen to be occupying a much larger caldera created by previous activity. Within this and slightly to the south of the main crater, a new crater has developed in which the convective circulation of magma produces frequent flows of lava in the caldera (Burgi – Caillet – Haefeli 2001).

The central line of quaternary and continuing volcanic activity runs from Mount Dallol and its associated solfataras, these supported a suphur processing plant on Dallol hill until the end of the 1960s (Jelenc 1965), to Gada ʿAle at the southern end of Lake Assal, then through Alu, a twin cone with Mount Gabuli, to Bora ʿAli and then to the largest feature, Erta ʿAle (550 m A.S.L., 625 m above the depression). South-east again is Mount

Ummuna, and finally Mounts Amart and Afḍera to the east and south respectively of Lake Afḍera (Richard – Van Padang 1957).

The unstable nature of this area can be seen from earthquake statistics (Gouin 1979). Analysis shows that between 1950 and 1977 nearly 600 shocks were recorded. Of these 218 occurred in the unstable escarpment area overlooking ᶜAfar but affecting ᶜAfar in many ways. To these must be added the nearly 4000 quakes recorded in 1961 during the devastation around Karakore. Around 360 occurred within or around the margins of the ᶜA.D., with notable new fissuring and damage in the Assal area in 1952 and 1967, in Sardo in 1965 and 1969, south of Afḍera in 1969 and in Gewani in 1971. These figures exclude the many severe shocks recorded in the Tağūra area during the same period which are undoubtedly related to earth movements and volcanic activity in the ᶜAfar region (Gouin 1979; Sigmundsson 1992).

The depression has long been a source of common salt, first collected from the pans north of Dallol, then extracted in blocks in the Dallol area, known by the highlanders to the west as the Tantal (or Ṭəlṭal / Ṭənṭal) plain. The area was the main source of the salt bars (↗*Amole*) used as currency throughout Ethiopia starting with Aksumite times.

The ᶜA.D. is a source of several other commodities such as gypsum, potash and sulphur. In 1918, a light railway was constructed from Märsa Fatma to Colluli to transport common salt and potash brought by camel and truck (Jelenc 1965; Ghebre W. Mammo 2000). Most recently there has been a revival of ideas conceived after World War II (Ralph M. Parsons Company 1958; Kürsten – Brinckmann – Käding 1968; di Paola – Getahun Demissie 1979), linked to the take-over of Italian enterprise and concessions based in the development of power from geothermal sources and the drilling for potassium and other salts as the basis for a chemical industry on the coast near ↗ᶜAsäb, where agrochemicals and fertilisers would be produced cost-effectively at a port on major shipping routes. The project awaits more favourable political and investment conditions (Meseret Teklemariam et al. 2000). However, a recent development (October 2001) is the construction by the Ethiopian Roads Authority of the 188 km "salt lake" rural road linking Sardo on the ᶜAsäb highway with Afḍera for the export of salt, sodium chloride and gypsum. Stage two of the project will connect Afḍera with Mäqälä and facilitate the transport of marble and other commodities from Təgray. Plastic lined ponds have been constructed to provide water along the route which will promote tourism and provide a firmer basis for geological and archeological research.

Improvements in surface transport could also support an upgrading of the ᶜAfar pastoral economy provided that the confrontations over management structures, land ownership and other resource rights generated by the North East Rangelands Development project of the mid-1960's can be avoided (Cossins 1972; Maknun Gamaledinn 1987).

Lit.: FALK AMELUNG – CLIVE OPPENHEIMER – PAUL SEGALL – HOWARD ZEBKER, "Ground Deformation near Gada ᶜAle Volcano, Afar, Observed by Radar Interferometry", *Geophysical Research Letters* 27, 19, 2000, 3093–96; PIERRE-YVES BURGI – MARC CAILLET – STEVEN HAEFELI, "Thermal Measurements at Ertaᶜale, Ethiopia", *Société Volcanologique de Genève – Bulletin* April 2001; CNR – CNRS AFAR TEAM, "Geology of Northern Afar (Ethiopia)", *Revue de Géographie Physique et de Géologie Dynamique* 15, 4, 1973; NOEL J. COSSINS, *No Way to Live: North-East Rangelande Development Project*, Addis Ababa 1972; GHEBRE W. MAMMO, "Mineral Resources of Ethiopia: the Dallol Potash Deposit, North Eastern Ethiopia", *Chronique de la Recherche Minière* 68, 540, 2000, 41–45; *Guida* 335f.; PIERRE GOUIN, *Earthquake History of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa*, Ottowa 1979 (International Development Research Centre 118e); HAROUN TAZIEFF, "The Afar Triangle", *Scientific American* 222, 2, 1970, 32; DANILO A. JELENC, *Mineral Occurrences of Ethiopia*, Addis Abeba 1965, 487–97; MARTIN KÜRSTEN – JÖRG BRINCKMANN – KARL-CHRISTIAN KÄDING, *Report of the Geological Investigations in the Danakil Depression*, Hannover 1968; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *The Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho*, London 1969, 155–62; MAKNUN GAMALEDINN, "State Policy and Famine in the Awash Valley of Ethiopia: the Lessons for Conservation", in: DAVID ANDERSON – RICHARD GROVE (eds.), *Conservation in Africa People, Policies and Practice*, Cambridge 1987, 327–44; MESERET TEKLEMARIAM et al. (ed.), "Geothermal Development in Ethiopia", in: *Proceedings of the World Geothermal Congress 2000*, Kyushu-Tohoku 2000, 475–80; MOBILE PETROLEUM ETHIOPIA INC. – ESSO EXPLORATION INC. (eds.), *Topomorphic Map of Northern Afar, Ethiopia*, Florence 1968 (Geomap Cartographic Centre); PAUL A. MOHR, *The Geology of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1963; LEWIS MARIANO NESBITT, *Desert and Forest: The Exploration of Abyssinnian Danakil*, London 1934; G.M. DI PAOLA – GETAHUN DEMISSIE, "Geothermal Energy, an Inexhaustible Resource of Great Importance for Ethiopia", *Sinet: Ethiopian Journal of Science* 2, 2, 1979, 87–110; RALPH M. PARSONS COMPANY (ed.), *Preliminary Survey Danakil Concession Ethiopia*, Los Angeles 1958; J.T. RICHARD – M. NEUMANN VAN PADANG, *Africa and the Red Sea*, Napoli 1957 (Catalogue of the active volcanos of the world including Solfatara fields, part 4); ERIC

ROBSON, Personal communications, 2002; F. SIGMUNDSSON, "Tectonic Implications of the 1989 Afar Earthquake Sequence", *Geophysicial Research Letters* 19, 1992, 877–80; SMITHSONIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY (ed.), *Erta Ale: Global Volcanism Program*, Volcanic Activity Reports 2002.

Geoffrey Last

Afärbayne Täklä Haymanot

A. (**አፈርባይኔ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት**) is a hamlet below ↗Ankobär, about one kilometre north of Ankobär Mikaʾel. The church of Täklä Haymanot was founded by ↗Śahlä Śəllase about 1836 A.D. (GueCopMen 71).

Src.: GueCopMen 71; WILLIAM CORNWALLIS HARRIS, *The Highlands of Ethiopia*, London 1844, vol. 2, 7; EMML vol. 6, 469–75.

Lit.: WOLFGANG WEISSLEDER, *The Political Ecology of Amhara Domination*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, Department of Social Anthropology 1965, 26.

Svein Ege

Afärsata

A. (**አፈርሳታ**), like the ↗*leba šay*, was a form of investigative procedure designed to determine the identity of those who committed crimes such as murder, arson or theft of money, property or cattle. Unlike *leba šay*, however, A. took the form of a communal inquest. Historically, when the perpetrator of a major crime was not known, all the male adults of the area could be called together at a meeting place, where they would be obligated to remain until each had given confidential individual testimonies to a group of investigators selected from among the community. After everyone had done so, which might take a few days, the presiding committee would reveal the criminal's identity to a clerk, saying: "A bird told us that so-and-so is the perpetrator". Then a judge or political officer would apprehend the named person. If he or she had left the region, all those at the inquest would contribute to paying the damages.

As would be the case with forms of collective punishment, an A. inconvenienced the entire community, especially when it took place at times in the agrarian cycle requiring intensive labour inputs. Unlike collective punishment, however, and despite the potential for the community to have to reimburse criminal losses, the A. usually imposed individual punishments. On 2 August 1933, the central government issued a proclamation detailing procedural and substantive rules for conducting A.'s. The rules were designed both to limit the economic disadvantages and hardships that the inquests might create for individuals, and to provide safeguard against false complaints and untrue or malicious testimony.

↗Customary law; ↗Law and Judiciary

Lit.: CRAVEN HOWELL WALKER, *The Abyssinian at Home*, London 1933, 317; *blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **ዝክረ፡ ነገር** (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba ²1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 92ff.; SAHLE SELLASSIE BERHANE MARIAM, *The Afersata: an African Novel*, London 1969, ²1974.

Tim Carmichael

Afäwärq

A. (**አፈወርቅ**) was the director of Ǧiǧǧiga and one of Ethiopia's important military commanders during the early days of the ↗Italian war of 1935–36.

Apart from organizing several military camps in the southern ↗Ogaden, A. ensured that there was a unified military command and that there were good communications, logistics and training for his troops. The village of ↗Qorrahe served as his command post. A. operated out of a fort that had been built by the Somali rebel leader ↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan. The few hundred soldiers assigned to Qorrahe – who possessed only four machine guns, about 40 machine gun rifles and one Erlikon anti-aircraft gun – were no match for the Italian forces operating out of Somalia. Repeated bombing raids by the Regia Aeronautica demolished the fort, along with the rest of the village, and mortally wounded A. on 5 November 1935. On 8 November the Italians occupied Qorrahe. In recognition of A.'s heroism, *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I posthumously made him *däǧǧazmač* of Ogaden.

Lit.: ANTHONY MOCKLER, *Haile Selassie's War: the Italian-Ethiopian Campaign, 1935–1941*, New York 1984, 68ff.; GEORGE LOWTHER STEER, *Caesar in Abyssinia*, London 1936, 17f., 88ff., 93, 104–07, 169f.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus

Näggadras A. (**አፈወርቅ፡ ገብረ፡ አያሱስ**, "Afevork Ghevre-Jesus", b. 10 July 1868, Zäge, d. 25 September 1947, Ǧiren), native of Goǧǧam (born in Zäge on the southern shore of Lake Ṭana), was painter, novelist, grammarian, poet, educator and public servant, and is considered the pioneer of Amharic prose fiction. He was traditionally educated by his grandfather, *mäm-*

Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus in diplomatic dress, 1932, from Rouaud 1991:163

hər Dənqe, at Ura Kidanä Məḥrat Monastery in Zäge. Due to his paintings skills and as a relative of Empress ↗Ṭaytu Bətul he became *balämʷal* at court in Ǝnṭoṭṭo. Mənilək II sent him to study in Italy, where he stayed from 1887 to 1889. There he refined his skills at the Studio all'Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti, Torino. When *ras* Mäkʷännən was on his diplomatic mission to Italy in 1889, A. served as an interpreter, and returned with him to Ethiopia. He is said to have been commissioned by Empress Ṭaytu to do murals at ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam and ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel (but they had disappeared later, cp. Zəqqargačč'äw Ḫaylä Giyorgis 1972:67).

According to several sources he was a son-in-law of Alfred ↗Ilg (Rouaud 1991:76ff; his wife was called Bərrənäw). Later in 1904 he married an Italian. In 1894 he was sent to Neuchâtel, Switzerland, to study (after he had fallen out of Ṭaytu's favour). However, he went over to the Italians at the Ethio-Italian war of 1895–96, together with ↗Gugsa Darge. He continued his studies in Torino in 1896 and subsequently worked at the University of Naples as an Amharic instructor (1902/03–1912). In 1912/13 he started business in Asmära, where he stayed until 1922, when he returned to Ethiopia.

However, A. is better known for his writing career, during which he is known to have penned a number of books as well as essays. Most notable among his works is his **ልብ፡ ወለድ፡ ታሪክ** (*Ləbb wälläd tarik*), considered to be the first Amharic prose fiction ever (↗*Ləbb wälläd*). His other works in Amharic include: **ዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ** (↗*Dagmawi Mənilək* …; 1909); **የኢትዮጵያ፡ መንግሥት፡ አልጋ፡ ወራሽ** … (*Yäʾityopya mängəśt alga wärraš* … (1922/23); **ሚናስ** (*Minas*); **ዘንዶ፡ ሲነግሥ** (*Zändo sinägś*, 'In the Time of the Serpent's Reign'); and **ክሌዎፓትራና፡ ማርካንትዋን** (*Klewopatranna Markantwan*, 'Kleopatra and Mark Antonius'). The last three fictional works could not be traced, though ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase listed them (1928; cp. Fusella 1984:12). A.'s works in Italian and French (prepared for teaching Amharic to Italians) include: *Manuale di conversazione italiano-amarico con la pronuncia figurata* (Roma 1905), *Grammatica della lingua amarica. Metodo practico per l'insegnamento* (Roma 1905) and *Il verbo amarico* (Roma 1911), an important work in French is *Guide du voyageur en Abyssinie* (Roma 1908).

A. served in the Ethiopian Government in different capacities: Customs Director at Dərre Dawa with the title of *näggadras* (1922); President of the Special Arbitration Court, replacing Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase (1924); Ethiopian Representative in Italy (1932), a controversial appointment which was not welcomed by the nobility at the time, since he was suspected of favouring Italy. This suspicion was later confirmed when A. officially sided with the Italians and became the editor of (and regular contributor to) *Yäqesar mängəśt mälaktäñña* ('Messenger of Caesar's Government'), in which he wrote propaganda articles scornful both of Ethiopia and the patriots. For this effort he was awarded the title of ↗*afä qesar*.

When Ethiopia was liberated in 1941, he was accused of treason for siding with the Italians during the war and was arrested and later sentenced to death. Ḫaylä Śəllase, however, commuted the sentence to life imprisonment. He was exiled to Ǧimma, where his health gradually deteriorated and he lost his sight.

↗Amharic literature

Src.: AFÄWÄRQ GÄBRÄ IYÄSUS, **ዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ** (*Dagmawi Mənilək nəguśä nägäśt zäʾityopya*, 'Mənilək the Second, King of Kings of Ethiopia'), Roma 1901 A.M. [1909 A.D.], Asmära ²1967; ID., **ልብ፡ ወለድ፡ ታሪክ** (*Ləbb wälläd tarik*, 'A Story Born by the Heart'), Roma 1908, Dərre Dawa ²1919 A.M. [1926/27 A.D.]; ID., **የኢትዮጵያ፡ መንግሥት፡ አልጋ፡ ወራሽ፡ ልዑል፡ ራስ፡ ተፈሪ፡ መኰንን፡ ወደ፡ ጁቡቲ፡ ወደ፡ አደን፡ ሲሔዱ፡ ሲመለሱ፡ የመንገዳቸዉ፡ አኳኋን** (*Yäʾityopya mängəśt alga wäraš ləʿul ras Täfäri Mäkʷännən wädä Gibuti wädä Adän siḥedu simmälläsu yämängädaččäw akkʷaḳʷan*, 'The

Circumstances of Crown Prince and Regent H.E. Täfäri Mäk"ännən's Trip to Djibouti and Aden, Going and Returning'), Dərre Dawa 1915 A.M. [1922/23 A.D.].

Lit.: ḤƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, **በኢትዮጵያ፡የሚገኙ፡በግዕዝና፡ባማርኛ፡ቋንቋ፡የተጻፉ፡የመጻሕፍት፡ካታሎግ** (*Bä'ityopya yämmigäññu bägə'əzənna bamarəñña q"anq"a yätäṣafu yämäṣaḥəft katalog*, 'A Catalogue of the Books Written in Gə'əz and Amharic, Which Can be Found in Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1920 A.M. [1928 A.D.]; ZƎQQARGAČČÄW ḤAYLÄ GIYORGIS, **የነጋድራስ፡አፈ፡ወርቅ፡ገብረ፡ኢየሱስ፡ዘብሔረ፡ዘጌ፡የሕይወት፡ታሪክ** (*Yänäggadras Afä Wärq Gäbrä Iyäsus zäbəḥera Zäge yəḥəywät tarik*, 'Biography of *Näggadras* Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus of Zäge'), Addis Abäba 1964 A.M. [1972 A.D.]; ALAIN ROUAUD, "Pour une bibliographie des oeuvres d'Afä Wärq Gäbrä Iyäsus", *Bulletin des études africaines* 2, 3, 1982, 123–36 (full bibliography); ID., *Afä-Wärq, un intellectuel éthiopien témoin de son temps 1868–1947*, Paris 1991 (Contributions à la connaissance des élites africaines 6) [Lit.]; ID., "De quand date le Manuale d'Afä-Wärq Gäbrä-Iyäsus?", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 164–75 LUIGI FUSELLA, "Le premier romancier Ethiopien", in: LUIGI FUSELLA — SALVATORE TEDESCHI — JOSEPH TUBIANA (eds.), *Trois essais sur la littérature éthiopienne*, Paris 1984, 12.

Yonas Admassu

Afäwärq Wäldä Maryam

A. (**አፈወርቅ፡ወልደ፡ማርያም**, "horse name" **አባ፡መንዝር**. Abba Mänzər, b. 1868, Bulga, Šäwa, d. January 1955, Addis Abäba) was a lifelong civil servant, holding mostly high offices under emperors Mənilək II, *läğ* Iyasu, Zäwditu and Ḫaylä Šəllase I.

He received a church education in his youth and began his career as a palace clerk under *ṣäḥafe tə'əzaz* ↗ Gäbrä Śəllase, whose deputy he became de facto from 1909 onwards. He succeeded officially as "Minister of the Pen" in February 1913. As such, he continued to update the imperial chronicle Gäbrä Śəllase had written, though de Coppet's edition (GueCopMen) does not include A.'s additions.

When the cabinet ministers were dismissed following the civil uprising of 1918, A., too, lost his post and was sent to confinement in Bulga. He was rehabilitated four years later and was appointed Minister of Post, Telephone and Telegraph and Minister of Agriculture, respectively. In the 1930s, he became President of the House of Deputies of the newly established ↗ Parliament. At the time of the Fascist invasion (↗ Italian war 1935–36), A. fought at the northern front. He was subsequently imprisoned in Italy for two years. He had lost one eye long ago, in the Battle of ᶜAdwa in 1896, and his eyesight in the second one deteriorated while he was in prison. After the liberation, he was appointed to the senate in spite of his infirmity.

Lit.: ḤƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, **የሕይወት፡ታሪክ፡በኃላ፡ዘመን፡ለሚኖሡ፡ልጆች፡ማስታወቂያ** (*Yäḥəywät tarik. Bäᵇala zämän lämminnäšu ləğğočč mastawäqiya*, 'A Biography. Reminder for the Children Who Will Come in the Future Time'), Addis Abäba 1915 A.M. [1922/23 A.D.], 56; MahHorse 255; PETER GARRETSON, *A History of Addis Abäba from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 49), 48f.; GEBRE-IGZIABIHER ELYAS, *Prowess, Piety and Politics. The Chronicle of Abeto Iyasu and Empress Zewditu of Ethiopia (1909–1930)*, ed. by REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, Köln 1994 (SKK 104), 342f.

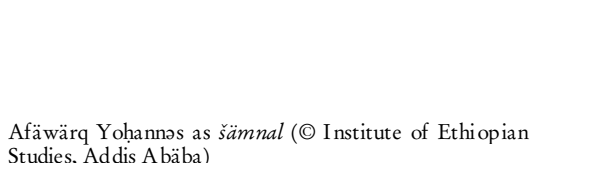
Bairu Tafla

Afäwärq Yoḥannəs

A.Y. (**አፈወርቅ፡ዮሐንስ**, b. 21 May 1927, Fəlwəha, d. 3 March 1980, Addis Abäba) was a writer and a reporter. He lost his father when he was seven, but his mother managed to put him in a French language school. Although this was interrupted by the Italian invasion, he continued his schooling in Italian at the Consolata Mission School. He joined the Imperial Bodyguard Technical Training School in the post-war period. As A.Y. became a cadet in the Bodyguard in 1943, he was commissioned and assigned to the Artillery unit. He was for two tours a member of the Ethiopian contingent sent to join the United Nations Force in the Korean War of 1950–53.

A.Y. published, both in prose and verse, some fifteen original and translation works in Amharic. Of these about half are lyrical poems and songs of love. He produced a very brief rendering of Victor Hugo's *Les misérables* and a more extended one of Voltaire's *Zadig ou la Destinée* into Amharic.

A.Y. wrote many of the songs for the singers who were recruited at the Theatre and Music Unit of the Imperial Bodyguard established in



Afäwärq Yoḥannəs as *šämnal* (© Institute of Ethiopian Studies. Addis Abäba)

1955–56 and put under his charge when he was still a lieutenant. Not only did some of these compositions of A.Y. make their singers popular, but a few put him at loggerheads with the authorities; one such was entitled **አልቻልኩም** (*Alčalkum*, 'I Can't Bear it [any longer]') and given to the now veteran Ethiopian singer, Ṭəlahun Gässäsä, who rendered it with feeling and got into trouble, too. At this time, A.Y. was also writing articles for the **ወታደርና፡ ጊዜው** (*Wättadäraəna gizew*, 'The Soldier and the Times'), which was launched in 1956, the first newspaper ever in the country on and by the Military.

On the eve of the ↗Coup d'état of 1960, A.Y. (now a captain) wrote a play entitled **እውነት፡ አትሞትም** (*Ǝwnät attəmotəm*, 'Truth Does Not Die') that was performed at the Ḥaylä Śəllase I Theatre. His participation in the Coup and these writings led to his detention, followed by three years of house arrest. In 1964 he was allowed to work in the Ministry of Information as a radio journalist; his series of broadcasts, *Science and Life*, made him ever more popular with the general public. At the time of his death, A.Y. had a personal collection of over 5,000 books in Amharic and other languages.

↗Amharic literature; ↗Theatre

Src.: AFÄWÄRQ YOḤANNƏS, **የኔ፡ ግጥሞች** (*Yäne gəṭəmočč*, 'My Verses'), 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.]; ID., **ግጥሞችና፡ ፍቅር፡ ከሞት፡ ያድናል** (*Gəṭəmoččəna fəqr kämot yadənal*, 'Poetry and Love Save from Death'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; ID., **አንዳፍታ። ከግጥ ሞች፡ ለቀልድና፡ ለቁም፡ ነገር** (*Andafta. Kägəṭəmočč läqäldəəna läqum nägär*, 'One Moment. From the Verses for Fun and Serious Things'), Addis Abäba 1965 A.M. [1972/73]; ID., **የሞራል፡ ግዴታ** (*Yämoral gəddeta*, 'Moral Obligation'), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.]; ID., **የማፍቀር፡ ጥበብና፡ ጋብቻ** (*Yämafqär təbäbəəna gabəčča*, 'Mafqär's Wisdom and Marriage'), Addis Abäba 1968 A.M. [1975/76 A.D.]; ID., **ስሜታዊ፡ ግጥሞች** (*Səmetawi gəṭəmočč*, 'Mood Poems'), Addis Abäba 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.]; ID., **ዓለም፡ የሠራተኞች፡ ናት** (*ʿAläm yäśäratäññočč nat*, 'The World Belongs to the Working People!'), Addis Abäba 1970 A.M. [1977/78 A.D.].

Asfaw Damte

Afbeeḥinna

A. (from ʿAfar *af* 'mouth', *beeḥinna* 'talks only possible among trusted people') is a well known cultural trait among the members of certain ↗ʿAfar (Ankālá, Ganninto, Dāhímmēlá) and ↗Sāho (Ḥazu) groups (cp. ParHayDic 33: "practical joking allowed between certain tribes"). A mutual so-called "joking relationship" existing between these groups permits its members to insult each other without taking offence.

It is believed, according to oral tradition, that these groups descended originally from one grandmother and inherited this trait from her. This shows the old matrilineal relationship existing between these groups.

Ḥazu-tribes share pasture and water resources with the ʿAfar in Wangabo and Samoti areas (Trevaskis 1977:15). They also speak the ʿAfar language and have adopted much of the ʿAfar custom and many practices through intermarriage. Accordingly, they interact freely in all social and individual situations. When young people meet each other at pastures or watering spots, as well as at ceremonies, they speak, joke and shout openly insulting each other, e.g. "son of a coward", "son of a thief", "your mother delivered you in a dry season", sexual insults etc. Through this cultural trait they confirm their collective solidarity against other descent groups and try to resolve existing problems among them regarding grazing rights, watering spots and other social issues.

Src.: ParHayDic 33.

Lit.: ABDUL KADER SALEH MOHAMMED, *Die Afar-Saho Nomaden in Nordost-Afrika: die sozio-ökonomischen und politischen Bedingungen des Nomadentums und der Versuch einer Sesshaftmachung der Nomaden am Beispiel der Afar-Saho in Nordost-Afrika*, Münster 1984 (Lit.); IOAN MYRRDIN LEWIS, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho*, Lawrenceville, NJ ³1998.

Abdulkader Saleh Mohammad

Afdäm

A. (**አፍደም**) appeared between 1902 and 1915 as a railway station of the Addis Abäba – Djibouti railway (↗Railways). The station was built at the foot of Mount Afdäm (2,048 m A.S.L.) in order to supply the steam-powered locomotives with water. Travellers who had left in the morning from ↗Dərre Dawa had an opportunity to take a meal at the station buffet and have some rest after 112 km of difficult trip (night accommodation was offered at the Awaš station). With the introduction of new Litorina locomotives (a carriage made by Italians and introduced after 1936 on the Addis Abäba-Djibouti railway), the trip between Addis Abäba and Dərre Dawa was shortened from two days to one, with a midday stop at the station of Awaš. The status of A. thus declined to that of a secondary railway station, but its population has nonetheless increased from 805 inhabitants in 1984 to 1,622 in 2000.

Capital of the *wäräda* of the same name, A. belongs to the *kəllə̀l* Somali (Šənəle Administrative Zone), and borders on ᶜAfar *kəllə̀l*. At the beginning of the 1970s, A. belonged to Harär/Harärge region and to the huge ᶜAdal – ᶜIssa (Ciise) – Gara Guračča *awraǧǧa*. This *awraǧǧa*, with capital in ↗Erär, included ᶜAfar and Somali populations, often immersed in disputes for pasture lands and water points in the plateaux of Mount Amhar. In 1984, A. was made a part of Č̣ärč̣är – ᶜAdal – Gara Guračča *awraǧǧa* (capital Asbä Täfäri) which was included, in 1987, into West Harär region.

The road linking Mieso to Dərre Dawa, built by the Italians and destroyed at the time of their withdrawal, skips the plateaus and crosses the Amhar mountains.

The railroad remains today a unique and fragile bond with the outside world, the communication having been interrupted on at least two occasions (1991 and 1993) – by those Somali groups which continue in further northern regions to dispute with the ᶜAfar over control of the Awaš valley (spring 2002).

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1998; ID., *Statistical Abstract 1999*, Addis Ababa 2000; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988; OFFICE OF THE POPULATION AND HOUSING CENSUS COMMISSION (ed.), *Ethiopia 1984. Population and Housing Census Preliminary Report*, vol. 1, 1, Addis Ababa, September 1984; *Guida* 421.
Lit.: AKALOU WOLDE-MICHAEL, "Urban Development in Ethiopia (1899–1925): Early Phase", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 1–16; ALAIN GASCON, *La Grande Éthiopie, une utopie africaine. Éthiopie ou Oromie, l'intégration des hautes terres du Sud*, Paris 1995; ADRIEN ZERVOS, *L'Empire éthiopien. Le Miroir de l'Éthiopie moderne 1906–1935*, Addis Abeba 1935.

Alain Gascon

Afilas

A. is an early 4th-cent. pagan king of ↗Aksum, with the clan name Bisi Dimele. He is known only from his coins (↗Coinage), which are inscribed in Greek. No satisfactory etymology of his name(s) has been proposed, neither can he convincingly be identified in the kings-lists. He was the second king to issue coins in Aksum and his coins display an innovative variety of indigenous types and a system of several denominations in gold, silver and copper, some of which were struck only under this king. On the standard gold coin the persistent representation of the king on both sides, but with different attributes (denoting distinct functions), was introduced. The special technique of partial gilding was used for the first time on one of his silver types; thus the colour effect was added to the pictorial composition of the sacral elements. The frontal effigy on some fractional coins was probably copied from Roman prototypes, though not necessarily from coins, because the images of the Roman emperors were also distributed in the form of official discs as carried by embassies.

Copper coins of Afilas, courtesy of the author

Lit.: STUART C. MUNRO-HAY – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 85–97; ARTHUR KINLOCH IRVINE – RICHARD KEIR PETHICK PANKHURST, "Afilas", in: *DicEthBio* 22–23 (Lit.).

Wolfgang Hahn

Afkala

The A. was the Oromo merchant class in the ↗Gibe region. It is not known when the A.

came into existence, but it was probably during the second half of the 18th cent. Before the rise of the A., the trade of the Gibe region, the richest part of south-western Ethiopia, was dominated by the ↗Ğäbärti, the Muslim traders from northern Ethiopia. As a result of the revival of the Red Sea trade during the second half of the 18th cent., the Ğäbärti intensified their dealings with the kingdom of ↗Limmu Ǝnnarya, the commercial capital of the Gibe region. By doing so the Ğäbärti unconsciously gave birth to their counterparts and rivals — the A.

Some of the A. were ex-slaves, or ex-servants of the Ğäbärti traders, but most of them were landless younger sons who became A. traders, creating wealth for themselves and living by trade. The traders exchanged slaves, cotton cloth, civet, ivory, gold or horses from the south for salt, horses, incense, coloured clothing, trivets, cows, copper, knives, swords and guns from the north. The A. had little capital but had to compete with the Ğäbärti traders, who were richer than they were. The A. overcame their lack of adequate capital and successfully faced stiff competition from the Ğäbärti traders by adopting two strategies. First, they depended on speed for their survival in business. They travelled fast and covered a distance of 150 miles, which normally took the Ğäbärti traders more than two weeks, within three to four days. While Ğäbärti traders limited their travel between northern Ethiopia and the Gibe region, to once or twice a year, the A. traders were engaged in trade all year round within and between the Gibe region and the surrounding lands. Secondly, the A. traders sought political solutions to their stiff competition with the Ğäbärti traders. They appealed to ↗Abbaa Bagiboo (r. 1825–61), who banned the Ğäbärti traders from going beyond Limmu Ǝnnarya, thus removing competition and preserving the lucrative trade with the kingdom of Käfa for the A. While the Ğäbärti traders were restricted and forced to trade only in Limmu Ǝnnarya, the A. were free to trade up in the north and down in the south. They not only dominated the trade of the Gibe region but also travelled to the surrounding lands and enjoyed a monopoly over the trade with Käfa.

↗Trade

Src.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, papers, grouped into 27 vols., Paris, BN, here vol. 21, 300, fol. 314, 349, 386, 589, 633. **Lit.**: MORDECHAI ABIR, "Southern Ethiopia", in: RICHARD GRAY — DAVID BIRMINGHAM (eds.), *Pre-Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900*, London 1970, 119–37; MHasOr 138–42; RICHARD PANKHURST, *Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800–1935*, Addis Ababa 1968, 445.

Mohammed Hassen

Afnin

A. (አፍኒን), an alleged painter of the Italianate school of painting, was active during the last two decades of the 15th and the first decades of the 16th cent. He was a priest and it appears that he was also a student of Nicolò ↗Brancaleone. His only signed work, a large panel, is kept at ↗Märṭulä Maryam monastery, Eastern Goğğam, and it shows the scenes of Christ's life displayed in twelve squares. The style and iconography are very similar to Brancaleone's set of miniatures at Wafa Iyäsus, Goğğam (cf. Spencer 1974). A. apparently was already a known artist when the panel was commissioned by a certain Tewodros, an important personage, who donated it to the Church of the Holy Cross.

Lit.: STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "The Discovery of a 15th-Century Painting and the Brancaleon Enigma", *RSE* 18, 2000, 15–42, plate xiii; DIANA SPENCER, "Travels in Godjam: St. Luke Ikons and Brancaleon Rediscovered", *JES* 12, 2, 1974, 201–31.

Stanisław Chojnacki

Afōča

A. is the name used for traditional and compulsory self-help associations of men and for separate ones for women among the Harari in Harär and in Harari communities elsewhere. They are not mentioned in the 19th-cent. travelogues (Burton, Muḥammad Moḫtar, Paulitschke), but can be traced back for three generations.

The tasks of the men's A. originally concentrated on prayers and recitations from the Qurʾān at the great events within the family of a member, including a burial. Knowledge of reading and writing and of the Qurʾān was expected. The associations had elected functionaries. Recently the men's A. have taken over documentation and preservation of the culture and the language of the Harari. Western techniques of association management, with written statutes, committees and the taking of minutes, were adopted.

Traditional rules cover entry fees, regular meetings, punctuality, contributions for weddings or funerals within the families of members and/or needy A. members, penalties, annual prayers at the shrines, election of functionaries,

exclusion of members and voting. Splitting and merging of A. were possible.

Women were not necessarily expected to know reading and writing, yet they were required to have some knowledge of the Qurʾān and/or the prayer-songs for their processions to the holy shrines. Their traditional concerns included prayers and help in food preparation, with emotional support for the bereaved. They had unwritten rules for their A. and their elected functionaries (eldest – speaker, youngest – treasurer). The amount of A. funds was known; misappropriation of funds never occurred. The women felt that the A. were strict and traditionalistic, dominated by the older women. Thus they would join an A. quite late, when their children were at least seven years old. As younger women, they rather joined a voluntary club ↗*baḥa*.

Lit.: ELISABETH-DOROTHEA HECHT, *Die traditionellen Frauenvereine (Afōča) der Harari in Harar und in Addis Ababa, Äthiopien*, Berlin 1993 (Marburger Studien zur Afrika und Asienkunde, A: Afrika, 30); PETER KOEHN – SIDNEY R. WALDRON, *Afocha: a Link between Community and Administration in Harar, Ethiopia*, Syracuse 1978; SIDNEY R. WALDRON, "Afterword", in: HECHT op. cit. 1993, 171–78; SIDNEY R. WALDRON, *Social Organization and Social Control in the Walled City of Harar, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University 1975 (University mfs., Ann Arbour, Michigan, no. 75–7545); YUSUF AHMED [WUBER], "Afōča", *JES* 3, 2, 1965, 125–32.

Elisabeth-Dorothea Hecht

Afqära

The mountain of A. (አፍቀራ) is located at the border of Gera Mədər and Lalo Mədər in ↗Mänz, between the rivers Šay and Anžäre. Due to its location, it is a particularly inaccessible locality. This *amba* (2,800 m A.S.L.) is almost one km² in area and is surrounded by deep river valleys on three of the sides and a mountainous terrain on the fourth. According to Levine (1965:31), A. was part of Gera Mədər (s. also Asfa-Wossen Asserate 1980:98; Ege 1996:152), but later it has been part of Lalo Mədər. The historical literature tends to locate A. too far to the east, as part of Efrata, perhaps based on an imprecise statement by Cecchi (1985:264; cp. GueCopMen 70; BTafA 874).

The role of A. in early Šäwan history is somewhat obscure. It is likely that it was one of the origins of the Amhara reconquest (Stitz 1974:89). The mother of Śahlä Śallase, Zännäbä Wärq, was the daughter of a *balabbat* of A. This probably meant that the *amba* was under strict central control during this period, and it may have served as a prison for important persons.

However, the name A. is associated in particular with the early Mənilək II period. *Ras* ↗Bäzzabbəh Täklä Haymanot, the last governor of Šäwa under *aṣe* Tewodros II, made A. his stronghold. After he revolted against Tewodros II, the latter invaded Šäwa in 1863–64, but *ras* Bäzzabbəh successfully defended A. (Asfa-Wossen Asserate 1980:144; GueCopMen 97). When Mənilək later escaped from Tewodros II and returned to Šäwa in 1865, *ras* Bäzzabbəh was defeated and fled with a few men to A. He asked for grace and was soon pardoned, but his men later refused to hand over A. to Mənilək's soldiers. *Ras* Bäzzabbəh was arrested and executed and his soldiers surrendered the *amba* (GueCopMen 104ff.; Asfa-Wossen Asserate 1980:147ff.). Mənilək apparently retained direct control of the *amba* as long as it continued to have strategic importance (BTafA 795).

Src.: ASFA-WOSSEN ASSERATE, *Die Geschichte von Šawa (Äthiopien) 1700–1865, nach dem Tārika Nagaśt des Belātten Gētā Ḫeruy Walda Śellāsē*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 53), 98, 144, 147ff.; ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, Roma 1885, vol. 1, 264; GueCopMen 70, 97, 104ff.; BTafA 795, 874.

Lit.: SVEIN EGE, *Class, State and Power in Africa. A Case Study of the Kingdom of Shäwa (Ethiopia) about 1840*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 46); DONALD NATHAN LEVINE, *Wax and Gold. Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture*, Chicago – London 1965, 31; VOLKER STITZ, *Studien zur Kulturgeographie Zentraläthiopiens*, Bonn 1974 (Bonner Geographische Abhandlungen 51), 89.

Svein Ege

Afran Qallu ↗ Qottu

Afre

A. is one of the historical ↗Oromo confederations believed to have been formed during the Robale *luuba*, whose ↗*gadaa* period corresponds to 1570–78. A. is derived from *afur*, the Oromo word for 'four'. Accordingly, four Oromo clans (Čaliya, Guduru, Hooko and Liiban) formed the confederation and took the collective name of A., i.e. the confederacy of four (BeckHuntAlm 112).

Confederations of this type were often formed during the history of the Oromo for joint military actions, especially after the role of the ↗*abbaa gadaa* deteriorated. Later A. was in its turn included into the larger group, ↗Boorana, which then, together with the ↗Baarentuu, started the organized Oromo expansion.

The A., in particular, spearheaded the Oromo expansion into the south-western regions (the present-day Wälläga). Later the Sadača confederation, formed under the Birmäği *luuba* (1578–86) out of three clans, Hakaakoo, Abbo and Suuba, joined the A. in historical ↗Damot and gave further dynamism to the Oromo moves into the south-western territories and beyond.

Basing themselves at a newly founded traditional assembly point at Odaa (Tute) Bisil (south of the present-day Ambo town), the A. continued to put pressure on areas north and south of the Abbay throughout the 17th and 18th cent.

Src.: PerChron 51f.; BTafA 307ff., 333ff.
Lit.: BeckHuntAlm 112; MHasOr, s. index; BALTHAZAR TELLEZ, *The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia,* tr. by JOHN STEVENS, London 1910, 166.

Tsega Endalew

Africa Orientale Italiana

The name A.O.I. was adopted by Italy to rename its colonial possessions in the Horn, i.e. Eritrea, Somalia (↗Italian Somaliland) and Ethiopia, which were united under a central government after territorial reorganization. The A.O.I. originated in the conquest and occupation of Ethiopia, as up until this point Italy had administered Eritrea and Somalia separately. Eritrea had been an Italian colony since 1890; in 1935 the total population was estimated to be about 600,000. Somalia, with a population of perhaps one million, most of them Muslim farmers, had been restructured just a few years earlier and "pacified", eliminating the mediation of *sultāns* and clan leaders. Before overt war started in Ethiopia, Italian agents had used insidious subversion in order to undermine Šäwan hegemony and the power of the Emperor.

In a few months Ethiopia was defeated, and Italian forces marched into Addis Abäba on 5 May 1936 (↗Italian war 1935–36). The fascist authorities immediately proceeded to the organization of their new empire and, by a decree promulgated on 9 May 1936, the King of Italy assumed the additional title of Emperor of Ethiopia. A few weeks later a new decree, dated 1 June 1936, unified the three territories of Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia into one single legal and political entity designated A.O.I. From then on, although the name of Ethiopia remained in the King of Italy's imperial title, Ethiopia ceased to exist as an administrative unit. Gradually, in common usage if not in specific juridical dispositions, the term A.O.I. took precedence over that of Ethiopia in the context of the imperial title of the King of Italy also.

With the conquest of Ethiopia Italy accomplished its main colonial goal, one it had pursued tenaciously from the early days of Italian expansion into the Horn. The founding of A.O.I. brought much popularity to the *Duce* and spelt success for fascism, making it easier to overcome some of the negative repercussions of the worldwide economic depression. Italy was now presented with an opportunity to remodel the geopolitics and the institutions of the Horn of Africa as a whole, and to impose its ideas on the populations living there. Although Italy lacked the financial and technical resources, and time, to effect a real transformation of the economy and society of A.O.I., Italian administrators, based in their headquarters in Ḫaylä Śəllase's former New or Small Palace (now the site of ↗Addis Abäba University), prepared to change the very soul of Ethiopia by manipulating the hierarchical balance of power elites and major ethnic groups or nations. Ethiopia as such was partitioned in order to eliminate its capacity to resist aggression and subjugation. In breaking the imperial infrastructure down along lines of regional or ethnic affinity, and in so doing dismantling the state that Mənilək II and Ḫaylä Śəllase I had brought to unity in the last century, Italy wanted to establish in its place territorial entities more homogeneous in national terms.

At the top of the administration of A.O.I. a Governor-General with the title of *viceré* was installed. The A.O.I. was divided into five *governi*, a term used here as equivalent to an administrative subdivision (cp. ↗Administrative

Italian map of A.O.I., 1938, from *Guida*

division). Eritrea was enlarged to include part of the Təgrayan highlands and the territory inhabited by the ᶜAfar in the lowlands. Somalia absorbed the Ogaden and other areas inhabited by the Somali. At the time of its creation on 9 May 1936, the A.O.I. included the following *governi*, each of them regulated by a governor who answered to the Governor-General in Addis Abäba: Eritrea and Somalia, Amara, with Gondär as its capital, Galla-Sidama, with Ǧimma as its capital, Harar, with the town of Harär as capital, and the *governatorato* (governorate) of Addis Ababa, the last four entities being carved out of the territory of the former empire of Ethiopia. In 1938 the governorate of Addis Abäba was replaced by the new government of "Scioa" (Šäwa) with its wider territorial borders. The estimated population of A.O.I. at the end of 1939 was 12 million inhabitants over an area of 1,725,330 km^2.

Italy claimed to be making use of scientific criteria in its reorganization of the region, but in actual fact the new divisions fitted racial prejudices and political objectives. ↗Amharic had been for centuries the language of the court and ↗Amhara had been easily identified as the cradle of the previous Empire; consequently, this people, who in some way represented the staunchest defenders of Ethiopia's independence, not to mention the hard core of the patriotic resistance against Italian occupation, was deliberately marginalized. The ↗Oromo were treated favourably because of their number and their willingness to collaborate. Furthermore, the studies and research of some of the most prominent Italian scholars – such as Enrico ↗Cerulli, who was appointed to a very high rank within the colonial administration – gave priority to the civilizations and languages of the more peripheral peoples, at the expense of the "semitized" Christian plateau-dwellers. The Fascist Government had already chosen to try to ally itself with Islamic interests, the religion of the majority in the lowlands, a majority traditionally antagonistic towards the central power exercised by Orthodox Ethiopia. The government clamped down on the powerful Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, which formed the essence of the Ethiopian identity, along with the Solomonic dynasty.

The functions entrusted to the Governor-General implied a strongly centralized authority. Therefore, one can understand Mondaini's (1941, II, 375ff.) definition of the A.O.I. as "a unitarian colony", both from an international perspective and in the context of the Italian legal system, even if the different governments that it encompassed were not just administrative units, but rather presented the features of political entities with semi-autonomous responsibilities in matters concerning the legislative, justice and finance structures, law and order etc. The A.O.I. appeared to be more similar to a federal state as far as the linguistic situation was concerned, since each government had its own administrative language as well as Italian, which was the official language in all of the territory: Təgrəññña and Arabic for Eritrea, Amharic for Amara and Addis Ababa (later "Scioa"), Arabic for Harar, Galla-Sidama and Somalia. For educational purposes further languages were used, such as Oromo (called "Galla" by Italians at that time), Somali, Harari etc., with Arabic being compulsory in all of the Muslim territories of A.O.I.

The inhabitants of A.O.I. were divided into two categories, citizens (Italians and foreigners belonging to other "civilized" states) and subjects or natives (*sudditi*). Colonial law assured the subjects the right to observe indigenous legislation and customs as well as complete freedom in their choice of language, education and, above all, religion. Regarding inter-racial relationships, Italy's administration applied a policy of discrimination: the entire legislation concerning marriage and family matters, which was already restrictive, became openly racist after the introduction in 1939 of a new and more comprehensive act, inspired by the outrageous notion of "defence of the race". The discriminatory policies already pursued in

Eritrea and Somalia were extended to Ethiopia: Ethiopia's few high schools were closed to Africans; non-Italian missionaries, Catholic as well as Protestant, were expelled and the natives who had already received some further education were admitted only to the lowest clerical posts. "In the long run, these measures proved even graver setbacks than the systematic murder of Africans who had studied abroad" (Caulk 1986:737).

Combining some policies characteristic of assimilation with a strategy of "divide and conquer" (*divide et impera*), a game familiar to all the colonial powers, Italy tried to obtain the allegiance of the local oligarchy, especially in those of the territories which had been unenthusiastic about becoming part of Ethiopia. Of course Ḫaylä Śəllase, from his exile in England, claimed to be the only legal representative of the empire. Italy's *politica dei capi* (the policy aimed at appeasing and co-opting local chiefs and notables in the colonial administration) found some limited success with aristocrats in general, mobilizing local, ethnic or personal grievances and feelings of hostility against the former Emperor (Sbacchi 1997:123–61). Among the better-known "collaborators", the most distinguished one was *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam.

However, the political and military leaders of the anti-Italian struggle (↗Resistance), which was never completely suppressed in all five years of Italian occupation, belonged to the traditional aristocracy, able to call upon the peasants to take up weapons to defend the liberty of the state and their land. The resistance of the patriotic forces was widespread, although not well co-ordinated. The Italians lived besieged in the towns and most convoys had to be protected by the army to avoid ambushes. Minimal security was assured only in Harär and in some south-western regions, where collecting taxes was possible. After an attempt in February 1937 by two young Eritreans on the life of the viceroy Rodolfo ↗Graziani, who was seriously wounded, brutal repression provoked indiscriminate massacres and the selected killings of opponents, students and educated people, the Šäwan clergy etc. In November 1937 Graziani was replaced by the more liberal-minded Amedeo di ↗Savoia, Duke of Aosta, a member of the Italian royal house, who sought to apply more conciliatory policies.

The *politica dei capi*, which Italy sought to justify by representing Ethiopia as a "museum of peoples", had a remarkable impact on the administration of the territories of the A.O.I. The indigenous population both in the countryside and in the urban centres was divided into homogeneous groups, communities, districts or villages on the basis of their ethnic origin, religion or territorial dislocation, with a *capo* ('chief') at the head of each group. All the chiefs were appointed by the Italian administration, which took local tradition into some consideration and which was responsible for the chiefs' salaries. The chiefs were obliged to safeguard the relationship between the local population and the Italian authorities, and to ensure the implementation of colonial regulations. The Catholic Church benefited from a special status thanks to the pact between the Vatican and Italy signed in 1929 and also valid in the A.O.I., although not formally extended by law there. In 1937, the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church was "emancipated" from its traditional dependence on Alexandria (Egypt) and was reformed as a national Ethiopian Church with its own elected head (*abun*). The Muslim faith was given full parity and the religious discrimination that, according to the colonial sources, existed, *de facto* if not *de jure*, in the former empire was abolished. As far as the justice system was concerned, formally the A.O.I. came within the norms previously applied in Eritrea and Somalia. However, Mondaini (1941, vol. 2,

The Italian Tricolore being raised in front of the Imperia Palace, Addis Abäba, ca. 1936, from the postcard of Casa editrice Ballerini & Fratini. Firenze. collection of André Evalet

The Coats of Arms of the A.O.I. governi, from *Guida*

462f.) writes that this inclusion was "relative rather than absolute", because in practice the laws were fitted daily to the variety of local customs and traditions.

The Italian *lira* was the designated legal currency in the whole of the A.O.I., pursuant to a law providing for the substitution of the silver ↗Maria Theresia thaler that was in circulation in the former Empire (↗Currency). This monetary assimilation under the aegis of the Banca d'Italia was never completed and it was in fact unrealistic to expect to be able to impose the *lira* to the exclusion of other solid currencies like the British pound and the Indian rupee, which were widely employed in commerce with neighbouring regions.

Italian propaganda had accused the Ethiopian authorities of tolerating forms of ↗slavery, both household slavery and the slave-trade. The abolition of slavery was one of the very first decisions taken by Italy with due emphasis and acted on, as soon her troops entered Ethiopian territory and occupied ʿAdwa. However, few slaves left their former masters and all of them remained subjected to compulsory recruitment for the military militias, *bande*, or for public needs.

Labour policies were adapted to reflect *corporativismo*, a concept dear to Fascist ideology, which espoused a sort of partnership between the different actors within any labour activity that concealed the continuity of the capitalistic organization and had the effect of silencing autonomous trade unions. The great majority of goods were imported and the few industries, in the field of construction materials, for instance, survived only thanks to robust subsidies from the state. Trade and commerce were strictly controlled by a rigid system of governmental monopolies and para-state organizations.

Italy was determined to obliterate the ↗land tenure system existing in the former empire, considered to be "feudal". The administration of the A.O.I., however, made use of the expertise to be found in Italian records on the differences between the regions in Ethiopia. It was mindful to distinguish the territories of the so-called historical Abyssinia (Təgray, Amhara, Goǧǧam, Šäwa), with their traditional methods of landholding (e.g., ↗*Rəst*, ↗*Gʷəlt*), from the provinces of more recent acquisition in the west and the regions completely new to the Empire in the south, where Islam and traditional religions predominated and Abyssinian domination had taken the form of a mere military occupation (Mondaini 1941, II, 552f.). Other local characteristics had to be coped with in Eritrea (the situation on the plateau bearing obvious similarities to the Abyssinian tradition as regards land tenure, while in Muslim lands, used mostly for grazing, the ancient customary regime based upon the full and collective ownership of soil by the tribes had remained unaltered) and in Somalia. The general trend was clearly to establish land rights in order to strengthen private ownership, though officially the objective was to avoid controversies and abuses. According to Italian law, every piece of Eritrean land which could not validly be claimed as somebody's property was entrusted to the Italian state for public use or for concessions to private entities or individuals.

Whereas all public land was entrusted to the *demanio* (↗*Terra demaniale*), the government had the right to assign allotments of land in concession to the Italian colonists (*coloni*). This was in line with the practice always followed by the Italians in their colonies, but although there was plenty of land, it was not vacant but densely populated and intensely cultivated, motivating Italy to manage the problem with prudence. In fact, "protection of Ethiopian interests and development of settler agriculture remained difficult to reconcile" (Haile Mariam Larebo 1994:81). Immigration was encouraged primarily

for strategic and political ends rather than economic purposes. Agricultural colonization began in 1937 with the institution of appropriate bodies (*enti di colonizzazione*), but the general and basic law covering the whole issue of land tenure was issued in January 1940, which proved to be too late, given the outbreak of ↗World War II.

Italy carried out an impressive large-scale programme of road-building throughout the former empire towards Eritrea and to a lesser degree Somalia, overcoming tremendous natural difficulties with great skill and intrepidity. Whereas Asmära had already been intensely urbanized by the Italians, the Ethiopian provincial capitals and certain districts of Addis Abäba were reconstructed, respecting the rationalist style of the architecture of the 1930s (↗Urbanization).

Because of the events of the war, the A.O.I. collapsed only a few years after its proclamation. *Aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase awaited the fifth anniversary of the occupation of the capital to make his triumphal re-entry into Addis Abäba, following the allied forces, mostly British. In the first months of the war, Italy had occupied British Somaliland in a precarious manner, but in 1941 Italian troops surrendered everywhere in the A.O.I. The surrender of the last *viceré*, Amedeo di Savoia, Duke of Aosta, was accepted by the British, who displayed special honours to his person and his title. Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase exhorted all the Ethiopians not to take any revenge on the Italians, asking them – with a special emphasis in the long speech he delivered to the crowds of the capital city in the evening of that 5 May (Del Boca 1982:463f., 477) – not to confuse the responsibility of the authorities with individual faults.

The administrative infrastructure of A.O.I. immediately ceased to exist. Ethiopia was reinstated as an independent state, even if the Ethiopian government had to subscribe to two Anglo-Ethiopian Agreements, in January 1942 and December 1944, that accorded facilities and privileges to Britain for the war needs, thereby limiting the complete sovereignty of the country. Britain kept direct control of the Somali-inhabited Ogaden and the Reserved Areas bordering British Somaliland, even after the end of war. The British government, which had the jurisdiction of the whole area, except for the French Somali Coast (↗Djibouti), overtly reckoned on the possibility of promoting the creation of a Greater Somalia. Eritrea and the former Italian Somalia remained under ↗British Military Administration pending the decision of the Four Big Powers (the USA, the USSR, Britain and France). The terms of the Peace Treaty imposed on Italy in 1947 called for the formal renunciation of all her rights in Africa and confirmed full independence for Ethiopia. The disposal of the former Italian colonies was complicated by the connections between the demands from concerned peoples and outside actors (big powers, Arab states etc.), and by Cold War alignments and objectives. The negotiations lasted some years and were concluded by separate resolutions of the UN's General Assembly: in November 1949 Somalia was assigned to Italy as a trusteeship leading eventually to independence for a ten-year period, starting from 1950, and in December 1950 Eritrea, whose political opinion was sharply divided between supporters of an independent state and unionists (i. e. favouring union with Ethiopia), was decided to become an autonomous unit federated to Ethiopia under the Ethiopian monarchy, starting from 1952 (↗Eritrean-Ethiopian Federation).

The territorial reshuffle operated by Italy in the years of the A.O.I. left an enduring legacy on the attitudes of the local people, both in Eritrea and in Somalia, intensifying their national consciousness. The question of the boundary between Ethiopia and Somalia was not satisfactorily dealt with before Somali independence, and would prove to be a perennial cause of strife because of the Pan-Somali vocation of the Somali-speaking inhabitants of the Ogaden and Haud regions, returned to Ethiopia in various instalments between 1948 and 1954.

The three components of the former A.O.I. continued to be beset by contrasts and mutual tensions, and were in a way the consequence of the colonial experience. Although national and regional links, unlike elsewhere in Africa, were to prove stronger than colonial manipulations, Eritrea, the *colonia primogenita* ('first-born colony') of Italy, had been too substantially changed in its political and economic structures to be compatible with the appeal set out by Ethiopia, while the push towards the unification of all the Somali lands did not heal the rifts between the territories which colonialism had contrived.

↗Colonialism

Lit.: BEREKET HABTE SELASSIE, *Conflict and Intervention in the Horn of Africa*, New York 1980; GIAMPAOLO CALCHI NOVATI, *Il Corno d'Africa nella storia e nella politica*, Torino 1994; RICHARD CAULK, "Ethiopia and the Horn", in: ANDREW D. ROBERTS (ed.), *The Cam-*

bridge History of Africa, vol. 7: *From 1905 to 1940*, Cambridge 1986, 702–41, here 373; RAFFAELE CIASCA, *Storia coloniale dell'Italia contemporanea*, Milano 1940 [1938]; CHISTOPHER CLAPHAM, "The Horn of Africa", in: MICHAEL CROWDER (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 8: *From 1940 to 1975*, Cambridge 1984, 458–501; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli italiani in Africa Orientale. La caduta dell'impero*, Roma – Bari 1982; HAILE MARIAM LAREBO, *The Building of the Empire: Italian Land Policy and Practice in Ethiopia, 1935–1941*, Oxford 1994; GENNARO MONDAINI, *La legislazione coloniale italiana nel suo sviluppo storico e nel suo stato attuale (1881–1940)*, 2 vols., Milano 1941, esp. vol. 2, 375ff., 462f., 552f.; GIAN LUIGI ROSSI, *L'Africa italiana verso l'indipendenza, 1941–1949*, Varese 1980; ALBERTO SBACCHI, *Il colonialismo italiano in Etiopia, 1936–1940*, Milano 1980; ID., *Ethiopia under Mussolini: Fascism and the Colonial Experience*, London 1985; ID., *Legacy of Bitterness. Ethiopia and Fascist Italy, 1935–1941*, Lawrenceville – Asmara 1997, 35–54, 102–204.

Giampaolo Calchi Novati

Afro-Asiatic

A.-A. languages (often spelled Afroasiatic), or, in a contracted version, "Afrasian", also called Hamitosemitic (sometimes spelled ↗Hamito-Semitic or even Semito-Hamitic) and rarely called the Erythraean, not to mention quite idiosyncratic "Lislakh", form a large language family or "phylum" composed of at least five main branches: 1. ↗Semitic (which includes the ↗Ethio-Semitic group), 2. Berber (the name Libyco-Berber is sometimes used, although there is no justification for a separate treatment of the language of the so-called "Libyan" inscriptions) of North Africa, in the past also of the Canary Islands, 3. ↗Cushitic, 4. Egyptian (from Old Egyptian, known since ca. 3000 B.C., to Coptic, which died out only in the second half of the 2nd millennium A.D.) and 5. Chadic languages, spoken in Northern Nigeria, Niger, the Chad Republic and Northern Cameroun.

The hypothesis postulating the classification of ↗Beğa as a separate branch has been spread as a classical rumour (the only serious but futile attempt to dassify Beğa as a separate branch has been undertaken by Hetzron, cf. the criticism by Zaborski 1987) and must be rejected since Beğa shares far too many morphological (e.g. the Cushitic suffix-conjugation) and lexical elements (cf. Zaborski 1989 and the forthcoming *Beja Etymological Dictionary* by Blážek) with Cushitic to leave any doubt about its membership within Cushitic. In spite of a large consensus, which is not really based on solid facts, it is still not clear whether the ↗Omotic languages belong to the Cushitic branch as "West Cushitic", or should be considered, as claimed already by Plazikowsky-Brauner, to be a separate branch. It is possible that Omotic languages are the result of a very far-reaching morphological simplification of a "West"-Cushitic subbranch, due mainly to a strong interference with ↗Nilo-Saharan languages, which has been especially intensive in the case of the Hamär-Aari-Banna subgroup (↗Hamar cluster).

According to the tradition going back to Marcel ↗Cohen, the five branches of A.-A. are somewhat parallel so that no particularly close relationship can be ascribed to any pair of them. Thus, there is no justification for the use of the term ↗"Hamitic". Another opinion (Zaborski 1994, 1998) ascribes a close relationship to Semitic and Berber (as emphasized already by Rössler), then to Semitic-Berber and Cushitic, then to Semitic-Berber plus Cushitic and Egyptian, while the most numerous Chadic branch (about 150 languages) stands apart as the branch which, most probably, was the first to separate from the Proto-A.-A. dialect cluster. As in the case of every language family, there are isoglosses which are contradictory, but this genealogical-tree hypothesis is probably correct as a general, albeit simplified, presentation of facts. This dassification is based first of all on common morphological innovations (e.g. the rise of the typically Cushitic new suffix-conjugation, which goes back to a periphrastic construction with a verbal noun and postposed prefix-conjugated verb) and archaisms (e.g. prefix-conjugation of action verbs, stative suffix-conjugation, internal plurals etc.). The hypothesis about a particular relationship between the Cushitic and Chadic languages (at first by Lukas, and then by Diakonoff, although the latter rejected it later) has been proposed without any data and comparison and is practically futile.

While older hypotheses about the relationship of A.-A. and Nubian (e.g. Lepsius and Reinisch) are baseless, nevertheless there is a certain possibility of a distant relationship between A.-A. and some Saharan languages (provisionally classified within "Nilo-Saharan"), as promoted e.g. by Petráček. Undeciphered Meroitic (↗Meroë) certainly is not related to Beğa and most probably is not A.-A. at all. A.-A. languages are also provisionally classified within the Nostratic "hyper-family", which allegedly includes also Indo-European, Uralo-Altaic, Kartvelian, Dravidian and even some other language families.

The alleged relationship of Chadic with Mande languages (Mukarovsky 1987) is quite unclear and the hypotheses linking Ful and even Basque with A.-A. must be rejected.

There is no systematic comparative grammar of the A.-A. languages so far, because relatively little research has been done (but s. Rössler 1950, 2001). Diakonoff 1988 is the best short synthesis, although it is based on sometimes random selected data and is only an approximation. Another selective overview is Cohen 1988.

A.-A. languages share a number of common morphemes, first of all personal pronouns, both in their independent (e.g. **ʾan-a/*an-aku* 'I', **ʾan-ta* 'you' masc., **hu/*šu/*su* 'he', **ʾan-aḥ-na/*ʾa-ḥ-na* 'we' etc.) and bound forms (bound forms become independent at a later stage, e.g. in Cushitic, but also in some ↗Gurage languages) as well as many other morphemes like **-at* of feminine nominals, **-Vw/-ū* and **-an* morphemes of the nominal plural, many internal (or ablaut) plural forms, **-i* of the genitive, verbal morphemes like the **ʾa-/*ha-/*ša-* prefix of the causative, **ta-/*t-* and **n-* of the middle voice (passive/reflexive), which may go back to original auxiliary verbs, the *-C2C2/-āC2- morpheme of intensive/plural verbs, the **-u-* of the internal passive etc. Regular phoneme correspondences (sound laws) have been discovered only to a somewhat limited extent, but this is due to the scarcity of data on many languages and to the limited research conducted on the comparative phonology and lexicon of the particular subfamilies (e.g. the *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques*, ed. since 1970 by David Cohen et al., is advanced, but still far from its end; Takács 1999 and Nait-Zerrad 1998–1999 are most promising, but just beginning). Attempts at compiling overall A.-A. comparative dictionaries have been either more or less premature (Marcel Cohen 1947 is still the best complete pan-A.-A. comparative dictionary, while Diakonoff 1993ff. is decisively superior but still at its beginning), or methodologically weak (Orel – Stolbova 1995), if not unacceptable (Ehret 1995).

A very wide use of ablaut, i.e. vowel-change with morphological function, is a very typical feature of the more archaic A.-A. languages, while it gradually disappears in more innovating languages, which also radically reduce inflection resulting in many languages (cf. e.g. West Chadic languages and some West Cushitic/Omotic) in complex tone and analytic (i.e. inflectionless) systems. The use of the so-called prefix-conjugation and of the so-called suffix-conjugation, e.g. for the 1st person sing. **ʾa-*C1C2VC3-V and **C1aC2C3-ak(u)*, is another typological feature, although prefix-conjugated verbs gradually disappear and even original suffix-conjugation gives place to new suffix-conjugations or to analytic constructions.

Little can be said about the original homeland of the Proto-A.-A. peoples, although different hypotheses about pre-desertification Ṣahara (between Tibesti and Darfur?), Sudanese Ǧazīra and Syria-Palestine plus Arabian Peninsula have been proposed.

Lit.: VÁCLAV BLÁŽEK, *Beja Etymological Dictionary*, forthcoming; DAVID COHEN, *Les langues dans le monde*, vol. 3: *Langues chamito-sémitiques*, Paris 1988; ID. et al., *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*, Paris 1970ff.; MARCEL COHEN, *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*, Paris 1947; IGOR MIKHAILOVITCH DIAKONOFF, *Afrasian Languages*, Moscow 1988; ID., ["Vvedenie", 'Introduction'], *Yazyki Azii i Afriki* 4, Moskva 1991–92; ID. et al, "Historical Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian", *Sankt-Peterburgskiy zhurnal afrikanskih issledovaniy* 2, 1993; *ibid.* 3, 1994; *ibid.* 4, 1995, *ibid.* 5, 1996, *ibid.* 6, 1997; CHRISTOPHER EHRET, *Reconstructing Proto-Afroasiatic* (Proto-Afrasian): *Vowels, Tone, Consonants and Vocabulary*, Berkeley 1995; KAMAL NAIT-ZERRAD, *Dictionnaire des racines berbères*, 2 vols., Paris – Louvain 1998–99; HANS GÜNTHER MUKAROVSKY, *Mande-Chadic Common Stock: a Study of Phonological and Lexical Evidence*, Wien 1987; OTTO RÖSSLER, "Verbalbau und Verbalflexion in den semitohamitischen Sprachen", *ZDMG* 100, 1950, 461–514; ID., *Gesammelte Schriften zur Semitohamitistik*, Münster 2001; GÁBOR TAKÁCS, *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*, vol. 1: *A Phonological Introduction*, Boston 1999; VLADIMIR E. OREL – OLGA V. STOLBOVA, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary*, Leiden – New York 1995; ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI, "Reinisch and some Problems of the Study of Beja Today", in: HANS GÜNTHER MUKAROVSKY (ed.), *Leo Reinisch – Werk und Erbe*, Wien 1987, 125–39; ID., "Der Wortschatz der Bedscha-Sprache", in: EINAR VON SCHULER (ed.), *XXIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag*, Stuttgart 1989, 573–91; ID., "Archaic Semitic in the Light of Hamito-Semitic", *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 7, 1994, 234–44; ID., "La linguistique chamito-sémitique cinquante années après l'Essai Comparatif de Marcel Cohen", in: MOHAMED EL MEDAOUI et al. (eds.), *Actes du Premier Congrès Chamito-Sémitique de Fès*, Fès 1998, 23–35.

Andrzej Zaborski

Afṣe

A. (**አፍጼ**) was one of the ↗Nine Saints said to have followed ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi to Ethiopia from Roman territory. According to tradition, A. came from "Asia", and Conti Rossini (1928:160) suggested that this might refer to ↗Edessa. Conti

Rossini also tried to explain the name A. by citing a Syriac verb (1939:155) rather than Syriac prosopography. The ↗*Səmkəssar* commemorates A. on 29 *Ganbot* (BudSaint 3).

A. has traditionally been associated with ↗Yəḥa, where he is said to have founded a monastery. In his account of visiting the site, Alvares mentions "a town between the peaks called *Abafaçem*" (BeckHuntAlvar 140), which is clearly derived from *abba* A. Conti Rossini (1939) reported that he had seen a hagiography of A. when he visited Yəḥa in 1937. Unfortunately, after returning to Rome he received only a series of extracts rather than the entire text. A longer version of Acts of A. was described by Sergew Hable-Selassie (1964) and Schneider (1985), who published a summary and analysis of it, claiming that the text was not of sufficient historical value to merit an edition. There are a number of differences between the two versions.

The suggestion by Sergew Hable-Selassie that the discovery of "small stone boxes" at Yəḥa in 1960 confirms the historicity of the second Acts is not persuasive. There are some startling anachronisms in traditions about A. A more sceptical approach to the question of A. and the Nine Saints in general is taken by Grierson and Munro-Hay (2002). None of the hagiographies of these saints is earlier than the late 14th or 15th cent. There is no contemporary evidence for them and the various traditions were clearly formulated to meet later circumstances.

The iconography of the Nine Saints, including *abba* A., is discussed by Mordini (1952), Staude (1959), Leroy (1967), Gerster (1970) and Juel Jensen (forthcoming).

↗Syriac influences

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'Omilia di Yohannes, vescovo d'Aksum, in onore di Garimâ", in: *Actes du Onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes Paris–1897, Quatrième Section*, Paris 1898, 139–77; ID., *Vitae Sanctorum Antiquiorum*: I. *Acta Yārēd et Pantālēwon*, Rome 1904 (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9, 10]); BudSaint 3, 944; BeckHuntAlvar 140; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Il «Gadla 'Aragâwî»", *MRALm* ser. 5, 2, 1, 1894, 54–96.

Lit.: BudHist I, 152f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Storia d'Etiopia*, Milano 1928, 158–65; ID., "La leggenda di Abbā Afṣe in Etiopia", in: *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, Paris 1939, vol. 1, 151–56; ARTHUR KINLOCH IRVINE – SEIFU METAFERIA, "'Afṣé", in: *DicEthBio* 14 (Lit.); GEORG GERSTER, *Churches in Rock*, London 1970, 135f., plate 188; RODERICK GRIERSON – STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Red Sea Blue Nile: a History of Ethiopia*, London 2002; BENT JUEL JENSEN, "Two Manuscripts from Debra Damo", in: RODERICK GRIERSON (ed.), *Miscellanea Aethiopica: Essays in Honour of Richard Pankhurst*, forthcoming; JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Painting*, London 1967, 53 and plate 20; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Some Considerations on the Problem of the 'Syriac Influences' on Aksumite Ethiopia", *JES* 23, 1990, 35–46; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Un'antica pittura etiopica", *RSE* 11, 1952, 29–32; WILHELM STAUDE, "Étude sur la décoration des églises Abbā Antonios de Gondar et Dabra Sinā de Gorgora", *AE* 2, 1959, 185–250, here 199 and plate 83; SERGEW HABLE-SELASSIE, "New Historical Elements in the Gedle Afsé", *JSS* 9, 1964, 200–03; TadTChurch 23ff.; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Les Actes d'Abba Afsé de Yeha", *AE* 13, 1985, 105–18; ARTHUR VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient: a Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East*, vol. 3, Louvain 1988 (CSCO 500, Subsidia 81), 272–78; WITOLD WITAKOWSKI, "Syrian Influences in Ethiopian Culture", *Orientalia Suecana* 38–39, 1989–90, 191–202.

Roderick Grierson

Aftay *käntibay* Bula

Käntibay A. (**አፍታይ፡ ከንቲባይ፡ ቡላ**, b. ca. 1892 in Mäḥlab, Sänḥit, Eritrea, d. 1970s), a member of the ruling clan Bet Išḥaqan and a descendant of an old family of *käntibays* from the Zärʾit branch, was a leader of the Təgre subgroup Mänsaᶜ since ca. 1920s. His father was *käntibay* Bula (d. in the 1920s), the son of *käntibay* Muḥammad, who was one of the first Muslim leaders of this originally Christian subgroup.

A. is remembered for having tried to defend to the maximum the independence for, and the traditional rights of the Mänsaᶜ and therefore risked conflict with the Italian authorities when they confiscated traditional herding-grounds. His imprisonment caused an uprising and civil war, inciting the Mänsaᶜ against the Italian authorities. Mäḥlab, the main settlement of the Mänsaᶜ Bet Išḥaqan and their traditional serfs, was the centre of their protest. A.'s relative success ensured that his authority would not be questioned later under the successive political leaderships of Eritrea until he died, thus becoming one of the longest-ruling *käntibays* among the Mänsaᶜ subgroups. He was said to have been "just" and "strong", being in his area the final juridical instance in cases of litigation over five *č̣əqa*-districts.

As he had inherited his office from his father, he transferred it to his son Muḥammad just before his death in the 1970s.

Src.: interview with *ato* WÄLDÄ GABƎR ĞAWƎĞ, age 96, Mähläb 2001.

Lit.: ErDiz Bio 7; ḤAYLU TÄSFAY, **የክረን፡ አውራጃ፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäkärän awraǧǧa aṭ̣č̣ər tarik*, 'A Short History of Kärän Sub-Province'), Asmära 1980, 79.

Mussie Tesfagiorgis – Wolbert Smidt

ᶜAgamä

ᶜA. (ዓጋመ, Amh. ᶜAgame) is located at the north-eastern corner of Təgray. It lies between 13°57'N – 14°33'N and 39°13'E – 40°27'E. It borders on the Eritrean province of Akkälä Guzay in the north, Tämben, Kəlǝttä Awlǝᶜalo and Ǝndärta in the south, and both the Eritrean and Ethiopian ᶜAfar lowlands in the east. This relative location placed ᶜA. at the strategic cross-roads between the Red Sea Coast and the interior of southern Eritrea, on the one hand, and the northern Təgrayan plateau on the other.

In pre-1991, ᶜA. had a total area of about 4,889 km³ with an estimated population of 344,800. Topographically, it exhibits diverse physical features: mountain massifs, plains, plateaux, deep gorges and river valleys. Archaeological evidence indicates that ᶜA. was one of the earliest places in Ethiopia to adopt ploughshare agriculture, but centuries of over-cultivation and maximum utilization of resources turned the area into agriculturally marginal land.

The principal inhabitants of ᶜA. are ↗ᶜAfar, ↗Säho and ↗Təgrəññа-speakers. The Təgrəññа-speaking population predominates in the highlands. The north-eastern and south-eastern sector of the escarpment is principally inhabited by the Säho-speaking ↗Irob and ᶜAfar-speakers respectively. ↗ᶜAddigrat prevailed as the capital of ᶜA. throughout the 19th and 20th cent.

ᶜA. is one of the very few place-names identified in the Adulis inscription (↗Monumentum Adulitanum; s. Wolska-Conus 1968:372–78) as early as the 3rd cent. It is mentioned there as an apparently viable local political entity and it seems that it continued as such from then onwards. The area also appears to have been part of the eastern cultural province of ancient Aksum. Since the 5–6th cent. ᶜA. was involved in the process of christianization of the kingdom of Aksum: to this period dates back the foundation of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Damo, which played a major role in Ethiopia's ecclesiastic history through the Middle Ages up to the modern times.

The chiefs of ᶜA. would assume the title of *šum ᶜagame* in medieval times and throughout history. Even though in the 16th cent. the *šum ᶜagame* was killed by Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's army (Bass Hist 128f.), the physical inaccessibility of lowland ᶜA. suited the purpose of providing safe hideouts to various political, religious and social dissidents. It remained the centre of prominent monasteries such as ↗Gundä Gunde Maryam, which was established by the ↗Stephanites during the 15th cent.

ᶜA. had a major role to play in the political ascendancy of Təgray in Christian Ethiopia during the greater part of the first quarter of the 19th cent. One of the prominent warlords of northern Ethiopia, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu, who ruled Təgray in the period 1822–31, had his power base in ᶜA. His demise at the battle of Däbrä ᶜAbbay marked a decline in the political importance of ᶜA. in the Təgrayan political arena.

In the period 1896–1936, ᶜA. was led by the descendants of Säbagadis. *Däǧǧač* Kaśa Səbḥat was the chief of the area during the ↗Italian war 1935–36. He mobilized the people of ᶜA. and engaged the Italians at the battle of Fagena, in the ᶜAfar escarpment east of ᶜAddigrat. But he was defeated and ultimately surrendered.

During 1941–74 ᶜA. existed as an *awrağğa* (in the province of Təgray), having five districts (*wäräda*) under it: ↗Gulo Mäkäda, Ganta Afäšum, Subḥa Ṣaᶜaṣe, Dallol and Kəlǝttä Bäläza. Descendants of the Säbagadis family still governed ᶜA. until the Revolution.

Since the 19th cent., ᶜA. has been an enduring base for Lazarist Catholic evangelization in northern Ethiopia. The legacies of this process are the Catholic Cathedral and the Seminary of ᶜAddigrat and the considerable Catholic congregation of Irobland in the lowlands.

Src.: interviews with *ato* ḪAYLÄŚƎLLASE RÄDDA, aged 60, ᶜAddigrat 2001; *ato* ABRƎHA ADUMAR, aged 78, ᶜAddigrat 1996; CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE (ed.), *Ethiopian Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa 1984, 39; WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS (ed.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès. Topographie chrétienne*, 3 vols., Paris 1968–73 (Sources chrétiennes 141,

159, 197), vol. 1, 372–78; BassHist 128f.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Storia d'Etiopia*, Milano 1928; KEBEDE HAGOS, *The History of Addigrat, c. 1644–1974*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1988, 5–35; TSEGAY BERHE, *A History of ᶜAgamä 1822–1914*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1996, 26–46; KEVIN O'MAHONEY, *"The Ebullient Phoenix": a History of the Vicariate of Abyssinia, 1839–1860*, vol. 1, Asmara 1982, 25–47; TadTChurch; HuntGeogr s. index.

Tsegay Berhe G. Libanos

Agäññähu Ǝngəda

A.Ǝ. (**አገኘሁ፡ እንግዳ**, b. 1902/03, d. 12 March 1947) was the most prominent Ethiopian artist of the early 20th cent., introducing into Ethiopian art revolutionary techniques of naturalistic and realistic depiction of the subject matter.

A.Ǝ. (originally Agäññähu Dubale) was born near Gondär to a peasant family. His mother's brother, a priest named Ǝngəda Wärq, fostered him and gave him both his last name, Ǝngəda, and a traditional church education. From early on, A.Ǝ. showed a keen interest not only in the contemplation of the pictures of saints, angels and celestial scenes found in religious texts, but also in their reproduction. Although this was not an uncommon phenomenon among students in such schools, his abilities were exceptional.

The visitors from Addis Abäba who happened to see A.Ǝ.'s paintings of angels, saints and religious scenes were so impressed by them that he decided to go to the capital, where his painting skills were quickly recognized. He was selected along with two other young men and sent to France to study art in 1926/27 by *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I). Returning to Ethiopia in early 1930, with a Swiss wife, imbued with new artistic ideas and techniques, A.Ǝ. had acquired also a new outlook on life and society. His artistic temperament and progressive ideas inevitably put him in conflict with some senior officials.

When a new building was erected to house the future two-chamber parliament, Ethiopian artists of the traditional school were engaged in the creation of appropriate paintings for its walls. A.Ǝ. was recalled to Addis Abäba to take charge of the project, and many important and historic paintings in the Parliament building were executed by him. The successful completion of these tasks meant the good standing of A.Ǝ. was reinstated, albeit grudgingly, in the eyes of the authorities.

A.Ǝ. did not only engage actively in his artistic creations, most notably portraits and paintings that depicted Ethiopian life scenes, but was also active in trying to transmit his newly acquired knowledge on art, and the new techniques he had mastered, to young, aspiring Ethiopian artists. Nevertheless, his life was not easy. He has separated from his wife, who was taken away by his father at her own request. His attempt to found a formal training centre for artists was not successful; his volatile temper always stood in his way. He was much bothered about the plight of the country and the misconception the society had about his profession.

Of A.Ǝ.'s numerous portrait paintings only a few are extant; the only portraits that are known to the art "circle" in Addis are his self-portrait with an unfamiliar headgear, and that of a lady called Aster Mängäša.

Lit.: LADISLAS FARAGO, *Abyssinia On the Eve*, London 1935, esp. 11f., 108, 118; ŚƎYYUM WÄLDE, **አገኘሁ፡ እንግዳ። በሃገራችን፡ የመጀመሪያው፡ ዘመናዊ፡ ሰአሊ.** (*Agäññähu Ǝngəda. Bähagäraccən yämägämmäriyaw zämänawi säʿali*, 'Agäññähu Ǝngəda. The First Modern Artist in Our Country'), *Yäkkatit* [Magazine], *Yäkkatit* 1973 A.M. [February 1981 A.D.]; DÄBBÄBÄSÄYFU, **ሦስት፡ ጸረ፡ ቅኝ፡ አገዛዝ፡ ኢትዮጵያውያን፡ ገጣሚያን** (*Śost ṣärä qəññ agäzaz ityopyawəyyan gäṭamiyyan*, 'Three Ethiopian Anti-Colonial Poets'), *Admas* [Journal of the Faculty of Education, Addis Ababa University] 1, 2, 1980; ID., **ዋዜማ፡ ጦርነት፡ ግጥ ሞች** (*Wazema ṭorənnät gəṭəmočč*, 'War-Eve Poems'), *ibid.*; TAYE TADESSE, **አንዳንድ፡ የታወቁ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሰአሊዎች፡ አጭር፡ የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ** – *Short Biographies of Some Ethiopian Artists 1869-1957*, Addis Ababa 1991, 22f.

Asfaw Damte

Agäññähu Ǝngəda, "Selfportrait", photo courtesy of the National Museum. Addis Abäba

Agäw

Agäw languages

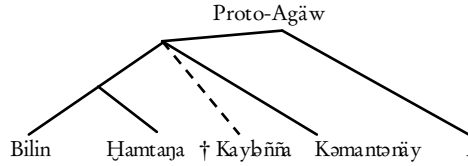
The A. (አገው) peoples of Eritrea and Ethiopia today represent the remnants of what must have been the original population of much of the highland region from the Märäb river in the north to the Ǧämma river in the south, who were later absorbed into the Semitic language and culture of the Aksumite kingdom, providing the linguistic substratum of ↗Təgrəññña and ↗Amharic. The process of assimilation and integration into the dominant Semitic language and Christian culture of late Aksumite Ethiopia certainly began at an early stage, probably as early as the 6th cent. and culminating in the rise of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty in the 12th and 13th cent. The process of integration of all the A. peoples was not by any means uniform, and the sense of separateness and identity remains today, most notably of course in the case of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel.

Surviving islands of A. speech are to be found today in four main blocks: the ↗Bilin in the region formerly known as Bogos, in the area of the town of Kärän in Eritrea; the A. of northern Wag and adjacent areas known variously as Ḫamət or Ḫamər (↗Ḫamta); the Qəmant (↗Kəmant) of Kärkär and Čalga north of Lake Ṭana, together with the Betä Ǝsraʾel, who preserve their dialect in some of their liturgy, and most of whom now live in Israel having emigrated in recent years from Ethiopia; and lastly, the ↗Awŋi (or Awiya) centred on the region formerly known as ↗Agäw Mədər in Goǧǧam, together with the little-studied but related ↗Kunfäl of the lowlands to the west of Lake Ṭana. Bilin is linguistically very close to Ḫamtaŋa, the A. language of the Ḫamət, and it is not unfeasible that the two diverged as little as a millennium ago or less.

Research on the A. languages began in earnest with the publications of Leo ↗Reinisch, who between 1882 and 1887 published grammars and dictionaries of three languages, "Bilin", "Chamir" (Ḫamtaŋa) and "Quara" (Kəmantənäy-duster), none of which has been surpassed in detail to date. Since then, Ethiopianist scholars such as ↗Conti Rossini, Tubiana, Palmer, ↗Hetzron, and Appleyard have produced smaller works on one or more languages, or aspects of comparative A. language study.

The A. languages, also referred to in the literature as Central Cushitic, constitute one of the families of the ↗Cushitic macro-family. Within A. there are today four or five dialect clusters, depending on how Kunfäl is classified. In addition to the named languages, Bilin, Ḫamtaŋa, Kəmantənäy, and Awŋi-Kunfäl, a number of other dialects are mentioned in the older literature. Where sufficient evidence permits, most of these can be placed within one of the four existing dialect clusters. The only exception is a dialect recorded by Faïtlovitch and named by him as "Kaïliña" (i.e. Kayləññña, or the language of the Kayla, a term formerly applied to the Betä Ǝsraʾel), which appears to be intermediate between the Ḫamtaŋa and the Kəmantənäy groups (Appleyard 1996).

The A. languages form a close group that can be divided into two branches, the one comprising the Bilin, the Ḫamtaŋa and the Kəmantənäy dialect clusters, and the other consisting of Awŋi and Kunfäl. The internal relationship of the A. languages can be established firstly on the basis of shared phonological and morphological innovation, and is also corroborated by lexical comparison (Appleyard, in: *PICES* 8).



Bilin (Bəlin, or *Bəlina gab* 'language of the Bilin'; Bilen is the Təgrəññña and Təgre term) is spoken by between 90,000 and 120,000 people in the former Sänḥit province in Eritrea, focusing on the town of Kärän. There are two dialects, Täʾaqwər (or Taqwər) and Tärqeqwər, more usually called Sänḥit today, which differ mostly in details of vocabulary, though there is some small morphological variation. The name Bilin is used for both the language and the people. The majority of Christian Bilin speakers are bilingual in Təgrəññña, and many Muslim speakers are also bilingual in Təgre.

Ḫamtaŋa (also spelled Khamtanga or Xamtanga, and the same as Reinisch's "Chamir") is spoken in the northern part of the Wag region in the former province of Wällo as far south as the town of ↗Säqoṭa, and spilling over into ↗Səmen. Statistics for numbers of speakers vary from as

little as 5,000 to "possibly more than 100,000" (Berhanu Hailu et al. 1995). The dialect recorded by Conti Rossini (1904) as Khamta and spoken in the region around ↗Abärgälle also belongs here, and indeed, there are probably four dialects of Ḫamtaŋa (Appleyard 1987:243f.). The people call themselves Ḫaməṭ or Ḫəməṭ (sg. Ḫamra, Ḫəmra). Probably all speakers of Ḫamtaŋa are bilingual in Amharic or Təgrəññña according to where they live. A variety of A. mentioned as being (formerly?) spoken in Səmen probably also belongs here, unless this is the same as the "Kaïliña" recorded by Faïtlovitch, and which is evidently intermediate between Ḫamtaŋa and Kəmantənäy.

Kəmantənäy (properly the language of the Kəmant, also Amharicised as Qəmant, and occasionally spelled in the literature Kemant) is spoken by just over 5,000 people in the regions of Č̣əlga and Kärkär, north and north-west of the town of Gondär. Almost all speakers of Kəmantənäy are bilingual in Amharic, and the majority of people who identify themselves as Qəmant no longer speak the language. In the 19th cent. a dialect called Dämbiya was also spoken in the region of that name along the northern shore of Lake Ṭana. The A. speech of the Betä Ǝsraʾel also belongs to the same dialect cluster, and differs from Kəmantənäy only in a small percentage of vocabulary and some morphology. This dialect, called variously "Falašan" or "Qʷarənya" in the literature (or Qʷaräsa, i.e. the language of ↗Qʷara; known as *Kʷarili wana gämäŋa* 'the language which is in Qʷara' to the few surviving speakers) is moribund today, spoken by a mere handful of elderly people now living in Israel, though it is still used in Betä Ǝsraʾel liturgy (Appleyard 1994; 1998).

Awŋi (i.e. the language of the Awi or Awiya, also called "Southern A." in the literature) is spoken by at least 100,000 people in the Agäw Mədər and eastern ↗Mätäkkäl districts of the former province of Goğğam, many of whom are monolinguals. Formerly, Awŋi was also spoken further to the east in the district of ↗Damot, and the name Damot also appears in the older literature for this language. There is some slight differentiation between the dialects of Agäw Mədər and Mätäkkäl. The language recorded as Kunfäl, spoken perhaps by no more than 2,000 people in the lowlands west of Lake Ṭana, is apparently also a dialect of Awŋi, though the imperfect nature of the data available to date makes any positive statement difficult.

Phonologically the A. languages are fairly similar to one another, and have a number of distinctive phonemes that set them apart from the Semitic languages, Amharic, Təgrəññña and Təgre, which are their neighbours: for instance the velar nasal *ŋ*, and its labialised pair *ŋʷ*, which are full phonemes in all the A. languages. The uvular consonants transcribed as *q* and *χ* (with their labialised pairs *qʷ* and *χʷ*) are also very distinctive of Awŋi and Ḫamtaŋa. In Kəmantənäy, the former has generally merged with the latter, and in Bilin the voiceless q is now realised as a glottalised velar [k'] in imitation of the dominant Semitic languages. Bilin and Awŋi, and probably Ḫamtaŋa, are stress-accent languages, "tone languages" in the common sense of the ↗Ethiopian Language Area. The situation in Kəmantənäy is less clear. The vowel systems of the various A. languages all show a common underlying five-term structure comprising *i*, *u* and *a* and most distinctively two central vowels: high *ə* (IPA [ɨ]) and mid *ä* (IPA [ə] or [ɐ]), though the latter has shifted to front *e* in Awŋi. In the other languages *e*, and everywhere *o* are of somewhat marginal occurrence, being found most frequently in loanwords or as positional variants (e.g. *e* in Kəmantənäy for *ä* after palatal consonants, *o* often as a free variant of *wa* in Awŋi, etc.).

All the A. languages are marked by extremely complex morphologies, in particular the morphology of the verb, which inflects not only for person and tense-mood-aspect (TMA), but also has separate affirmative and negative inflections, a host of subordinate "tenses" formally distinct from main-clause forms, including different paradigms for relative verbs according to whether the subject of the latter is identical to the head noun of the clause or not. In addition to all of these, verbs also have a developed system of stem derivation marking such categories as passive, causative, reciprocal, etc. Indeed, it has been estimated that a single lexical verb in Bilin has a potential scatter, in theory at least, of over 10,000 forms, and the inventory for the other languages is not likely to be much less, and maybe is even more in the case of Awŋi (Palmer 1957:131). Nominals show inflection for gender, number and case, the last in a seven-term system in most languages and twelve in Awŋi. Inflection is by means of suffixation, though not strictly speaking agglutinative in a one-to-one category-morpheme relationship. Thus, the

category {negative} is expressed in the Bilin verb form *qʷəlǝstägdänäxǝr* 'you (pl.) who are not seen' by the morpheme *-äg-*, but in the corresponding main-verb form, *qʷəlǝstǝdänni* 'you (pl.) are not seen', by the final morpheme *-ni* (by assimilation from *-li*). Or, in the two Bilin noun forms *gǝrwäs* 'the man' and *ʾǝxʷinät* 'the woman' the suffixes *-s* and *-t* both mark the category {object case}, in the masculine gender in the former and in the feminine in the latter.

An interesting feature of A. verbal inflection is the fundamental formal split between main-verb forms and subordinate-verb forms. As in all other Cushitic languages the commonest form of verbal inflection, and in A. the only form except for a few remnants in Awŋi, is by means of composite suffixes marking person and TMA which derive from an old prefix-inflecting auxiliary. In A. the original Cushitic monovocalic "auxiliary" forms have become restricted to subordinate forms, usually augmented by various further suffix elements, whilst a different "auxiliary" clearly cognate with the verb 'to be' (cf. Bilin *ʾak-*, Ḫamtaŋa *ǝkʷ-* / *aq-*, Kǝmantǝnäy *ay-*, etc.) is used in the affirmative main-clause paradigms. Only Awŋi retains a trace of the original "auxiliary" in main-verb position in its Indefinite tenses, cf. *desé* 'I study, shall study' but *desáyá* 'I shall (certainly) study'; *desa* 'I have studied' but *desʸʷà* 'I studied' (Appleyard 1993). This formal differentiation between main and subordinate forms is also maintained in the negative, where main verbs have a negative marker that can be reconstructed as **-la*, which follows the person + TMA elements, and subordinate verbs have a marker which precedes person + TMA and has the form *-ti-* in Awŋi and *-Vg-* elsewhere.

The rich array of adverbial subordinate verb paradigms may be illustrated by the following Ḫamtaŋa forms: *qalan* or *qalǝš* 'if I see', *qalǝwzǝya* 'if I saw', *qaland* 'when I see / saw', *qalaŋʷ* 'while I see / saw', *qalatǝgra* 'after I saw', *qalansǝk* 'because I see / saw', *qalǝŋä* 'as I see, saw', *qalans* 'so that I see', all built on a base generally identical to the gerundive *qal* 'I having seen'. All A. languages also make a formal distinction between Subject Relative verbs, where the head noun is identical to the subject of the relative, and Oblique Relative verbs, where it is not. The distinction is marked by different sets of suffixes following the person + TMA (here just aspect) markers, with gender markers agreeing with the head noun in the case of the Oblique Relative: cf. Kǝmantǝnäy *yǝt xaläy iwǝna* 'the woman who saw me' (Subject Relative), but *niy xalyäy iwǝna* 'the woman whom she saw', where *-äy* in *xaläy* is the ending of the 3rd fem. Subject Relative, and *-y-* the ending of the 3rd fem. Oblique Relative plus *-äy* the feminine gender concord marker in *-yäy*. The same gender concord markers occur in other positions in each of the A. languages. For instance, in Bilin they (masc. *-xʷ*, fem. *-ri*, pl. *-w*) are also added to genitive nouns and pronouns when they follow the head noun, but not when they precede: cf. Bilin *gǝrwi wäs* but *wäs gǝrwiri* 'a man's cattle'.

The A. languages form, as has been said, a fairly closely related group, with Awŋi as the most divergent language both in morphology and lexicon. The following brief list of basic lexical items from each of the main languages will readily demonstrate this:

	Bilin	Ḫamtaŋa	Kǝmantǝnäy	Awŋi
one	*laxʷ*	*lǝw*	*lay*	*layu,ǝmpǝl*
two	*lǝŋa*	*liŋa*	*liŋa*	*laŋa*
three	*sixʷa,sexʷa*	*šaqʷa*	*siʸʷa*	*šuya*
I	*ʾan*	*yan*	*an*	*án*
you (sg.)	*ʾǝnti*	*kǝt*	*ǝntǝ*	*ǝnt*
he	*ni*	*ŋäŋ*	*ni*	*ŋi*
she	*nǝri*	*ŋǝr*	*niy*	*ŋi*
man (male)	*gǝrwa*	*gǝkwa*	*gǝrwa*	*ŋǝrğa*
woman	*ʾǝxʷina*	*ǝwna*	*iwǝna*	*yuna*
father	*ʾǝxǝr*	*-ayǝr*	*aba*	*tablí*
dog	*gǝdǝŋ*	*gǝzǝŋ*	*gǝzǝŋ*	*gǝseŋ*
house	*lǝŋǝn*	*ŋǝn*	*nǝŋ*	*ŋǝn*
water	*ʿaqʷ, ʾaqʷ*	*aqʷ*	*axʷ*	*ayu*
fire	*laxa*	*lǝya*	*lǝya*	*leg*
eat	*qʷ-ǝna*	*xʷ-ǝnǝw*	*xʷ-ǝna*	*y-úŋ*
see	*qʷal-na*	*qal-ǝnǝw*	*xal-na*	*kant-ǝŋ*
die	*kǝr-na*	*kǝr-ǝnǝw*	*ki-na*	*kǝr-ǝŋ*

↗Afro-Asiatic, ↗Cushitic

Lit.: DAVID L. APPLEYARD, "A Grammatical Sketch of Khamtanga", *BSOAS* 50, 1987, 241–65 (part I), 470–507 (part II); ID., "The Agaw Languages: a Comparative Morphological Perspective", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 581–92; ID., "Vocalic Ablaut and Aspect Marking in the Verb in Agaw", *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages* 3, 1993, 126–50; ID., "A Falasha Prayer Text in Agaw", in: GIDEON GOLDENBERG – SHLOMO RAZ (eds.), *Semitic and Cushitic Studies*, Wiesbaden 1994, 206–51; ID., "'Kaïliña — a 'New' Agaw Dialect and its Implications for Agaw Dialectology", in: RICHARD J. HAYWARD – IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS (eds.), *Voice and Power, The Culture of Language in North-East Africa, Essays in Honour of B. W. Andrzejewski*, London 1996 (African Languages and Cultures, Supplement 3), 1–19; ID., "Language Death: the Case of Qwarenya (Ethiopia)", in: MATTHIAS BRENZINGER (ed.), *Endangered Languages in Africa*, Köln 1998, 143–61; BERHANU HAILU – SISAY DEREJE – KLAUS WEDEKIND, "Khamir – the People and

their Language", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports* 23, 1995, 1–8; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note sugli Agau. 1. Appunti sulla lingua khamta dell'Averghellé", *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 17, 2, 1904, 183–242; ROGER COWLEY – ZENA ADAL – TEQEBBA BIRU, "The Kunfäl People and their Language", *JES* 9, 2, 1972, 99–106; ROBERT HETZRON, "The Agaw Languages", *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 3, 1976, 31–71; LEO REINISCH, *Die Bilin-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*, 2 vols., Wien 1882–87 [vol. 1 also in: *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 94, 2, 1882, 583–718]; ID., *Die Chamir-Sprache in Abessinien*, 2 parts, Wien 1884 [also in: *ibid.* 105, 2, 1884, 573–697, 106, 1, 1884, 317–450]; ID., *Die Quarasprache in Abessinien*, 3 parts, Wien 1885–87 [also in: *ibid.* 108, 2, 1885, 655–722; 114, 2, 1887, 639–88]; ZELEALEM LEYEW, "First Report on a Survey of the Shinasha and Agew Dialects and Languages", *S.L.L.E. linguistic reports* 18, 1994, 1–8; FRANK R. PALMER, "The Verb in Bilin", *BSOAS* 19, 1957, 131–59.

David L. Appleyard

Agäw ethnography

The enclaved A. peoples are the principal original inhabitants of northern and central Ethiopia. They probably once covered a contiguous territory and have deep roots in the region's culture history. At one time, all A. spoke languages of the Central Cushitic branch of the Cushitic grouping of the ↗Afro-Asiatic language stock. Today, some persons identifying themselves as a particular kind of A. speak only Amharic, Təgrañña, or Təgre of the Ethio-Semitic grouping. Most A. are Ethiopian Orthodox Christians. Today A., with all their subgroups, number at least 700,000.

Murdock (1959:182f.) noted the importance of the A. in his survey of Africa: "All indications point to the Agau as one of the culturally most creative peoples on the entire continent". According to Murdock, the ancestral A. both adopted crops from other places, producing new varieties of wheat, barley, and sorghum, and experimented with local wild plants, generating new cultigens such as *ṭef* and finger millet. Accordingly, "central highland Ethiopia ranks with China and India as one of the world's important minor centers of origination of cultivated plants". Perhaps the A. domesticated the donkey and produced the mule.

The earliest reference to the A. comes from the now lost Adulis inscription (↗Monumentum Adulitanum) dating to the second half of the 3rd cent. as "Athagaus" (coming from *ʿAd Agäw – ?), and "Atagau" is also mentioned in one of the early inscriptions of ↗ʿEzana. The name A. also occurs in the 6th cent. *Christian Topography* of ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes where a major gold trade route is said to pass through the territory of the governor of "Agau". He also mentioned that the Aksumites exchanged their oxen, iron, and salt for gold. The territory of the A. referred to in these sources probably lay to the east of the Täkkäze river and just to the south of the Samen massif, perhaps around Lake Ṭana (s. McCrindle 1897).

The name A. is still borne in its modern form by the Awi (*æw-* < **aʸʷ-*), whilst other A. groups use a variety of names. In later history, the A.-speaking people of Wag and Lasta are intimately connected with the Zagʷe dynasty, whose name is usually explained as meaning 'of the A.', and who ruled Ethiopia for at least 130 years before the rise of the ↗Solomonic dynasty in 1270. Not unsurprisingly, the Zagʷe dynasty and the Zagʷe period occupy a special position in the folk memory and oral history of the Christian A. peoples. It is indeed interesting that the A. peoples today have lost their sense of unity except with the A. of Wag through the history of the Zagʷe dynasty, and those groups whose oral traditions have been investigated (except of course the non-Christian ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel and the ↗Kəmant) include in their origins migration following the fall of the Zagʷe dynasty. Many Christian A. even today are reluctant to concede an ethnic relationship with the Betä Ǝsraʾel or the Kəmant. The Bilin in Eritrea have a tradition that they migrated northwards from Lasta first at the end of the 10th cent., and were later followed by a second migration following the fall of the Zagʷe dynasty (↗Adkämä Məlgaʾ). The Awi also trace their original migration to Goğğam to the end of the Zagʷe period. One suspects that the prestige of the Zagʷe dynasty has much to play in these traditions, as the Awi at least are linguistically quite apart from the other A. groups and in linguistic terms must have been a distinct group for very much longer than a few centuries.

All A., today, are plow-agriculturists save for a few Kəmant who retain horticulture and the Kunfäl who use the hoe and digging stick in their slash and burn horticulture. The Bilin had considerable livestock until recently. Today, six A. remnant groups exist.

The Bilin live around Kärän, Eritrea. The popular etymology for the name Bilin says that its meaning is 'soldier, conqueror'. They have two principal divisions, the Bet Ṭaqʷe in Ḥalḥal, in the north, and the Bet Gäbre Tärqe in Bogos, in the south. A third, small, group, Bab Ğänğəren, were non-A. and are now somewhat acculturated as

Bilin. The Bilin have also assimilated some of their former Təgre-speaking vassals. The economy and society were heavily disrupted in the first Ethio-Eritrean war. Perhaps two-thirds of the people are Muslims, some remain Ethiopian Christian, and some are Roman Catholic.

The ↗Ḫamär (also Ḫamər, Xamir, Hamir, Ḫamta), speaking Ḫamtaŋa, live in Lasta/Säqota, Wag, and Sahalla, and in Abärgälle are the related Ḫamta, speaking Ḫamtəña, which could now be defunct. Both peoples are Christians; some still respect a Sabbath on Saturday. The region became devastated in the Ethiopian civil war.

The Kəmant (Qəmant), speaking Kəmantnäy, live mainly west, but some east, of Gondär town. Traditionally, they had a social organization of exogamous moieties, with the *Kəbər* society ranked above the *Yətänti*. The native "pagan-Hebraic" religion, with its both A. "pagan" and Jewish traits, is almost defunct and is the last of the native A. religions. With no unbaptized followers, the last paramount chief, *wämbär*, still lives. Christian Kəmant practice aspects of the old religion including worship in sacred groves. The *ḫa-* and *kə-* in Ḫamär, Ḫamta, and Kəmant mean 'cattle/wealth' (cp. Conti Rossini 1912).

The Betä Ǝsraʾel (also called Fälaša, Kayla) are almost entirely Amharic speaking today, including the Qʷara, very few still speaking Qʷarəña (Kəmant). Some Betä Ǝsraʾel have Amhara and some A. origins. Until the 1970s, they were dispersed across Bägemdər and Səmen, including Dämbiya, Qʷara, and Armaçəho. The much-written-about "Judaism" of these people developed relatively recently and derives much of its content from Christianity. All religious texts are in Ethio-Semitic ↗Gəʿəz (Gamst 1995). Pagan *qole* spirits are also venerated, and in the 1960s some Betä Ǝsraʾel had almost no knowledge of Judaism. Most Betä Ǝsraʾel are relocated to Israel, often by the U.S. CIA.

Awi (also Awiya), speaking Awŋi, live in Agäw Mədər and Damot. Awŋi might be almost dead in Damot. Traditionally, Awiya could not marry kin within twelve degrees of remoteness. They are Christians, with a tradition of having been converted in the time of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I, called, Ṣadəqu Yoḥannəs ('Yoḥannəs the righteous'). Some, nevertheless, conduct animal sacrifices and worship in sacred groves. The old deity *Dəvan* is not directly venerated. A genesis myth recounts seven, fraternal, apical ancestors coming from Säqoṭa and settling in and founding "houses" for seven eponymous areas of Agäw-Mədər: Banğa, Ankäša, Kʷakura, Mätäkkäl, Çara, Zigäm, and Azäna.

The Kunfäl live in the lowlands southwest of Lake Ṭana, including along the Dəndər River. They are now Christians retaining some paganisms, including veneration of *qole*s with animal sacrifices on hilltops. A tradition recounts originating in Kumbäl, Goğğam.

Lit.: STEVEN A. BRANDT, "New Perspectives on the Origins of Food Production in Ethiopia", in: J. DESMOND CLARK – STEVEN A. BRANDT (ed.), *From Hunters to Farmers: the Causes and Consequences of Food Production in Africa*, Berkeley 1984; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *La Langue des Kemant en Abyssinie*, Wien 1912; JOHN WATSON MCCRINDLE (ed., tr.), *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian monk*, London 1897; FREDERICK C. GAMST, "The Ark of the Covenant in Africa", *American Anthropologist* 97, 1995, 361f.; ID., *The Qemant: A Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia*, New York 1969; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia: From Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York 1992; VERONIKA KREMPEL, *Die soziale und wirtschaftliche Stellung der Falascha in der christlich-amharischen Gesellschaft von Nordwest-Äthiopien*, Ph.D. thesis, Freie Universität Berlin 1972; GEORGE P. MURDOCK, *Africa: its Peoples and their Culture History*, New York 1959; JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia 1992.

Frederick C. Gamst

Agäw Mədər

The region south-west of Lake Ṭana, south-east of Qʷara and north-west of Goğğam became known as A.M. (አገው፡ ምድር). It is separated from another predominately ↗Agäw region,

Mätäkkäl, by the river ↗Bäläs, a tributary of the Abbay (s. map in Taddesse Tamrat 1988:7).

Agäw traditions suggest that Agäw-speakers first came to the region from ↗Lasta in the 13th cent. and founded the "Seven Houses" of the Agäw in A.M. However, other evidence indicates that their presence south of Lake Ṭana could have been much older. For example, the form of Agäw spoken in A.M. was ↗Awnji, a branch which is significantly different from the rest of the Agäw dialects, indicating that a long period of gestation was necessary (Appleyard 1984). In addition, in the 6th-cent. account of Aksum written by Cosmas Indicopleustes, it is mentioned that a "Governor of Agau" was in charge of caravans directed to the gold-producing region (McCrindle 1892:52f.), probably situated along the Blue Nile and near the present border between Ethiopia and Sudan. To get to that location, the caravans would have traversed A.M. and Mätäkkäl, apparently controlled by the "Governor of Agau".

The first internal reference on the Agäw of A.M. appears in the 14th cent., when *abba* ↗Zäyoḥannəs, founder of the monastery of Kəbran, was preaching south of Lake Ṭana (TadTChurch 141–45). For two hundred years, state and church pressures on A.M. continued, but the population remained predominantely non-Christian and independent. During the reigns of *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl (1563–97), *aṣe* Susənyos (1607–32), *aṣe* Fasilädäs (1632–67) and *aṣe* Yoḥannəs I (1667–82), the region was directly incorporated into the state and an Agäw Christian community arose. Key turning-points in this process as suggested by the Chronicles were the reigns of Susənyos, when the community was partially Christianized (Lockhart – da Costa 1984:227ff.), and Yoḥannəs, whose efforts completed the process. Despite the harshness of his wars, Agäw oral traditions still praise Yoḥannəs today for the Christianization of the region (Taddesse Tamrat 1988:15).

As the conquest was consolidated during the Gondär era, the Agäw of A.M. and Mätäkkäl became fully incorporated into the political economy of the dynasty. The Agäw helped the kings in their western conquests over "Šanqəlla" (↗Gumuz), particularly in the campaigns carried out by *aṣe* Iyasu I (1682–1706). Economic reasons also played an important role in the conquests of A.M., Mätäkkäl and Gumuz. A.M. became a major source of grain, whilst the Gumuz region remained an important source for alluvial gold, collected and paid by the Agäw intermediaries to the court of Gondär (BruNile vol. 2, 662, vol. 3, 375). During the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* and after, A.M. continued to play an important role, sometimes serving as a base for Kaśa Ḫaylu (*aṣe* ↗Tewodros II) during his rise to power (Rubenson 1966:20, 41, 87; Abir 1968:110, 138).

Src.: JOHN WATSON MCCRINDLE (ed., tr.), *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk*, London 1892, 52f.; CRHist; GuiIohan 11–17 (text) = 10–17 (tr.); PerChron, vol 1, 107ff. (text) = 132–36 (tr.); BassÊt I 341f., 344–48 (text) = 124, 286–91 (tr.); BruNile vol. 2, 662, vol. 3, 375; DONALD MERRIT LOCKHART – MANUEL GONÇALVES DA COSTA (eds.), *The Itinerario of Jeronimo Lobo*, London 1984, 227ff.

Lit.: TadTChurch 27f., 141–45, 201f.; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Processes of Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: the Case of the Agaw", *JAH* 29, 1988, 5–18, here 7, 15; ID., "A Short Note on the Traditions of Pagan Resistance to the Ethiopian Church (14th and 15th Centuries)", *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 141–45; SVEN RUBENSON, *King of Kings Tewodros of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1966 (Haile Sellassie I University Department of History, Historical Studies 2), 20, 41, 87; MORDECHAI ABIR, *Ethiopia: the Era of the Princes*, New York 1968, 110, 138; DAVID APPLEYARD, "The Agaw Languages: a Comparative Morphological Perspective", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 581–92.

James Quirin

Agäw Nəguśe ↗ Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaʾel

Agʿazi

The earliest attestation of this name can be found in the determined *nisba*-form *ygʿḏyn* in three pre-Aksumite Royal inscriptions: [*rb*]*ḥ* / *mlkn* / *ṣrʿn* / *ygʿḏyn* / *mkrb* / *dʿmt* / *wsbʾ* 'RBḤ, the victorious king, he of (the tribe?) YGʿḎ, *mukarrib* of DʿMT and SBʾ" (RIE 8:1–2); *lmn* / *mlkn* / *ṣrʿn* / *ygʿḏyn* / *mkrb* / *dʿmt* / *wsbʾ* / *bn* / *rbḥ* 'LMN, the victorious king, he of (the tribe?) YGʿḎ, *mukarrib* of DʿMT and SBʾ, son of RBḤ' (RIE 5 A:1–2, the same formula in RIE 10:1–5). YGʿḎ seems to be the name of the leading tribe or royal family settled in the region of ↗Akkälä Guzay (cf. Drewes 1956:183).

In Aksumite inscriptions this name never appears. In the Greek ↗Monumentum Adulitanum (RIE 277), the author (an Aksumite king of the 2nd–3rd cent. A.D.) states: **Γάζη ἔθνος ἐπολέμησα** ('I fought the Gaze-people'). This people's name has been connected with the term ↗Gəʿəz. The Sinaiticus and Laurentianus mss. (both 11th cent.) explain in margine: **Γάζην λέγει τοὺς ʾΑξωμίτας. ἄχρι γ[ὰρ καὶ] τοῦ νῦν ʾΑγάζη αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζουσι** ('Gaze means the Aksumites. Until now they are

called Agaze'). The reconstruction [ʾag]ᶜāzə[yān] in RIE 264 from Ẓafār (Yemen) (late 5th–early 6th cent. A.D.) has been proposed by Müller (1978:166), but the fragment is too badly damaged to provide any help as to who could be meant by this name.

The only certain attestation is found in ↗Abraha's Sabaean dam-inscription CIH 541 from Mārib (dated 543/548 A.D.), where he calls himself *mlkn ʾgᶜzyn*. The meaning of this title remains enigmatic, especially since Abraha is at this time not any longer the Aksumite viceroy, but the autonomous king (cf. Kropp 1991).

A connection between *ʾagᶜāzī* and the people ʾAgʷēzāt, mentioned in two of ᶜEzana's inscriptions (ᶜGDTM in RIE 186:8, *ʾagʷēzāt* in RIE 187:4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 16), seems questionable (cf. Drewes 1956:183; Brakmann 1994:9).

↗DᶜMT

Src.: CIH 541; RIE 8:1–2; 5 A:1–2; 10:1–5; 277; 264; 186:8; 187:4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 16.

Lit.: HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, ***TO ΠΑΡΑ TOIC BAPBAPOIC EPΓON ΘEION***. *Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum*, Bonn 1994, esp. 9; ABRAHAM J. DREWES, "Nouvelles inscriptions de l'Éthiopie", *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 13, 1956, 179–83; MANFRED KROPP, "Abreha's Names and Titles", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 21, 1991, 135–44; WALTER W. MÜLLER, "Abessinier und ihre Titel und Namen in vorislamischen südarabischen Inschriften", *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* 3, 1978, 159–68; CHRISTIAN J. ROBIN – ALESSANDRO DE MAIGRET, "Le grand temple de Yéha (Tigray, Éthiopie), après la première campagne de fouilles de la mission française (1998)", *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 1998, 737–98.

Alexander Sima

Age group systems

The phenomenon of A.g.s. (the collective term used here to refer to the entire gamut of age class, age-grade, age-set, or generation-set varieties) is premised on the social and cultural use of "age" as a metaphor for social organization (cf. Turton 1994). The universal human use of age difference, aging and status differentiation based on age is given shape in a wide variety of cultural forms in a way that does not in any direct manner reflect biological age difference. The term "system" must also be seen in a loose, non-deterministic sense: it primarily involves mental constructs which help people to organize their society at certain points in time, and hence is liable to be frequently modified and adapted. No scholarly consensus exists on the often-asked questions of "origins" and "functions" of A.g.s., but their nature and workings are now fairly well understood. Cognitive, symbolic and ritual aspects (cf. Baxter – Almagor 1978) on the one hand, and political-military aspects on the other (s. Kurimoto – Simonse 1998) can be recognized as having a role in age organization, often in combination.

In A.g.s., age differences are formally (i.e. ritually) distinguished and used as a vehide for social organization. They usually lead to a ranked order (commonly from junior to senior) in terms of social prestige, moral authority or decision-making power. Physiological age does not have to coincide with "structural age", i.e. in certain age groups both young and old people can be placed together in an age-set or generation-set. The systems centre predominantly on males. Indeed age organization has been asserted (cf. Turton 1995:96) to reflect a "male cult" dedicated to the ritualization of male violence and collective action; there is no known system that centres only on women to the exclusion of men. But in East Africa women's age-sets are known among many groups, e.g. Lotuho (Sudan), Meru (Kenya), Kalenǧin (Kenya) and Karimoǧong (Uganda). In the systems found in Ethiopia women usually derive their position from that of their husbands or coevals.

The most important analytical concepts related to age organization are the following: 1. age-grading; 2. age-sets (or classes); 3. generation-grading; and 4. generation-sets. These concepts refer to the units into which men are recruited on the basis of "age". Age-grades are formally distinguished ranks or strata – minimally two – through which people pass as they advance in physiological age. In each grade members have different functions, roles and behavioural patterns, and also acquire more prestige as they move up. An age-set is a group of people initiated at roughly the same "social age", with a collective name (identity) that is retained throughout. An age-set can move through age-grades. Generation grading is simply a relation of exclusive opposition or contrast between named groups of individuals (e.g., age-sets) towards each other, as in a father-son relationship. They do not move through grades, but always remain either the "sons" or the "fathers". A generation-set (or class) is one of the groups thus opposed, or sequenced, and refers to a group of individuals based on genealogical age.

Systems in reality often display flexibility and combined forms, e.g. an age-set can be initiated – and thus "created" – and then subsequently move up through the remaining age-grades. Age-sets can also form pairs and be opposed to other pairs and thus form a generation set vis-à-vis those later initiated.

Peoples in Ethiopia and adjacent areas (Somalia, Sudan, Kenya) have featured prominently in the ethnological literature on age organization and also in theoretical discussions in anthropology on A.g.s. and their underlying logic. Among the Ethiopian groups which have provided fascinating examples for the richness and complexity of these social systems are the following: ↗Boorana, ↗Guğği, ↗Konso (Hallpike 1972) and ↗Gideʾo, who have a complex generation-grading system known as ↗*gadaa*. This is a graded generation-class system with fixed year intervals between the (seven) grades. The Konso, Guğği and Gideʾo forms are different but related.

The ↗Mursi and ↗Suri in South-west Ethiopia both have age-grades and sets, whereby the age-set of the initiated senior "elders" is the most important one, at least in theory. An age-set system is also found among other Southern groups, e.g. the ↗Ṣamay. For the ↗Arbore people age-sets and generation-sets (composed of four successive age-sets) are reported. The ↗Ñaŋatom (Tornay 1995) have a generation-set system guided by a "filiation" rule, as do the ↗Dáasänäč (Almagor 1983). The Sidama have a generation-class system (Hamer 1970). Some pastoral Somali groups, influenced by the Oromo, have (had) also age-sets (↗Daarood groups) or age-grading (↗ʿIssa).

From the *gadaa* systems mentioned above we see that various forms of age organization among different ethnic groups in Ethiopia have interacted and influenced one another during several centuries, and notable similarities as well as consciously made variations on basic principles are visible. They are also easily "copied". A.g.s. should therefore be understood in a wider regional, not primarily "ethnic group" context. A.g.s. are well described in the literature on a case-to-case basis (in anthropological monographs), but for the north-east African region as a whole there are still few comparative studies. Nor have the historical and demographic aspects of these systems been fully explored.

While A.g.s. traditionally have in-built tensions ("oppositional dynamism", s. Kurimoto – Simonse 1998:7), which are evident in more or less prescribed rituals or aggression and power struggles, they have in the past few decades also become entangled in armed conflict induced by external factors (e.g. civil war, regional conflict). These in turn can lead to serious internal disturbance or the demise of the society itself.

This shows that A.g.s. are linked to specific social, political and economic conditions and thus are vulnerable to change. They face serious challenges and possible erosion or disappearance in times of political upheaval, state centralization and changing modes of livelihood (e.g. a move from transhumant pastoralism to agriculture and other sedentary jobs). If, however, they are seized upon as an element in the self-definition and identity of a group *vis-à-vis* others (also in military terms), they can receive a new lease of life, although they will no longer mean the same thing.

Lit.: URI ALMAGOR, "The Dialectic of Generation Moieties in an East African Society", in: DAVID MAYBURY-LEWIS – URI ALMAGOR (eds.), *The Attraction of Opposites. Thought and Society in the Dualistic Mode,* Ann Arbor 1989, 143–70; PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER – URI ALMAGOR (eds.), *Age, Generation and Time. Features of East African Age Group Systems,* London 1978; ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada. Three Approaches to the Study of African Society,* New York 1973; CHRISTOPHER ROBERT HALLPIKE, *The Konso of Ethiopia,* Oxford 1972; JOHN HAMER, "Sidamo Generational Age-Classes: a Political Gerontocracy", *Africa* 40, 1970, 50–70; EISEI KURIMOTO – SIMON SIMONSE (eds.), *Conflict, Age and Power in Northeast Africa,* Oxford 1998; SERGE TORNAY, "Structure et événement: le système générationnel des peuples du cercle karimojong", *L'Homme* 134, 1995, 51–80; DAVID TURTON, "History, Age and the Anthropologists", in: GEORGIO AUSENDA (ed.), *After Empire. Towards an Ethnology of Europe's Barbarians*, Woodbridge – San Marino 1995 (Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology 1), 95–112.

Jon G. Abbink

Aggafari

A. (**አጋፋሪ**) was in the 17th–18th cent. the title of a butler subordinate to the royal major-domo **ሀዱግ፡ ራስ** (*ḥədug ras*). With further development of the palace complex and court ceremonies in the capital city of ↗Gondär, such officials became somewhat numerous at the court. Simultaneously there appeared a tendency to grant titles of court officials to regional governors, who could not and did not perform these court duties. Thus, A. was a honorific title of a governor of ↗Səmen province, and in order not to confuse him with the A. proper, he was

Many in his family left Gondär after the Mahdist invasions of the north in the 1880s, and by 1887 A. had moved permanently with many of his family members to Addis Abäba. He organized the administration of customs there and was made the first *näggadras* of Addis Abäba. He died in the capital in 1900 while under the care of his nephew ↗Wärqənäh Ǝšäte. His only son Zälläqä, who would later succeed him as *näggadras* of Addis Abäba in 1917, went on to hold various important ministerial posts as a member of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase's court.

Lit.: PETER GARRETSON, *A History of Addis Abäba from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 49), s. index; HerTar 55.

Peter Garretson

Agnaṭəyos

A. (**አግናጥዮስ**), the 30th abbot of Däbrä Libanos (Cerulli 1944), is reported to have been invested with the office of *əčč̌äge* in January 1699 (DombrChr 228) and died a few years later, on 16/17 March 1703 (DombrChr 234, n. 555; GuiIohan 224). He is known mostly for his participation in a church council at Yəbaba, organized by *aṣe* Iyasu I, in January 1699. The *liq* of the council was ↗Betä Krəstos, who belonged to the Däbrä Libanos congregation (↗*Täwaḥədo*). A., the Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Marqos and some other high ecclesiastics confirmed the decisions of the previous councils, directed against supporters of the ↗*Qəbat* doctrine from Goğğam and Təgray (GuiIohan 197), and once again threatened them with excommunication (DombrChr 228f.).

Src.: DombrChr 228f., 234; GuiIohan 197, 224; BegCron 74f.
Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo la 'lista rimata' (sec. XIV–XVIII)", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 13, 1944, 154–59; AmhChurchD vol. 3, 222f. [= vol. 5, 158f.].

Denis Nosnitsin

Agnaṭəyos

A. (**አግናጥዮስ**, d. 18 April 1717) is mentioned in records between 1704 and 1719. Some elements of this high-ranking person's career are known from the end of *aṣe* Iyasu I's reign (1682–1706) and the middle of that of *aṣe* Dawit (1716–21). Just as was the case with many of his contemporaries, a great part of his activities at the Emperor's court is not mentioned by the sources and we know nothing of them as far as the reigns of emper-

An *aggafari* in typical attire, early 20th cent. (photo no. 2097-293, © Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg)

called "A. of Səmen". From 1629, when *aṣe* ↗Susənyos made his son Fasilädäs governor of Səmen, the title "A. of Səmen" became a normal title for the Crown Prince, to whom the constant epithet *wäld buruk* ('the Blessed Son') was also applied. Thereafter, "A. of Səmen" was a title of considerable importance, which occupied the fifth place in the Ethiopian table of ranks *Mäṯafä ↗śərᶜatä mängəśt*, or *Nägärä wäg* (DombrChr 287). With the final decline of the Gondärine kingdom, the title "A. of Səmen" fell into disuse and the word A. itself in the 20th cent. meant simply 'usher'.

Src.: KaneDic 2074; THMDic 816; DombrChr 287, 298.
Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Civil Titles and Offices in the Reign of Emperor Menilek II, 1889–1913", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 596–612, here 608 (Lit.).

Sevir Chernetsov

Aggədäw Wäldä Maryam

A. (**አግደው፡ ወልደ፡ ማርያም**) was a *näggadras* who came from an old-established family of Gondär engaged for many years in long-distance trade, expanding the links between Gondär and Šäwa.

ors Täklä Haymanot (1706–08), Tewoflos (1708–11) and Yosṭos (1711–16) are concerned.

However, the scant indications in our possession lead us to believe that A. had a good career. We know that he was *fitäwrari* in 1704 and *bitwäddäd* from 1716 till his death in 1717. When he died (in his land of Barkänta, s. BegCron 100, BassÉt 186), a last tribute had been paid to him at court (he might have reached this as a brother of princess Qəddəste, the king's "mistress", as Bruce tells us in his account). A version of the Short Chronide states that deep mourning was observed at the royal town of ↗Aringo.

Src.: GuiIohan 261, 267, 269; BassÉt 166, 184, 186; BegCron 98, 100; BruNile [ed. 1813] vol. 3, 524; vol. 4, 58.

Dimitri Toubkis

Agosṭinos Tädla

Abba A.T. (**አንስጢኖስ፡ ተድላ**, also known as Agostino da Hebo, b. 26 July 1921, Ḥebo, d. 26 November 1989, Asmära) was a prominent member of the Capuchin community, a priest and a scholar.

He underwent his secondary education at the Seminario dei Frati Cappuccini at ʿAddi Wəgri (↗Mändäfära) and pursued his philosophical and theological education at Asmära, where he was ordained priest on 12 August 1951. In 1958 he was nominated Vice-Director of the Collegio Etiopico in Vatican City (↗Santo Stefano dei Mori) and Director of the Amharic broadcasting programme of Radio Vaticano, where he subsequently introduced the programme in Təgrəñña, which he, however, preferred to call "Abissino" (*Ḥabäša*). In the same period he founded and edited a biennial multilingual journal in "Abissino" (=Təgrəñña), Amharic, Italian, English and French, entitled *Convento di Santo Stefano degli Abissini nella Città del Vaticano*. During the Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano II (1962–63), he served as an interpreter for the Ethiopian delegation to the Concilium.

Back in his country in 1964 he took over the task of a teacher and director of philosophical-theological studies for the Capuchin friars at Gäğğärät, Asmära. He also acted as chaplain for the Asmära prisons. Additionally he created an intense and fruitful network of ecumenical collaboration with the Orthodox and Protestant communities of the city.

On 4 June 1975, A.T. was nominated first major superior of the newly erected Provincia Cappuccina di San Francesco in Etiopia. He held this post for a short time only, as he was thrown into prison for having protected helpless individuals who had become victims of abuses by elements of the armed forces. His imprisonment lasted six years and six months.

Being an excellent linguist and profoundly acquainted with the local culture, he is appreciated and well known in culturally interested circles in and outside his country. His life has been described in detail in his posthumously published *La lingua abissina* (1994). This important work contains, amongst other things, the most complete bibliography on Təgrəñña.

Src.: AGOSTINOS TEDLA, *Grammatica amarica*, Asmara 1955; ID. (ed.), *Convento di Santo Stefano degli Abissini nella Città del Vaticano*, issues for years 1960–71; ID., *La lingua abissina*, ed. by TÄWÄLDÄ BƏRHAN ṢÄGGAY, Asmara 1994 (Lit.); AYYÄLÄ TÄKLÄ HAYMANOT, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስትያን፡ ስለ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ባሕርያት፡ አካላዊ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ የምታምነው፡ ትምህርት** (*Yäʾityopya betä krəstiyan səlä Krəstos baḥrəyat akalawi täwaḥədo yämətamənäw təmhərt*, 'The Teaching of the Unity of the Natures of Christ as Confessed by the Ethiopian Church'), Asmära 1959 [tr. by AGOSTINOS TEDLA from *La dottrina della chiesa etiopica*, Roma 1956]; HABTEMIKAEL-KIDANE (ed.), AGOSTINO TEDLA DA ḤEBO, "Il Tabot: la sua importanza religiosa e giuridico-culturale nella chiesa etiopica", *OrChrP* 60, 1994, 131–27.

Lit.: JOSEPH TUBIANA, "**አባ፡ አንስጢኖስ፡ ዘሐቦ** – Abba Agosṭinos zaḤebo", *Nouvelles de l'ARESAE* 128, Janvier 2001, 1.

Teweldeberhan Tzeggay

Agriculture

A. is the mainstay of the Ethiopian economy. It accounts for almost 50 % of the gross domestic product (GDP) and for about 90 % of the exports, and it provides the main source of employment and income for 80 % of the population. About 15 % of the total surface of the country of 1,100,000 km² are used for cultivation, mainly for seasonal crops, about 1.5 % for perennial crops and almost 50 % as pastures.

Agro-ecological zones

Due to the great variety of climatic and agro-ecological conditions, A. is highly diversified. Considering altitude, temperature, rainfall, soil and other conditions, the following major agro-ecological zones are distinguished: 1) **በረኻ** (*bäräḵa*, hot arid, altitude >500 m, average annual temperature >27.5° C, rainfall <200 mm); 2) **ቈላ** (↗*qʷälla*, warm semiarid, altitude 500–

1,500 m, temperature 20–27.5° C, rainfall 200–800 mm); 3) ወይና ደጋ (↗*wäyna däga*) and ደጋ (↗*däga*; cool semi-humid/humid, altitude 1,500–3,200 m, temperature 11.5–20° C, rainfall 800–2,200 mm); 4) ወርጫ (*wərč*, cold and moist, altitude >3,200 m, temperature <11.5° C, rainfall >2,200 mm). A., particularly crop production, is concentrated in the *wäyna däga* and *däga* zones of the northern, central and southern highlands, making up about 50 % of the country. The arid and semi-arid *bäräḵa* and *qʷälla* zones constitute about 40 % of the surface and are predominantly used as pastoral land by nomadic pastoralists. There is a huge, largely unexploited potential for irrigated A. also in arid and semi-arid areas. At present, only about 1 % of the crop-land is irrigated. There are two distinct cropping seasons: ምᵓኽር (*mäḵär*) and በልግ (*bälg*). About 95 % of the crops are grown during the summer rains of the main cropping season (*mäḵär*), lasting from April/May (planting) to November/December (harvest). The short *bälg*-rain season permits a second minor crop in some areas in spring (planting February/March, harvest in May/June).

Food production

Major crops grown are cereals, pulses, oil-seeds and ↗coffee. Grains are the most important field-crops, occupying 86 % of the cropping area. The principal grains are ↗*ṭef*, wheat, ↗barley, ↗maize, ↗sorghum and millet. The first three are primarily cool-weather crops cultivated at altitudes generally above 1,500 m. Barley is grown mostly between 2,000 and 3,500 m. Maize, sorghum and millet are generally cultivated in warmer areas at lower altitudes along the country's western, south-western and eastern peripheries. Sorghum and millet, which are drought-resistant, grow well at low elevations where rainfall is less reliable. Maize is grown chiefly between elevations of 1,500 and 2,200 m and requires large amounts of rainfall to ensure good harvests. Maize, *ṭef* and wheat are the main staples for the major part of the population, and cereals are largely grown as non-market crops to serve subsistence needs of the farmers' households. Yields per hectare are lowest in *ṭef* (national average: 0.870 tons/ha) and highest in maize (average 1.644 tons/ha). With improved seed varieties, fertilizer and proper cultivation practices, yields could easily double.

Pulses (chick-peas, lentils, haricot beans) and oil-seeds come second and third in crop production. They are grown at all altitudes from sea level to about 3,000 m, but are more prevalent in the northern and central highlands. Apart from serving primarily subsistence needs, pulses and oil-seeds were also an important cash crop and export item before the 1974 revolution. The most important oil-seed is the indigenous niger seed (noug), which is grown on about half of the area devoted to oil-seeds.

Breaking up the soil with digging sticks (Baka, an Aari group), photo by Adolf E. Jensen, 1950/52, © Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main

↗*Ǝnsät* is an important crop and food source in Ethiopia's southern and south-western highlands. It is cultivated principally by the Gurage, Sidama and several other ethnic groups in the region where *ənsät* flour constitutes a major local staple food. Production and consumption of vegetables and fruits is relatively limited. Common vegetables include onions, peppers, tomatoes, squash and cabbage; fruits mainly comprise citrus (above all oranges) and bananas. Prior to the revolution, citrus orchards were established in areas with access to irrigation in Šäwa, Arsi and Harärge.

Stagnation of food production

In spite of its good agricultural potential and although the demand for food has steadily increased due to rapid population growth, food production stagnated during the 1970s and even decreased in the 1980s, leading to decreased per-capita production and a widening food gap. While, in the 1980s, population grew by 2.7 %, food production decreased by 2.1 %. Whereas about 10 million tons of food grains would have been needed in order adequately to feed the population, actual production averaged only 6 million tons during 1980s. Recurrent droughts, archaic production methods and technologies, soil erosion, and political unrest have been the

major causes for the decline in agricultural production. The country became increasingly dependent on food imports, particularly food aid, which reached annual peaks of up to 1.7 million tons in famine years of the 1980s. The negative trend in A. reversed in the 1990s after strict and arbitrary government controls of agricultural production and marketing had been lifted. In the 1990s, food production grew at a rate of above 3 %, and cereal production has exceeded 10 million tons in years of good rainfall and harvest (e.g. 1996/97 and 1998/99).

Cash crops

The most important cash crop in Ethiopia is coffee. Coffee exports generate about 67 % of Ethiopia's export earnings, and approximately 25 % of Ethiopia's population depend on coffee for their livelihood. Fluctuating world market-prices for ↗coffee severely affect a large part of the farming population as well as the overall national economy. Coffee grows wild in many parts of the country, although most Ethiopian coffee is produced in the southern and western regions of Käfa, Sidama, Illubabor, Gamo Gofa, Wälläga and Harärge. Coffee occupies an area of about 400,000 ha and coffee production is estimated between 140,000 and 200,000 tons annually. About 98 % of the coffee is produced by peasants on smallholdings of less than one hectare and the remaining 2 % is produced by state farms.

Before the revolution, pulses and oil-seeds played an important role, second only to coffee, in Ethiopia's exports. In the 1970s, pulses and oil-seeds accounted for one third of export earnings, but this share declined to less than 3 % in the 1990s. Three factors contributed to this decline. First, the recurring droughts had devastated the country's main areas where pulses and oil-seeds were produced. Second, because peasants faced food shortages, they gave priority to cereal staples to sustain themselves. Finally, although the production cost of pulses and oil-seeds continued to rise, the former government's price-control policy and the official procurement price of these crops was left virtually unchanged, reducing net income (Ofcansky – Berry 1991).

Other cash crops of minor significance are ↗cotton, sugar-cane and citrus. They are mainly produced for the domestic market and state farms hold a relatively higher share in their commercial production compared to food crops. Cotton is grown throughout Ethiopia below elevations of about 1,400 m, occupies an area of about 13,000 ha (1993), and total cotton-seed production is estimated at 43,000 tons (Transitional Government 1993).

Livestock

Livestock production plays an important role in Ethiopia's economy, contributing about 30% to A.'s share of GDP, or 15 % of total GDP. Hides and skins are the second-largest export earner, averaging about 15 % of the total export value. The livestock population of Ethiopia is the largest in Africa, comprising some 30 million cattle, 42 million sheep and goats, one million camels, 7 million equines, 50 million poultry and 10 million bee colonies (Transitional Government 1993). 80 % of the cattle, 75 % of sheep and 27 % of the goats are estimated to be located in the highlands.

Almost the entire rural population is involved in some way with animal husbandry. Livestock serves various essential functions, such as the provision of draught-power, food, cash, savings, transportation, manure, fuel and, especially in pastoral areas (↗Pastoralism), social prestige. Whereas livestock is an integral part of the farming system, it remains largely subsistence oriented. In the absence of any mechanization, oxen play an essential role in providing draught power for crop production in the highlands. Per-capita meat consumption is high by developing countries' standards, estimated to reach 13 kg per capita annually (Ofcansky – Berry 1991).

Ethiopia has a great potential for increased livestock production, both for the local market and for export. However, expansion is constrained by inadequate animal feed, diseases and lack of veterinary and support services.

Cattle in Ethiopia are almost entirely of the Zebu type. Although their milk and meat yields are low, the indigenous cattle breeds are relatively well adapted to the local conditions. Animal losses are high, especially among calves and young stock. Contagious diseases and parasitic infections are major causes of mortality, factors that are exacerbated by malnutrition and starvation in critical years. Recurring droughts take a heavy toll on the animal population. Practically all animals are range-fed. During the rainy seasons, pastures provide plentiful feed, but with the onset of the dry season, forage is generally insufficient to keep animals well fed and able to resist disease.

Poultry-farming is widely practised in Ethio-

pia; almost every farmstead keeps some poultry for home consumption and sale. The highest concentration of poultry is in Šäwa, in central Wällo and in north-western Tägray. Individual poultry-farms supply eggs and meat to urban consumers.

Farming systems

Agricultural production in Ethiopia is organized in three types of farms: smallholder peasant farms, group/co-operative farms and state farms. Although group/co-operative and state farms enjoyed much attention and preferential support under the former *Därg* regime, they have remained relatively unimportant, contributing less than 5% to agricultural production. In spite of heavy machinery and the large amount of modern inputs used, productivity levels remained low and their operational efficiency poor.

Terrace-fields attached by stone walls in Konso, photo courtesy of Hermann Amborn

Smallholder peasant farms have remained the predominant farm type. They are characterized by subsistence orientation, mixed crop-livestock farming, dependence on rain-fed A., small plot sizes, low inputs, traditional technologies and low productivity. Peasant farms occupy about 95 % of the cultivated land and produce 96 % of the national agricultural output (Abenet Belete et al. 1991). Average farm size is less than two hectares and more than 50 % of the holdings are below one hectare, often split up in several scattered tiny plots. Peasant farmers are mainly subsistence oriented, with only small amounts of cash income derived from occasional sales of crops or livestock. Farming practices have remained very traditional: oxen and ↗plough for cereal cultivation and hand-tools for other crops. Modern inputs such as improved seeds and fertilizer are hardly used. Many peasants do not even possess oxen and implements and have to borrow them from others in exchange for labour or part of their harvest. Population pressure and lack of alternative employment possibilities have forced many farmers to cultivate steep slopes and marginal lands. The typical constraints mentioned above, under which the majority of peasant farmers operate, are further aggravated by adverse weather conditions, recurrent droughts, degraded land and soil erosion. Such unfavourable conditions have pushed a vast majority of Ethiopian farmers into the vicious cirde of poverty, vulnerability and deprivation, and are the main reason for the low productivity and overall poor performance of the agricultural sector.

In contrast to such general and unfavourable features of peasant farming, which are typical for many parts of the northern and central highlands, some ethnic groups in the southern highlands (Burği, Konso-Gidole, Dullay) have developed a highly intensive and sustainable farming system, with terracing as its marked feature. Artificial terraces, mainly built of stones, allow the cultivation of slopes, prevent soil erosion and increase the water retaining capacity of the soil. Complemented by water-retention and irrigation facilities, by the use of animal dung and human faeces as manure, and by adapted systems of crop rotation and mixed cropping, soil fertility is maintained and the terraced fields can be continuously cultivated throughout and over the years (Minker 1986). In spite of such striking advantages, this more intensive and sustainable farming system has not spread to other areas of the Ethiopian highlands, where soil erosion and water scarcity are major problems of A.

Hoe agriculture

While the use of the ox-drawn plough is the most prominent feature of agricultural production systems and technology in the central and northern highlands of Ethiopia, there remained a tradition of hoe A. among different ethnic groups inhabiting the southern highlands. It is assumed that the plough was introduced in the Ethiopian highlands from the Near East, either southern Arabia or Egypt, more than 3,000 to 4,000 years ago, while hoe A., characterized by the exdusive use of hoes and digging-sticks, is of pure African origin. Hoes and digging-sticks are characteristic elements of African agriculture throughout the continent.

The technology of hoe A. is still predominantly applied by the Burği, Konso and the Dullay-speaking population-groups in the Gamo

Loosening up the soil with iron blade hoes, man on the right with double-headed hoe (Baka, an Aari group), photo by Elisabeth Pauli, 1950/52, © Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main

Gofa region, although some ploughs have been introduced here also since the end of the 19th cent. On the other hand, digging-sticks and hoes are widely used as a complement to ploughs in other parts of Ethiopia. After fields are prepared by the digging stick, hoes are used to break the top-soil, to cover the seeds with soil after they have been sown, to broadcast manure in the field and for weeding.

Development since 1991

According to the New Economic Policy of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) formed after the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) assumed power in 1991, all agricultural land will continue to belong to the state, but tenure shall be secured through appropriate regulations yet to be worked out. Farmers are free to sell the products of their land, agricultural marketing and pricing have been liberalized. Development of peasant A. is given priority. Several agricultural development programmes have been launched since, such as Agricultural-Development Led Industrialization (ADLI) and the US-Japanese Saskawa-Global-2000 (SG-2000) project, aimed at increasing agricultural productivity and food production through strengthening the extension service, adapted research in appropriate agricultural technologies and the provision of suitable packages of improved agricultural inputs. A National Food Security Programme particularly emphasizes agricultural development and natural resource conservation in drought-prone and environmentally degraded areas of low productivity.

Agriculture in Eritrea

In Eritrea, agriculture provides employment and livelihood for about 80 % of the population and accounts for 15–25 % of GDP. Out of a total surface of 124,300 km², only 3.6 % are cultivated and only a very small portion (25,000 ha) is irrigated. Browsing and grazing lands extend over 70,000 km² but their carrying capacity is very low. In agro-ecological terms, a dear distinction exists between agricultural systems in the highlands and those in lowlands. The communities in the plateau are mainly settled traditional agriculturists who cultivate small plots while those in the lowlands are mainly pastoralists. Communal or village land-ownership (↗*Desa*) is the most dominant land tenure system (Tesfa Gebremedhin 1993). The cropping land is frequently, at intervals of 5–7 years, redistributed among members of the community. This custom has caused land fragmentation and prevented farmers from investing in new inputs and technology for improvement of farming practices.

In the highland plateau, several types of traditional cereals, such as wheat, barley, millet, maize and *ṭef*, are grown, as well as pulses like peas, beans and chick-peas. In the lowlands and the escarpment, the main crops are millet, sorghum and maize. Grain yields are relatively low, reaching an average of below 1 ton/ha (Norman Piccioni 1997). Human and animal population pressure has resulted in a high degree of environmental degradation. Agriculture and food production are further constrained by low and unreliable rainfall, lack of improved seed and fertilizer, the unavailability of draught animals for ploughing, as well as endemic pests and diseases.

During Italian colonialism, many experimental and irrigated crops like cotton, sesame, coffee, rubber and tobacco were successfully introduced, particularly in the lowlands and the escarpment, where, in addition, plantations of banana, papaya, citrus groves and vegetables are found.

↗Animals; ↗Climate; ↗Ecological zones; ↗Environment; ↗Plants; ↗Land tenure

Lit.: A. in Ethiopia: ABANETE BELETE – JOHN L. DILLON – FRANK M. ANDERSON, "Development of Agriculture in Ethiopia since the 1975 Land Reform", *Agricultural Economics* 6, 1991, 159–75; ASMEROM KIDANE – DAVID G. ABLER, "Production Technologies in Ethiopian Agriculture", *Agricultural Economics* 10, 1994, 179–91; DESSALEGN RAHMATO, *Agrarian Reform in Ethiopia*, Uppsala 1984; GÜNTER MINKER, *Burji, Konso-Gidole, Dullay, Materialien zur Demographie, Landwirtschaft und Siedlungsstruktur eines südäthiopischen Kulturareals*, Bremen 1986 (Bremer Afrika Archiv 22); THOMAS P. OFCANSKY – LAVERLE BERRY (eds.), *Ethiopia – a Country Study*, Washington D.C. 1991; TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA (ed.), *National Programme*

Area I – Food Production, Food Security and Nutrition, Addis Ababa, November 1993 (draft). Hoe A.: MINKER 1986 (s. above); TERTIA BARNETT, *The Emergence of Food Production in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1999 (Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 45, BAR International Series 763). A. in Eritrea: FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS (ed.), *Eritrea, Agricultural Sector Review and Project Identification*, Roma, 22 April 1994; TESFA G. GEBRE-MEDHIN, "Agricultural Development in Eritrea: Economic and Policy Analysis", in: GEBRE HIWET TESFAGIORGIS (ed.), *Emergent Eritrea, Challenges of Economic Development*, Trenton 1993; NORMAN PICCIONI, *The Commitment of a Young Nation, Eritrea and Follow-up to the World Food Summit*, Roma 1997.

Mekete Belachew – Manfred Metz (A. in Ethiopia); Manfred Metz (A. in Eritrea; Hoe A.)

Agula

The archaeological site of A. (**አጉላ**), located in the ↗Ǝndärta region of Təgray near Mäqälä, is well known for the ruins of an Aksumite-era church structure. This structure may be the church devoted to St. Cyriacus (Qirqos) and, according to tradition, built by Emperor ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl. ↗Alvares may have seen this church in 1520 (CrawItin 76, BeckHuntAlvar 176ff.). The church's rectilinear plan, three aisles and standing columns are similar in form to those of other notable Aksumite church structures, including examples at Adulis and Mätära in Eritrea. The A. church structure's substantial plinth base and its position on top of a natural plateau serve to elevate the building above the surrounding landscape. A relatively unique aspect of the site is evidence that lime mortar was used in the structure's masonry. The ruins of the church structure were recorded and drawn in 1867 by the ↗Napier expedition (Acton 1868). Relatively little archaeological work has been conducted since and the ruins have suffered damage by removal of architectural stones for local building projects.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 27, 176ff.; CrawItin 76.

Lit.: ROGER ACTON, *The Abyssinian Expedition and the Life and Reign of King Theodore...*, London 1868, 12f.; FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Notes archéologiques", *AÉ* 8, 31–42; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Storia d'Etiopia*, Milano 1928, 226, pl. XL 122; GIOTTO DAINELLI – OLINTO MARINELLI, *Risultati di un viaggio nella Colonia Eritrea*, Firenze 1912, 536, 562f.; DAE II 98, 167, fig. 213; CLEMENTS MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 236f.; DAVID PHILLIPSON, *Ancient Ethiopia*, London 1998, 117f.

Matthew C. Curtis – Kevin O'Mahoney

Aḫbəro: Mäṣḥafä aḫbəro

The M.a. (**መጽሐፈ፡ አኅቡሮ**, 'The Book of the Agreement') is an anonymous homily to be read on 16 *Näḥase*. On this day, the Ethiopian Church celebrates the Assumption of the body of the Blessed Virgin to heaven and the translation of the body (relics) of St. Giyorgis (↗George of Lydda) from "Persia" to his church in Lydda (see Bud Saint IV, 1224–25). The homily considers the falling of the two feasts on the same day – their agreement – not a coincidence but one divinely ordained. The author takes pain in bringing evidence from the 'Book of the Testament of Our Lord' (↗*Kidan zä"əgzi'ənä Iyäsus Krəstos*), from the ↗*Didəsqalya*, the ↗*Senodos*, the 'Acts of the New George' (*Gädlä Giyorgis Ḥaddis*; s. Raineri 1999, O'Leary 1974:146f.) and from the ↗*Tä'ammərä Maryam* to show the glory of the great martyr and the significance of the agreement of the two feasts. The homily is a review of the acts of the martyr as preserved in his *Gädl*: he was stoned to death on "Mount Edras". When people saw how he rose from the dead and pursued the soldiers of King Dudyanos, they shouted in admiration and asked him to baptize them in the name of the Trinity.

The miracle-story the author quotes in his M.a. is the one in which Mary orders *mar* Giyorgis to help the priest Tag, whose brother, deacon Nazib, was coerced by the Muslim *qāḍī* to embrace the Islamic faith.

In her interventions on behalf of people who seek refuge in her in their time of need, the Blessed Virgin is usually (though not always) accompanied by the martyr. Also there is the tradition that in churches built in her name, a *tabot* dedicated to her should be housed along with one dedicated to St. George.

Taking note of the ↗*Sənkəssar* entry for 16 *Näḥase*, the M.a. recommends the artists to paint St. George's picture with Mary's picture (EMML 1735, fol. 83a): **ንጽሕፍ፡ ድርሳነ፡ ዘይስማዒ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ አንብሮ፡** (sic, for **አጎብሮ**, see BriMus 712, fol.101b; GreTisVat 713 Aeth. 233, fol.67a) **ዘይነግር፡ ጎብረተ፡ ቦዓላ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ምስለ፡ በዓሉ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ማር፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ … ስምዑኬ፡ አማኅበራኒሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ እለ፡ ተጋባዕክሙ፡ ዮም፡ ለመርዓ፡ ፍልሰታ። ናሁ፡ እጽሕፍ፡ ለክሙ፡ ዜና፡ ውዳሴሁ፡ ለማር፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ዘተሳተፈ፡ በዓሉ፡ ምስለ፡ እግዝእቱ።** 'We write a homily called The Book of the Agreement, which proclaims the agreement of the feast of Our Lady Mary with the feast of the holy *mar* George … Give heed, O community of Our Lady Mary who have come together this day to celebrate her Assumption. Behold, I shall write you words of praise of *mar* George whose feast coincided with (that of) his Lady.'

Supporting the M.a, St. George is depicted in tradition as the Virgin's personal guard, as the Archangels Mikaʾel and Gäbrəʾel are for the Madonna and Child.

The M.a. is in disagreement with the homily ascribed to a certain *abunä* (metropolitan?) Yoḥannəs, intended to be read on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin on 21 *Ṭəmr* and/or the Annunciation of her Conception on 7 *Näḥase*. In that homily (e.g., EMML 1763, fol. 233b–240b, and WrBriMus Orient. 692, fol. 20a), *abunä* Yoḥannəs forbids the faithful to celebrate the feast of St. George on 16 *Näḥase*: **አመ፡ ፲፮፡ ለነሐሴ፡** (sic) **ጊዮርጊስ፡ ትብሉ፡ አልቦ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ተዝካረ፡ ዕርገታ፡ ለማርያም፡ ውእቱ** 'You say: the 16th of *Näḥase* is (the feast day of) George. It is not (the feast day of) George; it is the commemoration of the Assumption of Mary' (EMML 1763, fol. 234a).

Src.: BudSaint IV, 1224; EMML 1735, vol. 5, 186; EMML 1763, vol. 5, 228; GreTisVat 713; WrBriMus 164, no. 256 [Orient. 692]; WrBriMus 190, no. 288 [Orient. 712]; OSVALDO RAINERI, *Gli atti etiopici del martire egiziano Giorgio il Nuovo* († *978*), Città del Vaticano 1999 (Studi e Testi. Biblioteca apostolica vaticana 392); DE LACY O'LEARY, *The Saints of Egypt in the Coptic Calendar*, Amsterdam 1974, 146f.

Getatchew Haile

Aḥmad ᶜAbdalkarīm

A.ᶜA. (احمد عبد الكريم), the 22nd *nāʾib* of ↗Ḥərgigo (2nd in the new Ḥərgigo lineage), was born ca. 1854. He was appointed *nāʾib* of Ḥərgigo in 1899 following the death of his father, *nāʾib* ᶜAbdalkarīm ᶜAbdarraḥīm.

The exploitation and manipulation of the rivalry between the two family lineages, the Bayt ᶜUṯmān and Bayt Ḥasan, by the Italian colonial authorities further added to the reduction of the power and influence of the *nāʾib*, a process begun during Egypt's more direct penetration into the region around the middle of century.

↗Nāʾib family

Lit.: ErDizBio 7; DANTE ODORIZZI, *Il Commissariato Regionale di Massaua al 1° Gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911, 144, 151.

Jonathan Miran

Aḥmad al-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ḥasano

↗ Muḥammad ᶜUmar Ḥasano

Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr

A. (احمد بن ابى بكر, b. about 1820, d. 1856), *amīr* of Harär, succeeded his father ↗Abū Bakr b. *aftal garād* ᶜAbdalmannān b. Muḥammad in 1852. Though his succession was opposed by the Nole Oromo (↗Qottu), he was able to push through his daims with the help of his mother Fāṭima Gīsti (↗Fāṭima bint Kawšan), sister of the influential chief of the ↗Garri Somali, *garād* ↗Ādam b. Kawšan. A. was in bad health due to tuberculosis, as Burton supposed. His reign depended mostly on the counsels of his vizier, *garād* Muḥammad, and the queen dowager, Fāṭima Gīsti. Due to the despotic attitude of A., even *garād* Muḥammad did not dare offer uncalled-for advice and Fāṭima Gīsti was threatened with fetters should she persist in interfering in governmental affairs. The quarrel with his mother led to a deterioration in his relations with the Garri Somali, who controlled the trade route to ↗Zaylaᶜ. So A. married a daughter of *garād* Hirsi, the chief of the Bertiri Somali, who played a corresponding

Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr, from Burton 1884, vol. 2, frontispiece

role on the way to ↗Berbera, which from now on became more important than Zaylaᶜ for the Harärі trade. After 1855, however, A.'s illness became so bad that he had to turn the government over to his mother.

During A.'s reign the Oromo became more and more audacious and laid siege to Harär for 18 months. They gained the privilege entering the town with spears, whereas under Abū Bakr they would have been disarmed at the gates.

In January 1855, A. received Richard ↗Burton, allegedly the first European visitor to Harär. The reception was cold, so that Burton was just too glad to have the opportunity to leave the town ten days later. Burton's description of the *amīr*'s character is not very favourable.

From a document published by Yusuf Ahmed (1960) we get some information on the household economy of A.

When A. died in 1856, his two sons were both very young. Hence, after some quarrelling, the rule was taken over by a remote relative, the grandson or adopted grandson of the *amīr* ᶜAbdaššakūr, ↗Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī, who had sided with the Oromo during the above mentioned siege on Harär.

Lit.: RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON, *First Footsteps in East Africa or, the Exploration of Harar*, London 1894, I, 206ff., II, 20–23, 32f.; MOHAMMED MOKTAR, "Notes sur le pays de Harrar", *Bulletin de la Société khédiviale de géographie du Caire* 1876, 351–97, here 390f.; RENÉ BASSET, "Chronologie des rois de Harar (1637–1887)", *JA* 11, 3, 1914, 245–58, here 254f.; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli emiri di Harar dal secolo XVI alla conquista egiziana (1875)", *RSE* 21, 1, 1942, 3–19, here 16 [repr. in: ID., *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971, 365–82, here 379]; YUSUF AHMED, "An Inquiry into Some Aspects of the Economy of Harar and the Records of the Household Economy of the Amirs of Harar", *Ethnological Society Bulletin* 10, 1960, 7–62; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "L'emirato di Harar secondo un documento inedito", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 481–500, s. 496f.; RICHARD ALLAN CAULK, "Harär Town and its Neighbours in the Nineteenth Century", *JAH* 18, 1977, 369–86, here 377f.; ABDURAHMAN GARAD, *Harar. Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines Emirats im Horn von Afrika (1825–75)*, Frankfurt am Main 1990 (Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe 3, 426), 57f., 64f., 290.

Ewald Wagner

Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī

A. (احمد بن ابراهيم الغازى, Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Māḥiḍī, b. ca. 1506, d. ca. 1543, known also as [Aḥmad] Grañ or Gragn), was the leader of the Muslim conquest of southern, central and northern Ethiopia in the first half of the 16th cent. He was therefore called *ṣāḥib al-fatḥ* ('the lord of the conquest') and *al-Ġāzī* (s. Mélikoff in EI² vol. 2, 1043ff.), whilst the Amhara nicknamed the formidable figure Grañ or 'left-handed' (BassHist I, 208; II, 302; Šaltūt 1974:219). In contrast with the story of his birth in Amharic legends (Caquot 1957; Braukämper 1980:107) A. was of Somali origin, later called Guray, which is deliberately ignored by his Muslim chronicler Šihābaddīn ᶜArabfaqīh, the author of the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (died after 1559, s. Brockelmann 1943:539f.).

Probably born about 1506 A.D. in the Hūbat district between Harär and Ogaden at a place called Zaᶜka of the state of ↗ᶜAdal, the emirate in the lowlands east of Šäwa, A. began his military career as a knight in the service of *al-garād* Abūñ b. Ādaš. By good reckoning A. as a young and ambitious *amīr* also married ↗Bati Dəl Wämbära, the daughter of the famous *imām* ↗Maḥfūẓ b. Muḥammad, who was governor of Zaylaᶜ under the rule of the Walašmaᶜ *sulṭān* of ᶜAdal, ↗Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn. Normally accompanying her husband on his campaigns, Bati Dəl Wämbära gave birth to several sons, e.g. Muḥammad, who was born at the residence of Dīn b. Ādam at Zīfa about 1527 and was delivered after the death of A. to the Ethiopian Emperor ↗Gälawdewos, who released him in exchange for his brother ↗Minas in 1545 or shortly afterwards. Mentioned only in Christian sources is another son of A. named Naṣraddīn, who was governor of Däwaro in 1540 and died after a battle by poison or mental disease. During the fighting in Təgray in 1531 and 1533, Bati Dəl Wämbära also bore two other sons, one being Aḥmad an-Nağāšī, who was born in Betä Maryam in 1533 but died the following year in Säraye due to the plague and shortage of food.

Due to the growing influence of *amīrs*, who inevitably decreased the *sulṭāns'* authority, it is rather characteristic that A. began his military career not at the *sulṭān*'s palace but on the path of *ğihād* in the service of *al-garād* Abūñ. As warlord of Barr Saᶜdaddīn and opponent to the pacific policy of the Walašmaᶜ rulers of ᶜAdal, Abūñ was killed in a battle against the Walašmaᶜ *sulṭān* ↗Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Āzar in 1525. After his death, A. succeeded Abūñ as leader of the opposition and was able to defeat and kill his old enemy Abū Bakr between 1525 and 1527. On the throne of the late Abū Bakr, A. put the *sulṭān's* brother ↗ᶜUmardīn, whom he

Map of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's wars, after Ethiopian Mapping Authority 1988, map 69

deprived of any real authority and settled as puppet *sulṭān* in ↗Harär under the surveillance of his own brother Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. Allowing another royal line to continue to rule in such a way, as de-facto ruler of Harär, A. laid no daim to the secular title of ↗*sulṭān*, but was satisfied with the religious title of ↗*imām*. Although emphasizing his religious pretension, he never called himself a "*mahdī*".

A. gained the supreme power in Harär and ᶜAdal after several campaigns against ↗Fanuᵓel, ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl's brother-in-law ↗Dägälhan, and the neighbouring province of ↗Däwaro. He forcefully recruited various ᶜAfar and Somali tribal groups and chiefs, in some cases by arranging marriages of his sisters. For example, his sister Firdawsa was married to Mattān b. ᶜUṯmān, the chief of the Somali tribe of ↗Garri. On the basis of these successes, A. challenged the Ethiopian power.

Refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of the Ethiopian Emperor and to pay taxes, A. embarked on a holy war against Ethiopia and made several successful incursions into the provinces of Fäṭägar, Ifat and Däwaro. Although defeated during his campaign in September 1528 at the skirmish at Bādiqī in eastern Šäwa, A. won his first decisive victory over the Ethiopian army at the famous battle of ↗Šämbərä Kʷäre, between Moǧo and Duḫam,

on 23 March 1529. There A. and *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl confronted one another for the first time. The defeat of Ləbnä Dəngəl's huge but unorganized army marks the definitive entry of A. into the Muslim conquest of almost the whole of Ethiopia. In successive battles and campaigns his troops swept across Ethiopia within a few years and subjected large parts of Goğğam in the west, Nuba (al-Nūba) in the north-west and Təgray in the north to fire and sword. Aiming at permanent occupation and forced conversion of the conquered territories to Islam, A. and his leaders were unable, however, to consolidate their successes as apostasy, inner strife and discord over the booty, which was quickly abandoned to tribal groups and robbers and not applied for the construction of an ideal theocratic Muslim state, had been general. At the expense of the destruction and looting of hundreds of wealthy churches, monasteries, treasures, manuscripts, as well as the loss of countless lives, the Muslim invaders overran Däwaro, south of the Awaš river.

At the battle of Anṭūkīya (↗Anṣokiya) on 23 February 1531, they routed the Emperor's massive army. This was followed by Ayfars on 31 March 1531, and the capture of ↗Bärara, the capital of the Emperor, in April–May 1531. Simultaneously with the conquests of the provinces of Šäwa in 1531 and Amhara and Lasta in the north in 1533, A.'s nomadic troops won the southern regions of Gurage in April–May 1532, the Zʷay lake, Bale in July–August 1532, Hadiyya and the Sidama region in the south of Šäwa. At the battle of Wāṣil in Amhara on 27 October 1531, A. missed capturing the fugitive Ləbnä Dəngəl, who fled around from place to place in his own empire until he reached the isolated monastery of ↗Däbrä Damo, where he died on top of the mountain on 2 September 1540. Of his four sons ↗Fiqṭor was killed by the Muslims in the fighting in 1539, while another brother, the king's son Minas, was taken prisoner. As to the remaining royal family, obliged to move from place to place, A. was not able to capture the famous royal prison, as the siege of ↗Amba Gəšän (al-ʿAnbā) on 24–25 November 1531, without any order from A., was a failure. But everywhere his soldiery burnt and pulled down many churches and monasteries, plundered their riches, burnt the holy books to ashes and massacred the monks and priests. According to the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, this included such famous churches as Makān al-Ṭalāṭi (↗Mäkanä Śəllase), Atrūs Maryam (↗Atronsä Maryam) on 3 November 1531, Bayt al-Samāyāt (Betä Sämayat), Dabra Naqdaqād (↗Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad), Ğannata Ğirgis (↗Gännätä Giyorgis) on 9 November 1531, Waʾlah, Däbrä Azhīr (Däbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer, ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos) on 3 December 1531, as well as ↗Däbrä Libanos (s. BassHist).

Following the sieges of Wāṣil on 9 April 1533, and Amba Gəšän at the end of April 1533, the Muslim invaders also conquered Təgray, one of the principal provinces of the Ethiopians, moving to Šire and Ḥamasen by the way of Mazağa and conquering the provinces of Wägära, Bägemdər, Səmen and Dämbəya. In February 1541, however, the Portuguese landed at the Ethiopians' request with some 400 well-armed volunteers at Massawa and made the latter province their administrative centre. Their struggle with the ↗Ottoman Empire, one of the main reasons for the Muslim's decay, finally brought the downfall of A.'s vast empire in Ethiopia. With the aid of Arab and Turkish mercenaries, sent from across the Red Sea by the *bašša* of Zabīd, A. was able to defeat the Portuguese at the battle of ↗Wäfla south of Lake Ašange in Təgray in August 1542. Their commander, Christovão da↗Gama, was captured and beheaded by A. personally, but the remaining Portuguese contingent, having joined the new Ethiopian Emperor Gälawdewos in Səmen in October 1542, won a decisive victory at Zäntära (Wäyna Däga) east of Lake Ṭana on 22 February 1543. A., who had sent away his Turkish mercenaries, was shot from behind in an ambush by a Portuguese marksman (s. Täklä Ṣadəq Mākʷəriya 1966:693, 696, 698 with illustrations).

Upon A.'s death his Muslim forces were dispersed, flying to the north and to Harär, where his widow Bati Dal Wämbära with some survivors made her way and later married ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid, her husband's nephew, on condition that he took revenge of his uncle's death. The rapidly following collapse like a house of cards of the Muslim power and the weakening of the Ethiopian empire may have contributed to the expansion of the ↗Oromo into central, eastern, western, and even apart of northern Ethiopia.

Src.: Arab.: BassHist vol. 2, 246f., 254ff., 307, 309, 310–14, 316f., 326–31 (tr.); ʿABDALLĀH MUḤAMMAD AL-MAKKĪ AL-ĀṢAFĪ AL-ULUĠḤĀNĪ ḤĀĞĞĪ AD-DABĪR [IBN ʿUMAR], *Ẓafar al-wālih bi muẓaffar wa ālihi. An Arabic History of Gujarat*, ed., tr. by EDWARD DENISON ROSS, 3 vols., London 1910–28, repr. Frankfurt/Main 1417 H. [1997 A.D.] (Publications of the Institute for the History

of Arabic-Islamic Science, Islamic Geography 257–59), vol. 2, 578f., 584–99 (chs. 21 and 22); *ibid.*, tr. by MUHAMMED FATEH MUHAMMED LOKHANDWALA, 2 vols., Baroda 1970–74 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 152, 157), vol. 1, 468ff., vol. 2, 475–87. Eth.: BassÉt 13–20 (text) = 103–13 (tr.); BegCron 15–20, 22, 25–31; MANFRED KROPP, *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minās, I–II*, Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]), 5, 7ff., 13–16, 28ff., 37–46 (text) = 5, 7ff., 12–15, 33f., 41–48 (tr.), XXIIIf.; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di re abissini, nota del Socio Guidi", *RRALm* ser. 4, 5, 1889, 53–66, esp. 65 [no. XI, 4–9, 24–26]; ENNO LITTMANN, *Die altamharischen Kaiserlieder, Rede*, Straßburg 1914, 32. **Lit.**: CARL BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Leiden ²1949, vol. 2, 539f.; 1943, vol. 4 [Supplementband 2], 569f.; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1952, 80, 84–93; ID., "Aḥmad Grāñ", in: *EI*², vol. 1, 286f.; CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM, "A Note on the Topography of Ahmad Gran's Campaigns in 1542", *JSS* 4, 1959, 362–73; ASA J. DAVIS, "The Sixteenth Century Jihād in Ethiopia and the Impact on its Culture", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 2, 1963, 567–92; *ibid.* 3, 1964, 113–28; TÄKLÄ ṢADƏQ MÄK^WƏRIYA, **የአሕመድ፡ ግራኝ፡ መሪራ** (*Yä'aḥmäd Grañ wärära*, 'The Invasion of Aḥmäd Grañ'), Addis Abäba 1966 A.M. [1973/74 A.D.], 693, 696, 698; ENRICO CERULLI, *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971 (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente 64), s. index; TadTChurch ch. 9; epilogue, 297–302; BRADFORD G. MARTIN, "Mahdism and Holy Wars in Ethiopia before 1600", in: *Proceedings of the 9th Seminar of Arabian Studies* 4, 1974, 106–17, here 110–13 [repr. as ID., "Mahdism, Muslim Clerics, and Holy Wars in Ethiopia, 1300–1600", in: *USCES*, 91–100, here 96ff.]; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Abeba 1988, map 69; ḤUSSEIN AḤMAD, "The Historiography of Islam in Ethiopia", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 3, 1, 1992, 15–46, here 23ff.; RICHARD PANKHURST, *The Ethiopian Borderlands. Essays in Regional History from Ancient Times to the End of the 18th Century*, Lawrenceville – Asmara 1997, esp. part 4 and index; I. MÉLIKOFF, "Ghāzī", in: *EI*², vol. 2, 1043ff.; REIDULF KNUT MOLVÆR, "The Tragedy of Emperor Libne-Dingil of Ethiopia (1508–1540)", *NEASt* 5, 2, 1998, 23–46, here 27–36; FRANZ-CHRISTOPH MUTH, "Allahs Netze: 'Arabfaqîhs *Futûḥ al-Ḥabaša* als Quelle für Netzwerkanalysen", *AÉ* 17, 2001, 113–25.

Franz-Christoph Muth

Aḥmad Badlāy

A.B. (احمد بدلاي, Šihābaddīn Aḥmad Badlāy b. Sa'daddīn) was the 19th Walašma' ruler of ↗Ifat (r. 1432–45). Even before his accession to power, he was sent by his brother, *sulṭān* ↗Ğamāladdīn Muḥammad b. Sa'daddīn (r. 1424–32), to the country of ↗Däwaro. Together with the commander Ḫarb Goš, he fought in many engagements with the Amhara, captured three of their leaders and carried away 60 horses before returning home in triumph, as referred to by al-↗Maqrīzī in his book on Ethiopia. On 27 December 1432 [4 *Ğumādā* I 836 H.], A.B. succeeded his brother Ğamāladdīn, who just ten days later was killed as a martyr on 6 January 1433 [14 *Ğumādā* I 836 H.].

The dates given by the Walašma' Chronicle are different from those in al-Maqrīzī's account in his *Ilmām*. Considering his report that Ğamāladdīn was assailed by his cousins and other enviers already from February to March 1432 [*Ğumādā* II 835 H.], it could be assumed that A.B. was involved in the revolt and had already declared himself ruler before the eventual death of his brother. According to Cerulli (1971:145, note 29) the phrase *qutila šahīdan* ('killed as a martyr') may also be a hint that the Ethiopian monarch was involved in the rebellion.

After assumption of power, however, A.B. seems to have broken with the rebels. He captured the hiding murderer of his brother and put him to death. Following the example of his predecessors, A.B. also invaded the lands of the Amhara. He brought various countries under his rule, killed many leaders, destroyed six churches, burnt their towns, whose inhabitants he imprisoned and took away captive, and took much booty, gold, silver, clothes, armour and many slaves. He also recovered Bali (↗Bale), which the Christians had taken, and settled in it 1,000 Moslem families. As a just ruler, during whose reign a great pestilence swept the country in 1435–36 and snatched away many Moslems and Christians, A.B. made the country safe for travellers, protected the population against injuries from the soldiers and held the prices of goods low. To be less exposed to the raids of the Ethiopians, he also transferred his capital to ↗Dakar near Harär in the highlands, while his brother Ḫairaddīn (Kärädin) established himself at Raḫla.

Of great historical importance was A.B.'s intermittent struggle with the Ethiopian Emperor ↗Zär'a Ya'əqob. After a successful preliminary campaign in the highlands of Šäwa in August 1443 and a new offensive undertaken with his brother Ḫairaddīn and a large army into the Ethiopian part of Däwaro two years later, A.B. was defeated by the Ethiopians at a decisive battle at Agbära (↗Egubba) on 26 December 1445 (or 25 December, s. PerrZarY 64, 88). According to the Ethiopian chronicles, he had expected as his opponent only the *šum* Ḥasabä Wäsän, not Zär'a Ya'əqob personally, and became frightened upon seeing the monarch marching against him. After initial successes by the part of the Muslims,

A.B. was hit by an arrow on his face. Having broken the arrow with his hand, he advanced towards Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob to seize and to kill him, but the Emperor struck him in the neck with his spear and cut his throat with his lance. The death of their leader, whose body was cut into pieces and sent to various parts of Ethiopia, made the Moslems flee, including Ḫairaddīn, who was able to reach the river Awaš, but then was caught and killed with the other ᶜAdal soldiers by one of the monarch's units, called the *Žan Šägäna*.

The success of his military campaign, fully exploited by the Ethiopian Emperor and incorporated in the compilations of the Miracles of the Virgin Mary (↗*Täᵓammärä Maryam*, according to a ms. of the Library Giovardiana of Veroli, no. I, s. TadTChurch 263), was described later also in the soldiers' songs of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (Guidi 1889, no. X, 12–18, 55, no. X). With his victory over A.B., disparagingly called Arwe ('Snake') Badlāy by the Ethiopians, the equilibrium between the Muslims and Ethiopians came to an end. From A.B.'s son and successor Muḥammad b. Badlāy (1445–71) till the time of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, ᶜAdal was held by the Ethiopians in the position of a vassal.

Src.: Arab.: AḤMAD B. ᶜALĪ B. ḤAǦAR AL-ᶜASQALĀNĪ, *Inbāᵓ al-ġumr bi-abnāᵓ al-ᶜumr* ('The Comprehensive Information on the Descendants of Lifetime'), Haidarabad 1387-96 H. [1967-76 A.D.] (Dāᵓiratu l-Maᶜārifi l-Osmania Publications, new ser. 9, 11, 1–9, 11, 9), vol. 3, 545; MUḤAMMAD B. ᶜABDARRAḤMĀN AS-SAḪĀWĪ, *Aḍ-Ḍauᵓ al-lāmiᶜ li-ahl al-qarn at-tāsiᶜ* ('The Shining Light for the People of the 9th Cent.'), Cairo 1353–55 H. [1934–36 A.D.], vol. 3, 4, no. 16; ǦAMĀLADDĪN ABŪ L-MAḤĀSIN YŪSUF AL-ATĀBAKĪ IBN TAǦRĪBIRDĪ, *An-Nuǧūm az-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wal-Qāhira* ('The Stars that Glow: on the Kings of Egypt and Cairo'), Cairo 1348-92 H. [1928-72 A.D.], vol. 15, 225f.; AḤMAD IBN ᶜALĪ AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Kitāb al-Ilmām bi-aḫbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabaša min mulūk al-Islām*, *Historia Regum Islamiticorum in Abyssinia*, ed. by FRIEDRICH THEODOR RINCK, Leiden 1790, 31f., 35f. (text) = 35f., 40ff. (tr.); *ibid.*, Cairo 1895, 17, 19f.; ID., *As-Sulūk li-maᶜrifat duwal al-mulūk* ('The Book on the Introduction into the Knowledge of the Dynasties'), ed. by MUḤAMMAD MUṢṬAFĀ ZIYĀDA et al., Cairo 1934–73, vol. 4, part 2, 940 f., 992; BassHist I, 5 (text) = II, 7ff. (tr.); Eth.: BassÉt 242ff., notes 99, 103f.; PerrZarY 57–66, 88f.; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di re abissini, nota del Socio Guidi", *RRALm* ser. 4, 5, 1889, 53–66, esp. 63f. [no. X, 12–18, 55].

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6, 4, 2, 1931, 39–96, here 41 (text) = 47f. (tr.) [repr. in: ID., *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971 (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente 64), 135–206, here 138=145f.]; ID., "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 272–94, here 286ff. [repr. in: op. cit., 257–80, here 268, 272ff.]; ID., "L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici", *Africa Italiana* 5, 1933, 57–112, esp. chapter II, 80–99; ID., "La sconfitta del sultano Badlāy ibn Saᶜd ad-dīn in due inediti "Miracoli di S. Giorgio" etiopici", *Aethiopica* 2, 1934, 105–09; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1952, 60, 74f., 150, note 1; TadTChurch 262ff., 294; EWALD WAGNER (ed., tr.), *Legende und Geschichte. Der Fatḥ Madīnat Harar von Yaḥyā Naṣrallāh*, Wiesbaden 1978 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 44, 3), 15f., 82; RICHARD PANKHURST, *The Ethiopian Borderlands, Essays in Regional History from Ancient Times to the End of the 18th Century*, Lawrenceville – Asmara 1997, 58, 60, 116f., 119.

Franz-Christoph Muth

Aḥmad Baraᶜole

A.B. (b. 1865, d. 1935) was a Təgre notable. Born in Kasäč in the Dogaᶜa area of a family of hereditary leaders of the small Təgre subgroup Bet Saraḥ, he joined the colonial army (*banda*) in Massawa at a quite early date, in 1886. He then participated in a number of battles in ᶜAqordät, Ḥalay, Kʷäᶜatit in Eritrea, Ambalage in Təgray and ᶜAdwa in 1896. Immediately after the battle of ᶜAdwa he was sent to Libya, which was about to be occupied by Italian troups, and was a commander of *askari* until his demobilization in 1914. In 1917 he became the chief of the Bet Saraḥ subgroup, in 1927 being granted the rank of *fitawrari* from the Italians. The Italian colonial government rewarded his services in Eritrea and Libya with several medals and decorations. Upon A.B.'s death, he was followed in his functions as *məslene* by his son, *šum* Muḥammad Aḥmad Baraᶜole (b. 1912 in Kasäč), who had been his father's *wakīl* before.

A.B.'s family rose to prominent positions within the colonial society. One of them, *sayyīd* Aḥmad Ṣāliḥ Baraᶜole, was elected in September 1956 to the second Assembly of Eritrea as a representative of Akkälä Guzay division (Tekeste Negash 1997:219).

Lit.: ErDizBio, 7, 207; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia, the Federal Experience*, New Brunswick – New Jersey 1997, 219.

Mussie Tesfagiorgis

Aḥmad *bey* Muḥammad Adum

A. *bey* (b. 1916, Aqordät), born as a son of a high-ranking *askari*, had concessions for fruit plantations and cultivated pomegranats in Aqordät. He was the sub-chief of the Ḥamasen ↗Bet Mäᶜala, and in 1946 became secretary of the Aqordät Section of the ↗Muslim League. On 26 March 1952 he was elected member of the new Eritrean parliament, as a representative of the Af-

lenda, Ḥamasen Bet Mäᶜala, and Ab Ḥašela Bet Mäᶜala. However, he lost his seat in the second elections of 1956.

His father, Muḥammad Adum Binday *bey* (b. ca. 1874 Algäden, Barka), had participated in the Italian war against Ethiopia of 1895–96 (battles of Kʷäᶜatit, Säᶜafe, Ambalage, Mäqälä and ᶜAdwa), and later in 1914 in Libya. In 1897 he was promoted *mumtāz* and in 1913 *šumbaš*. Decorated several times, he became the market chief of Aqordät in 1933, and *šumbaš* of the invalide camp Asmära, being transferred in 1940 to Aqordät to be its village chief.

Lit.: ErDizBio 7, 207.

[Red.]

Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad b. ᶜAlī b. Ṣabraddīn

A. (احمد حرب ارعد بن علي بن صبرالدين) was a *sulṭān* of ↗Ifat, who ruled for eight years in the sixties of the 14th cent. During the second half of the 14th cent. the ↗Walašmaᶜ sultanate of Ifat still suffered under the defeat *aṣe* ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon had inflicted on it. The Muslim rulers tried to get rid of the Christian suzerainty while the Ethiopian emperor took advantage of internal quarrels inside the Walašmaᶜ family to preserve his dominance. This was the situation during A.'s lifetime. According to the Walašmaᶜ Chronicle (Cerulli 1931) A. followed his father ↗ᶜAlī b. Ṣabraddīn as *sulṭān* of Ifat, ruled for two years and was succeeded by his son ↗Ḥaqqaddīn II b. Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad in 1376/77.

From al-Maqrīzī's *Ilmām*, however, we learn that A. must have reigned longer and earlier. When his father ᶜAlī got into difficulties with the bedouins (Danakil?), he was deposed by his overlord, *aṣe* Nəwayä Krəstos (↗Säyfä Arᶜad), who installed his son Aḥmad as the new ruler over Ifat. Aḥmad from now on used the additional Ethiopian name Ḥarb Arᶜad, which seems to have been granted to him by the Emperor for honour's sake. During the eight years that A. ruled over Ifat, his father ᶜAlī b. Ṣabraddīn and his brothers were detained as hostages at the Emperor's court. After that, *aṣe* Säyfä Arᶜad became reconciled with ᶜAlī b. Ṣabraddīn and reinstalled him in Ifat. In his place A. was taken hostage.

This time it was he who served at the Emperor's court. During his service there three sons were born to A., among them the later *sulṭān* ↗Saᶜdaddīn Abū l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad. After some time the Emperor was reconciled with A. and wrote to *sulṭān* ᶜAlī b. Ṣabraddīn, requesting that he might invest his son A. with the office of governor in the "Ǧäbärti region". ᶜAlī compiled with the order, while A. went to his province and administered it for some time. Then he was killed in one of the feuds with his subjects. In the "Ǧäbärti province" he was succeeded by his brother Abū Bakr, while in Ifat proper a conflict between A.'s son ↗Ḥaqqaddīn b. Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad and the latter's grandfather ᶜAlī b. Ṣabraddīn broke out. Ḥaqqaddīn emerged as the winner in this conflict.

If we assume the year 1376/77, given by the Walašmaᶜ Chronicle, as Ḥaqqaddīn's year of accession, the death of A. must have been some years earlier and his eight-year rule over Ifat might have been even earlier than that, that is to say in the sixties of the 14th cent.

Src.: AḤMAD B. ᶜALĪ AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Al-Ilmām bi-aḥbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabaša min mulūk al-Islām* ('Overview of the Islamic Rulers Who were in the Land of Ḥabaša'), Cairo 1895, 9f.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* 328, ser. 6, 4, 2, 1931, 39–101, here 44ff. [repr. in: ID., *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971, 136–206, here 142f.]; ID., *Studi etiopici*, 1, *La Lingua e la storia di Harar*, Roma 1936, 25 [repr. in: ID., *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, op. cit., 281–327, here 302].

Ewald Wagner

Aḥmad Ḥasan

A.Ḥ. (d. 1801) was the fifth *nāʾib* of ↗Ḥərgigo and its region in office from 1781 to 1801. Appointed *nāʾib* by the Ottoman authorities after the death of *nāʾib* ᶜUṭmān ᶜĀmir (r. 1741–81), it was in his tenure that internal struggles in the ↗Nāʾib family led to its division into two rival lineages; Bayt Ḥasan (in Ḥərgigo) and Bayt ᶜUṭmān (in Ǝmkullu and Ḥəṭumlo). A.Ḥ. had long struggles with the inhabitants of the ↗Dəbarwa (Ṣällima) region who challenged his authority and supported several villages of Säraye who refused to pay tribute for their territorial fief (↗*Gʷəlt*). In alliance with the Christian highlanders, he set several villages of the region of Dəbarwa on fire.

Lit.: ErDizBio 8; DANTE ODORIZZI, *Il Commissariato Regionale di Massaua al 1° Gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911, 136, 150, 153.

Jonathan Miran

Aḥmad Izzīn

Āw A.I. (احمد ازين) is one of the most venerated saints of ↗Harär. It is said that A.I. was the 17th grandson of *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn of Bale. Cerulli (1936:51) tentatively identified him with ᶜIzzaddīn, the brother of the *imām* Aḏraḥ or Aḏrūḥ b. Tadrūs of ↗Awsa. This ᶜIzzaddīn was killed on 15 June 1626 (cf. the correction of Cerulli's date in Wagner 1979:670) in a battle against the Wärrä Daya Oromo. Chronologically, it is possible to harmonize the oral tradition with Cerulli's suggestion. 18 generations between *šayḫ* Ḥusayn (13th cent.) and ᶜIzzaddīn would not be too much. On the other hand, it seems difficult to explain a Christian name (Tadrūs = Theodore) among the descendants of *šayḫ* Ḥusayn. Another obstacle is the orthography of *Izzīn* in Arabic sources. A.I. is mentioned in the Arabic list of the saints of Harär and also in the Arabic songs in praise of the Harärian saints. Here, the name is always written Iḏḏīn with *alif* and *ḏāl*. If *Izzīn* is shortened from <ᶜIzzaddīn, as Cerulli assumed, *ᶜayn* and *zāy* would be expected.

A.I.'s shrine is located outside the walled city of Harär, northwest of the gate called Asum Bari (Foucher 1988:267, no. 32 on map I). The shrine consists of a graveyard, a mosque (Foucher 1988:268, no. 23 on map II) and a *galma*, a room for ritual gatherings of members of the shrine. This shrine was one of the major shrines for certain activities, such as departing from the city. Those who departed the city would go there for final farewell. The shrine also hosts the final resting place of the members of the *šayḫ* Ġamāᶜa, the brotherhood of *šayḫ* Hāšīm b. ᶜAbdalᶜazīz which is a branch of the *Qādiriyya*.

↗Islamic brotherhoods

Src.: EWALD WAGNER, "Eine Liste der Heiligen von Harar", *ZDMG* 123, 1973, 269–92, here 278f.; ID., "Arabische Heiligenlieder aus Harar", *ibid.* 125, 1975, 28–65, here 33 and 38.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, *Studi etiopici, 1: La Lingua e la storia di Harar*, Roma 1936, 51 [repr.: ID., *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971, 281–327, here 323]; ID., "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6, 4, 2, 1931, 39–96, here 83 [repr.: ID., *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971, 135–206, here 190]; ID., "Neues Material zur 'Ausa-Chronik'", in: ULRICH HAARMANN – PETER BACHMANN, *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beirut 1979 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 22), 657–73; EMILE FOUCHER, "Names of Mussulmans Venerated in Harrar and its Surroundings. A List", *ZDMG* 138, 1988, 263–82.

Ahmed Zekaria

Aḥmad Naśʾāt

A.N. (احمد نشأت) *effendi* was the Egyptian *muḥāfiẓ* (chief officer of a governorate) in Massawa under *wālī* (governor) ↗Muḥammad Ratīb *paša* between 1875 and 1877.

In 1875–76, during his tenure as *muḥāfiẓ*, the Egyptian army was defeated by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV of Ethiopia's armies in ↗Gundät and in ↗Guraᶜ. Following this military débâde the Egyptian army retreated from the fort of Saḥati and their active expansionist ambitions towards northern Ethiopia were halted.

Lit.: ErDizBio 8; GHADA HASHEM TALHAMI, *Suakin and Massawa under Egyptian rule, 1865–1885*, Washington D.C. 1979; ŠAWQĪ ᶜAṬĀʾALLĀH AL-ĠAMAL, *Al-Waṯāʾiq al-taʾrīḫīya li-siyāsat Miṣr fī l-Baḥr al-Aḥmar, 1863–1879* ('Historical Documents of Egyptian Policy in the Red Sea, 1863–1879'), Cairo 1959; ID., *Siyāsat Miṣr fī l-Baḥr al-Aḥmar fī n-nisf aṯ-ṯānī min al-qarn at-tāsiᶜ ᶜašar* ('Egypt's Policy in the Red Sea in the Second Half of the 19th cent.'), Cairo 1974.

Jonathan Miran

Aḥmad ᶜUbayd Bāḥubayšī

A. (احمد عبيد باحبيشى, Aḥmad ᶜUbayd Bahbeši, b. 10 December 1900, Massawa, d. 1959, Asmära) was a prominent merchant of Hadhrami origins. He began to work with his father, ᶜUbayd Aḥmad Bahbeši, in the family trading business but gradually became independent (1934) and established an import/export business with agencies in Asmära, Massawa and Addis Abäba. He was awarded the title of *Cavaliere dell'Ordine Coloniale della Stella d'Italia* (1938) as well as various other medals for his ample commercial activities in Eritrea and Ethiopia in the late 1930s. From 1951 until his death, A. served as the president of the Arab Community in Asmära and made efforts to develop the field of Arabic instruction in Eritrea. Among his main achievements in this domain was the expansion of the Arabic Community school (*al-madrasa al-ǧālīya al-ᶜarabīya*) in Asmära.

↗Ġāmiᶜ al-Ḫulafāʾ ar-Rāšidīn

Lit.: ErDizBio 8.

Jonathan Miran

Aidesios ↗ Sälama Käśate Bərhan

Aike Birinas

A.B. (b. ca. 1920, d. 1995, also called Baldambe) was a native of south Omo, son of *däǧǧazmač* Gino Biri (ca. 1880–1959), the main spokesman

Aike Birinas, photo courtesy of the author

for Hamär after *aṣe* Mənilək II's conquest and during the Italian occupation. The father, also called Berinas, was an informant for Adolf Ellegard↗Jensen in 1952. After his father's death, the title of *balambaras* was bestowed upon A.B. by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

He worked for the local administration in the 1960s. From 1970 until his death, he was the most important informant of Ivo Strecker and Jean Lydall (e.g., Lydall – Strecker 1979). In 1972–73 he visited Germany and England, in 1986 Germany and France and in 1988–89 Germany, giving lectures and seminars at the Universities of London, Cambridge, Göttingen, Mainz and Berlin, as well as at Addis Ababa University. A.B. was a main character in Ivo Strecker's ethnographic films: *Father of the Goats* (1984) and *Worry and Hope in the Face of Drought* (1994).

Lit.: JEAN LYDALL – IVO STRECKER, *The Hamar of Southern Ethiopia*: I *Work Journal*, II *Baldambe Explains*, III *Conversations in Dambaiti*, Hohenschäftlarn 1979; IVO STRECKER (ed., tr.), *Berinas' Resistance: the Life and Times of a Great Hamar Spokesman: Oral Account of his Father's History*, ms.; ID., "Our Good Fortune Brought us Together", *Paideuma* 44, 1998, 59–68; JEAN LYDALL, "From Being 'Other' to Being 'Mother'", *ibid.* 69–75; VSAe I 337–48.

Jean Lydall

Air Force

The Imperial Ethiopian A.F. (IEAF), which traced its origin to the mid-1920s – early 1930s, was the second important branch of the country's defence forces. The A.F. training school was established in 1947 at ↗Däbrä Zäyt, 50km to the south of Addis Abäba, with the assistance of Swedish instructors. The Americans, who replaced the Swedes in the early 1960s, expanded and transformed the school into a more or less self-contained unit, comprising the principal air base, the command headquarters and a maintenance workshop. Additional air bases were built at ↗Asmära and ↗Dərre Dawa. The four-year curriculum of the academy offered courses from engineering to aeronautics and included the liberal arts. The IEAF had more than 2,500 personnel and 100 aircraft that included 5-A/Es, F-86s, C-54s and Saab-17s. Its personnel were well trained and highly regarded in the continent. Some of its officers were involved in the training of a new Tanzanian air force. They also participated in a UN mission in the Congo in 1961, and again in 1967 in the suppression of mercenaries in that country. But it was in the 1977–78 Ogaden War that the IEAF demonstrated its proficiency when its men excelled over and incapacitated their Somali counterparts. The IEAF emerged almost unscathed from the ↗Revolution. Under Soviet advisers, who replaced the Americans in the late 1970s, its tactical squadrons were increased from five to eight. They were fitted out with Soviet equipment.

Lit.: HAROLD D. NELSON (ed.), *Ethiopia. A Country Study*, Washington 1981; ERNEST W. LEFEVER, *Spear and Scepter. Army, Police and Politics in Tropical Africa*, Washington 1970; BAFFOUR AGYEMAN-DUAH, *The United States and Ethiopia. Military Assistance and the Quest for Security, 1953–1993*, New York 1994.

Gebru Tareke

Aithiopía

Ethiopia in the ancient Greek tradition

A. (Gr.: **Αἰθιοπία**; Lat.: Aethiopia; Engl.: Ethiopia; German: Äthiopien, etc.) is the country of the Aithíopes/**Αἰθίοπες** (sg. Aithíops/**Αἰθίοψ**) 'the burnt-faces, Negroes'. Aithíops is regarded as a mythological figure who lives in the far East on the shores of the ocean (**Ὠκεανός**), representing the oldest and most perfect example of mankind, who has a special relationship with the gods (as told in the Iliad of Homer, 8th cent. B.C.). It is possible that the Greek understanding of the country as that of burnt-faces (**αἴθω, αἴθομαι** 'burn', **ὄψις** 'aspect, face') is attributable to folk etymology. Homer in his Odyssey locates the country in the South East. Aischylos (6th cent. B.C.) reports of the sun god Hēlios diving into the water there and rising again. In connection with the river Aithíops, Aischylos discusses dark peoples and the origin of the Nile. According to Strabo(n) (1st cent. B.C.), the whole southern part

of the world, down to the ocean, is called the country of the Aithíopes.

Throughout antiquity southern India and Africa were thought to be connected by a land-bridge. Yet, as early as the 5th-cent. Herodot made a clear distinction between the "straight-haired eastern Ethiopians", i.e. the (Dravidic?) Indians, and the "curly-haired Ethiopians of Lybia", who were distinct from each other not only in racial features but also in language. Both groups served in Darius's army and it is noteworthy that the Libyan Ethiopians fought in the same contingent as the Arabians. However, reports about A. remained generally confused and rather unspecific and could apply to Africa as well as India. When the Nubians, the Egyptians' southern neighbours, became known to the Greeks, they were subsumed under the name Aithíopes. As more and more black peoples south of Egypt and the Sahara entered the knowledge horizon of the Greek-speaking world, the vague notion of A. gradually filled with content. But A. still comprised southern India as well, about which much more was known since the time of Alexander's expedition to India (327–25 B.C.).

A. and Ethiopiain antiquity

The Aksumite Empire (↗Aksum), which was strongly influenced by Greek culture (Hellenism), took over the term A. as the Greek equivalent of the indigenous term ḤBŚT or ↗Abyssinia. In the non-Christian inscription DAE 4:2 ↗'Ezana is called **βασιλεὺς Αἰθιόπων** 'king of the Ethiopians', as compared to its Ethiopic version *ngś Ḥbśt* (**ንጉሥ፡ ሐበሥት**; *nəguśä Ḥabäśät* 'king of Abyssinia', cf. DAE 7:1). In these inscriptions, other parts of the Empire are mentioned as the people of the **Βουγαειτῶν** (**ብጋ**, *Bəga*, 'Beğa') and the country of Kasu (**κάσου**)/KS (**ካሱ**, *Kasu*, 'Kush'). There, ↗Kush and Ethiopia are clearly distinguished as being two different but neighbouring regions. In later Christian inscriptions, the name of Ethiopia is no longer mentioned.

There is an Ethiopian legend about *Aithíops* (↗Ityopis) as the mythological ancestor of the Ethiopians, and who is said to be a son of *Kuš*. In contrast, in the "Table of Nations" (Gen 10:7) (**Σαβα**, but in Classical Ethiopic **ሶባ**, Soba) is one of the sons of Kuš. Since Ethiopia originated from a colony of the South Arabian kingdom of Saba', it is possible that Kuš (Ityopya) was believed to be an African equivalent of Səb̲aʾ. After the Axumite Empire had become christianized (4th cent.), the use of the name Ethiopia was reinforced by its occurrence in the Bible.

A. in the Bible

The Egyptian designation of Nubia, *K3z/s*, subsequently *K3š(j)*, in the New Empire *Kš(j)*, called A. in Greek, had been taken over in Hebrew as Cush ( ). In this way, Hebr. *Kûš* became the equivalent of Gr. A. (to the geographic concept of the world in the O.T. see Hölscher 1949). Accordingly, in the Greek translation of the O.T. (Septuagint), Hebrew *Kûš* was rendered as A. In the classical Ethiopic translation of the Bible, *Kûš* /A. appears as **ኢትዮጵያ**, *Ityopya*. Thus in 2 Kings 19:9 **ታሬቃ**, *Tareqa*, 'king of the Ethiopians', fighting against the king of Assyria is mentioned. In fact, Taharqa (Hebr. , *Tirhâqâʰ*), king of Egypt and Nubia, was the third and most important king of the (25th) Ethiopian, i.e. Nubian, dynasty, ruling from 689 to 664 B.C. In Esther 8:9, the Persian Empire of Xerxes (485-65 B.C.) is described as reaching 'from India (, *Hoddû*) unto Nubia (*Kûš*)'. In the Ethiopic version (Est 9:9) based on the Septuagint, it extends from India (**ህንድ**, *Hənd*) to Ityopya. *Kûš* as a personal name is given in Gr. as **Χους** (*Khous*) and in Classical Ethiopic as **ኩሳ** (*Kusa*), e.g. Gen 10:7 **ደቂቀ፡ ቅሳ**, *däqiqä Kusa* 'the sons of Cush'.

Sometimes another Hebrew word is translated as A. (*Ityopya*), e.g. , *ṣiyyîm* ('men/animals/demons? living in the steppe/desert') in Ps 72:9 (Gr./Eth. 71:9): Hebr. , *ləpānâʷ yikrəʿû ṣiyyîm*; Gr. **ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ προπεσοῦνται Αἰθίοπες**; Eth. **ይገንዩ፡ ቅድሜሁ፡ ኢትዮጵያ**, *yəgännəyu qədmehu Ityopya* '(…) shall bow before him'. Rather a savage people is meant in Ps 74:14 (Gr./Eth. 73:14): Hebr. , *tittənənnû maʾăkāl ləʿām ləṣiyyîm* – Gr. **ἔδωκας αὐτὸν βρῶμα λαοῖς τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν**; Eth. **መሠ·ብኮሙ፡ ሲሳየሙ፡ ለሕዝበ፡ ኢትዮጵያ**, *wäwähabkomu sisayomu läḥəzbä Ityopya* 'and thou gavest him to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness'.

The Christian church felt itself referred to by the famous sentence in Ps 68:31 (Gr./Eth. 67:32): Hebr. , *kûš tārîṣ yādāʷ lēʾlohîm*; Gr. **Αἰθιοπία προφθάσει χεῖρα αὐτῆς τῷ θεῷ**; Eth. **ኢትዮጵያ፡ ታበጽሕ፡ እደዊሃ፡ ኀበ፡ እግዚአ·ብሔር**, *Ityopya tabäṣṣəḥ ədäwiha ḫabä əgziʾabəḥer*, 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God'.

In the N.T. (Acts 8:27), a 'black Ethiopian' (**ἀνὴρ Αἰθίοψ**, **ብእሲ፡ እምሰ·ብአ፡ ኢትዮጵያ**, *bəʾəse*

əm-säbʾa Ityopya) is mentioned as the "eunuch" of ↗Candake (queen of the Ethiopians, **Καυδάκη βασιλίσσα Αἰθιόπων**, **ሀንደኬ፡ ነገሥተ፡ ኢትዮጵያ**, *Həndäke nägäśtä Ityopya*) who "had come to Jerusalem to worship". The Ethiopian church in particular has always interpreted this passage as an allusion to a very early christianization of the country. In fact, "Ethiopian" here still has the meaning "Nubian", and Candake, originally "king's mother", is the general designation of the Meroïtic queens (which was later on – as in the Acts – interpreted as a personal name). In Həndäke we note an allusion to the name of India (Eth. Hənd).

The term Ethiopia in late medieval and modern times

In medieval and early modern Europe, the general designation of what is today called Ethiopia was (H)Abissinia, Abassia, Abyssinia, whereas Aethiopia was used for great parts of Black Africa. In the 17th and 18th cent., the more central parts of Africa were called "lower" Ethiopia in contrast to Highland Ethiopia. E.g., Oliver Dapper (*Umbständliche und eigentliche Beschreibung von Africa*, Amsterdam 1670) speaks of "Nieder-Etiopien" that comprises, amongst others, the kingdoms of Lovango and Monomotapa; "Ober-Ethiopien" means "(das) Abissinische Reich" (s. Woldan 1962). Hiob Ludolf in his *Historia Aethiopica* (1681: L.I.C.2.) speaks about "Aethiopia superior" as "Abessia vel Abessinia" and cites a historical work of Tellez *História geral de Etiópia a alta* (1660). An extreme extension of Ethiopia shows a map of Johann Walch (Augsburg, late 18th cent. to early 19th cent.) where "Aethiopien" covers the area south of the "Galla Völker" up to the "Hottentotten Land" including the coastal area from "Magadascho" to the south and some parts of the western coast. Only a small area in the south with "Capstadt" and "Stellenbos" is excluded. The southern part of the Atlantic Ocean he calls "Aethiopisches Meer". In a map of Africa (*Africae descriptio*) by Jodocus Hondius (1563–1612), *Abissini*(*a*) covers what is otherwise called "Aethiopia superior et inferior". In a map (Amsterdam 1635) by Willem J. Blaeu (1571–1638), "Aethiopia inferior vel exterior" means South Africa (s. Norwich 1997:174).

Another concept is seen in a map by Johann Matthias Haas (or Haase, Hasius, 1684–1742), *Africa secundum legitimas projectionis stereographicae regulas*, Nürnberg: Homanns Erben, ca. 1730. Here "Aethiopia superior" designates Central Africa (from the "Gallani" and "Alaba", two Cushitic peoples, to the "Lacus grandis Marawi", i.e. Malawi), whereas "Aethiopia inferior" covers the whole Sudan (in the classical sense of the word, from the west of "Nubia" to "Gambia"), an area which bears otherwise the name "Nigritia". This different interpretation of "Ethiopia superior" was transformed into the concept of Africa superior, in German "Hochafrika", see the "Ethnographische Karte von Afrika" (Berghaus, *Physikalischer Atlas*, 1845) where "Hochafrika" includes Central and South Africa, including both coasts, but excluding "Capland".

From the beginning of geography as a science with the Greeks until the 18th/19th cent., the wide range of the notion A. can be seen by the consistent naming of ocean surrounding Africa "Ethiopian Ocean". In a map of Africa (*Totius Africae nova representatio*, Nürnberg 1715) by Johann Baptist Homann (1663–1724), the sea west of southern Africa is called "Oceanus Aethiopicus", the eastern counterpart "Oceanus Meridionalis sive Aethiopicus" (Norwich 1997:87).

In medieval Ethiopia, the Greek name of the country was retained; s. the large number of references (as **ንጉሠ / ንግሥተ / ብሔረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ**, *nəguśä / nägəśtä / bəherä Ityopya*, 'king, queen, country of Ethiopia') in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (Bezold 1909:155). The use of the name Ethiopia instead of Abyssinia became familiar with the works of the German Hiob ↗Ludolf (1624–1704), who laid the foundations for Ethiopian studies in Europe. Since the middle of the 20th cent., "Ethiopia" has superseded "Abyssinia" almost completely.

The term Ethiopia in recent times

Nowadays, "Ethiopia" has two different meanings. (1) One refers to the historical concept of the predominantly Christian, Semitic- and Cushitic-speaking highlands (of the Horn of Africa) and its possessions in the lowlands. Accordingly, the ↗Afar- and ↗Somali-speaking areas of ↗Djibouti and ↗Somalia are included in so far as their history has shown some specific relations with the highlands. In this sense, Ethiopia has the meaning of ↗Orbis Aethiopicus. (2) The other meaning of "Ethiopia", which should not be confused with the one mentioned above, refers to the modern state of Ethiopia, thus excluding, above all, ↗Eritrea (independent since 1993) and including some parts of the non-Cushitic- speak-

ing western lowlands (conquered by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) that do not reveal deep historical relations with the central parts. (The same problem occurs with the terms India, Indology and Indian Studies, which cover in a narrow sense the Republic of India and in a broader, historical sense the whole Indian subcontinent induding Pakistan, Bangladesh and Ceylon/Sri Lanka.)

Src.: CARL BEZOLD, *Kebra Nagast*: *Die Herrlichkeit der Könige*, München 1909; DAE IV; HIOB LUDOLF, *Historia Aethiopica*, Frankfurt am Main 1681; ERICH WOLDAN (ed.), *Monumenta Ethnographica, frühe völkerkundliche Bilddokumente*, vol. 1, *Schwarzafrika*, Graz 1962; JEFFREY C. STONE (ed.), *Norwich's Maps of Africa*: *an Illustrated and Annotated Carto-Bibliography*, Norwich 1997; BALTHAZAR TELLEZ, *História geral de Etiópia a alta ou Preste Ioam e do que nella obraram os padres da companhia de Jesus*, Coimbra 1660.

Lit.: GUSTAV HÖLSCHER, *Drei Erdkarten*: *ein Beitrag zur Erdkenntnis des hebräischen Altertums*, Heidelberg 1949; GÜNTER LANCZKOWSKI, "Aethiopia", in: THEODOR KLAUSER (ed.), *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, suppl. 1, Stuttgart 2001, 94–134; SERGEW HABLE-SELASSIE, *Beziehungen Äthiopiens zur griechisch-römischen Welt*, Bonn 1964.

Rainer Voigt

Akalä Krəstos

A.K. (**አካለ፡ ክርስቶስ**, d. 3 September 1685) mentioned between 1677 and 1686, was a dignitary at the court of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I, known through this Emperor's and the official history of his successor *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I. We know that he was ↗*bäğərond* in 1678, then ↗*blatten geta* in 1682. He was relieved of this responsibility on 20 March 1683. Apparently, his career was essentially a civil one, contrary to the majority of *blatten getas* at that time, and he did not bear any other military titles.

A.K. was one of the dignitaries at the time of the accession to the throne of *aṣe* Iyasu I on 19 July 1682. He was then at the zenith of his career, which we suppose started during *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs's reign. He died in all probability in Gondär.

Src.: GuiIohan 36, 60, 63, 90.

Dimitri Toubkis

Akalä Krəstos ↗ Saints, local

Akalä Wäld

Mämhər A.W. (**አካለ፡ ወልድ**), a renowned Ethiopian scholar, lived from the mid-19th cent. until the first quarter of the 20th cent. Oral tradition reports that he was born in ↗Mänz, an Amhara region in Šäwa, and received his (traditional) education in Gondär.

A.W. was very much respected in the courts of both ↗Yoḥannəs IV and later ↗Mənilək II. He was an important participant at the Church Council at ↗Boru Meda in 1878. It was A.W. who insisted that one should not force people to accept Christianity (as Yoḥannəs wanted) but that conversion should be done through teaching and convincing them. Persuaded, Yoḥannəs appointed A.W. "the apostle of Wällo" and two years later the head of the new Abärra Śəllase church at Boru Meda (*säḥafe tə'əzaz* Gäbrä Śəllase ascribes A.W.'s appointment to Mənilək, s. GueCopMen 150ff.).

As a result of the Boru Meda council and the activities of A.W., Yoḥannəs and Mənilək many Muslim leaders of Wällo were converted, including *imām* Muḥammad ᶜAlī (later *nəguś* ↗Mika'el ᶜAli), Abba Waṭäw (later Ḫaylä Maryam).

A.W.'s reputation is reflected in the Amharic saying *mämar əndä Akaləyye mäwagat əndä Gäbrəyye*, 'Learning [should be] like Akaləyye [A.W.] / Fighting [should be] like Gäbrəyye [↗Gäbrä Ḫəywät Goššu]'.

Src.: GueCopMen 150ff.

Lit.: RICHARD A. CAULK, "Religion and the State in the Nineteenth Century Ethiopia", *JES* 10, 1, 23–42, here 24; HerTar; HUSSEIN AHMED, *Islam in Nineteenth-Century Wallo, Ethiopia*: *Revival, Reform, and Reaction*, Leiden 2001.

Amsalu Aklilu

Akalä Wärq Habtäwäld

A.W. (**አካለ፡ ወርቅ፡ ሀብተ ወልድ**, b. 1920, d. 1974) was the second of the three sons of *aläqa* Habtäwäld Habtənäh of Bulga, who served in ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase's Government. A.W. was among 24 young men, who, after attending the Mənilək school in Addis Abäba, were sent abroad in 1926 for further education. He stayed in France throughout the Italian occupation and returned to Ethiopia with an engineering diploma in textile industry. A.W.'s elder brother ↗Mäkʷännən Habtäwäld was killed during the 1960 Coup d'état. A.W. and his younger brother, Prime Minister ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld continued to dominate the political scene of post-liberation Ethiopia.

From 1947 to 1974, A.W. held ministerial posts: twice Minister of Education (1947–55, 1967–69), Community Development (1955–56), Health (1956–57), Agriculture (1962–66) and Justice (1969–74). As Ambassador to France (1958–62),

Akalä Wärq Habtäwäld presiding the UNESCO annual conference, Paris 1967, photo courtesy of the author

he represented Ethiopia on the UNESCO Executive Board and for two years was its Chairman, a post which earned him international respect.

During the formative years of the Ministry of Education, he was instrumental in the formulation of basic education laws and policies and responsible for sending hundreds of students to America, Europe and the Middle East for higher studies, many of whom were appointed to high government positions on their return. During his first tenure, the development of education featured educational land-tax, a board of education chaired by him and various committees to oversee curriculum development, textbook preparation and teacher-training programmes.

Many challenging tasks were accomplished in the Ministry of Education before A.W.'s return in 1967: the Ministry had undergone structural changes; a national university and several colleges were established; the 20-year plan for the expansion of education in Africa was being followed by Ethiopia; and international financial institutions were involved in the development of education.

Prime Minister Aklilu Habtäwäld faced an equally demanding public, in spite of the fact that he had replaced A.W. with a younger person to head the Ministry of Education. In February 1974, the military, students, teachers and labour-union leaders voiced their protests against the insurmountable social and economic difficulties and the cabinet had to resign. On 24 November A.W. and his brother, along with some fifty other high government officials, were executed by the *Därg* (↗Revolution).

Src.: official government publications and notices; family records.

Tadesse Terrefe

Akḥadom

A. (**አክሐዶም**) is traditionally said to have been an ancestral father, to whom most notables and chiefs of ↗ᶜAgamä trace their pedigrees. Some of the ruling groups from other regions of Təgray also daim descent from him.

A. is considered to be the founder of the local dynasty of the ↗*šum ᶜagame*. Tämben, Mäk̲onni, or even Säqoṭa are mentioned as his possible place of origin. He is said to have marched into ᶜAgamä and defeated the earlier local ruler Kendəšiḥ, the descendant of Summä, the ancestral father of the ↗Irob. The *šum ᶜagame* soon dominated the core area of ᶜAgamä, near modern ↗ᶜAddigrat. A.'s residence (*mäqmaṭ mäkʷännən*, lit. 'residence of the ruler') is said to have been situated somewhere in the area to the west of ᶜAddigrat.

Tradition places A. 19 generations ago (with one generation ranging between 25–30 years), around 1425 A.D. There is indeed a record of a certain A., precisely in the reign of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II. While Dawit II was gaining control over the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel country, west of the Täkkäze, his troops were on one occasion overpowered by Betä Ǝsraᵓel resistance. The Emperor had sent fresh auxiliaries to them under the command of A., governor of Təgray. His expedition was successful. Most probably this was the same A. who is still remembered with much awe and respect in ᶜAgamä and, indeed, in the political traditions of all Təgray.

Src.: EMML vol. 7, 13, no. 2514, fol. 234b; KinBibl 87, no. 128; ISAAK WAJNBERG, *Das Leben des Hl. Jāfqerana 'Egzī'*, Roma 1936 (OrChrA 106), s. index.

Lit.: TadTChurch 200; TSEGAY BERHE, *A History of ᶜAgamä 1822–1914*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1996, 27–35.

Tsegay Berhe G. Libanos

Akkälä Guzay

History of Akkälä Guzay

The region of A.G. (**አከለ ፡ ጉዛይ**) forms the north-eastern part of the Eritrean highlands,

inhabited by Təgrañña and Sāho descent groups. It extends from Däqämḥare in Ǝggäla to Sänᶜafä. In the west, the ↗Märäb forms the natural border between A.G. and Säraye. (The grazing lands between the two have long been an object of contention between the neighbours, cp. Conti Rossini 1906.) In the north-west A.G. borders on Ḥamasen. In the south, the ↗Bäläsa forms the traditional border on ᶜAgamä. Throughout its history A.G. was mainly a highland area. However, several times it extended to the north as far as the sea. A.G. groups traditionally claimed the lowlands down to Zula Bay, but lost control of them later.

The territory of A.G. was important in the history of trade due to the caravan route, which ran from Zula Bay along the Ḥaddas valley to the highlands at ↗Ḥalay and ↗Dəgsa, often used by travellers of the 18th to 19th cent. Another route, the Kumayle valley, crosses A.G. further west and reaches the highlands near Sänᶜafe. The slopes of the highlands were traditionally inhabited by ↗Asaorta and Torᶜa, Sāho subgroups. Also the border area to the south (e.g., Sänᶜafe) is dominated by Sāho, who sometimes exacted customs from caravans passing through their territories further south.

Originally, the term A.G. designated a Təgrañña descent group. According to oral tradition, the A.G. descend from two apical brothers (or sometimes an uncle and a nephew), Akkälä and Guzay, sons of Č̣aluq̣ (s. Nadel 1944:111; ↗Däqqi Minab), who settled the A.G. highlands from Ḥamasen. In this tradition Šəmäzana appears as a name of a younger relative of Akkälä and Guzay (d'Abbadie notes in 1844 Šəmäzana as "son of Guzay", d'Abbadie 1890:149, 331). The original settlers (*əndabba*) of northern A.G. trace descent to the "six sons of Akkälä". Some areas near ↗Sägänäyti attribute their origin to other Däqqi Minab groups, such as the Märätta from Maluq̣, son of Meroni; while Ǝggäla might originate from ᶜAgamä. In the south most inhabitants of the A.G. relate themselves to the *Ḥammuštä Däqqi Guzay* ("five families of Guzay"). The different groups traditionally had their own leaders, some of them bearing the title *baḥri nägaś* since the 18th cent. (↗*Baḥr nägaś*; more on the genealogies s. Tronvoll). In addition, there are groups far to the south and to the north-west who claim their descent from A.G. For example, Ḥabab genealogies refer to Asgäde from A.G. as the ancestor of the *käntibay* family (Pollera 1935:192f.); and some Gurage groups trace their origin to A.G. in some distant past.

The history of A.G. as an administrative unit starts only in modern times (mid-19th cent.). In the 17th-18th cent. the province of ↗Bur, which used to cover the A.G. area as well as parts of ᶜAgamä, decayed, and the territory became divided into several smaller units under the authority of the *däggyat* (↗Ḥamasen; ↗Märäb Mällaš; ↗Däqqi Täššəm). A part of it even came under Ottoman suzerainty (↗Ṣänᶜadäglä).

The submission of A.G. territories under the ᶜAgamä lord *däğğazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu in the 1820s was only temporary. In a battle at the Bäläsa, however, the A.G. groups were defeated by *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḥaylä Maryam of Təgray. As a result, Akkälä Guzay and Šəmäzana had to pay annual tributes to the ruler of Təgray. Subsequently the province of A.G. emerged, unified under governors loyal to Təgray. For example, Gäbrä Mädḫən (who governed A.G. in the 1860s) was loyal to *däğğazmač* Täklä Giyorgis of Təgray. When in 1866 *wag šum* Gobäze Gäbrä Mädḫən (later *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II) took over the governorship, Gäbrä Mädḫən, with the help of his ally *däggazmač* ↗Ḥaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən of Ḥamasen, brought A.G. back into the loyalists' camp. In 1868 *däğğazmač* Kaśa, son of Ḥabbal Golğa, took over the governorship, rebelled successfully against *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis and was confirmed as the head of A.G. by Kaśa Mərč̣a of Təgray (future *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV). In the 1870s A.G. became a sub-province in Märäb

Mällaš, the realm of *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda, to become a province in its own right again in the 1880s, thus regaining its traditional autonomy.

Catholicism has a strong base in A.G. Due to Wəbe's alliance with the French Catholic mission, de ↗Jacobis could found a Catholic community in Sägänäyti, which later became the core of a vivid movement of conversion, starting in the 1860s (cp. O'Mahoney 1982-87). A number of villages in that area were partially or even completely converted (Sägänäyti, Ḥebo, Aḵrur, Dəgsa, Ḥalay).

In 1865 the French consul in Massawa suggested to Napoléon III that A.G. be prodaimed a French protectorate. In 1868 the governor of the Märäb Mällaš Wäldä Mikaʾel of Ḥamasen seems to have agreed (Wylde 1901:21), and in 1869 the A.G. Catholics refused to pay taxes to Ethiopia, claiming that they were French subjects (Rubenson 1976:278). In the 1870s, parts of A.G. submitted for a short time to the Egyptians. After the Ethiopian victory at ↗Guraᶜ, Oromo soldiers were settled in the area to protect the border.

When in August 1889 the Italians annexed Asmära, Manilak appointed *däǧǧazmač* Mäšäša Wärqe a governor over A.G. and Säraye to safeguard the new border. The latter, however, in conflict with the governor of Təgray *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs, collaborated with the Italians (GueCopMen 367f.). For a short period also prominent A.G. leaders co-operated, until the arbitrary treatment of the traditional leadership and land rights led to a number of rebellions (e.g. A.G.'s governor ↗Bahta Ḥagos). In 1898 A.G. became a province under the Italian colonial administration (*commissariato*). When the borders were realigned by the Italians, the province of A.G. was extended to Zula Bay (around 1903–31, then again in the time of Africa Orientale Italiana 1936–41, to incorporate the lowlands forming the *vice residenza* "Arafali"). Its administrative capital, during all this time, was ↗ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ. After the Italians had left, it had four sub-provinces (*nəʾus awraǧǧa*): Sägänäyti, Däqämḥare, ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ and Sänᶜafä. A.G. lost its status as a province only in 1995, when most of it became part of the new Dəbub zone.

Disputes between Təgrəñña and Sāho descent groups, mostly over land rights, have marked the history of many areas in A.G. E.g., the Hazəmo area (arid plains along the Marəb, which separates A.G. and Säraye, grazing ground for both Sāho pastoralists and farmers from Šəmäzana) was a scene of conflicts for a long time. The conflict between the Torᶜa (Sāho) and the Ṣänᶜadäglä even rose to some prominence in the 20th cent. (cp. KilHDic 408f.).

The relatively high number of A.G. customary law codes (as compared to her neighbours') reflects the complexity of origins of the population and the tendency towards local autonomy of the different descent groups. In the 1820s *däǧǧazmač* Säbagadis promoted a law book, which much later, in 1944, served as a basis for a law code for the whole Təgrəñña speaking A.G. (↗Adgəna Tägäläba).

Src.: HENRY SALT, *A Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of that Country*, London 1814, 239ff., Atlas; AUGUSTUS B. WYLDE, *Modern Ethiopia*, London 1901, 21; FERDINANDO MARTINI, *Il Diario Eritreo*, [Firenze 1947], vol. 4, 110, 124f., 290; GueCopMen 367f.
Lit.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Géographie de l'Éthiopie: ce que j'ai entendu, faisant suite à ce que j'ai vu*, Paris 1890, 149, 331; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Poemetto lirico tigrai per la battaglia di Addi Cheletò", in: CARL BEZOLD (ed.), *Orientalische Studien, Theodor Nöldecke zum 70. Geburtstag*, Gießen 1906; RUHLLO PERINI, *Di qua dal Marèb (Marèb-mellàsc)*, Firenze 1905, 75–92, 147–51; ALBERTO POLLERA, *Le popolazioni indigene dell'Eritrea*, Bologna 1935, 128ff., 192ff.; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, *Races and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1944, 109ff.; SVEN RUBENSON, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, London 1976, 278; KEVIN O'MAHONEY, *"The Ebullient Phoenix": a History of the Vicariate of Abyssinia*, 3 vols., Asmara 1982–91; KilHDic 58ff., 408f.; ErDizBio 124, 147; KJETIL TRONVOLL, *Mai Weini: a Highland Village in Eritrea. A Study of the People, their Livelihood, and Land Tenure During Times of Turbulence*, Lawrenceville – Asmara 1998, 48ff.

Wolbert Smidt

Archaeology of Akkälä Guzay

The province of A.G. in the highlands in central Eritrea is one of the richest regions in archaeological remains in the Horn of Africa. Archaeological remains include Middle and Late Stone Age sites, late prehistoric and historical sites, rock art and rock inscriptions.

Middle and Late Stone Age sites have been recorded in Tedrär: ↗May ᶜAyni, Loggo Särda and ↗Qoḥayto. Stone tools from these sites included both macrolithic tools of flint and microlithic tools of obsidian. Late prehistoric sites have been recorded along the Asmära–ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ road. These sites include settlements and cemetries, sometimes with stelae.

Historical sites occur in the regions of Sägänäyti, May ᶜAyni, ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ, Dərᶜā Qoḥayto,

↗Toḵonda, ↗Käskäse, Däričč̣en, Šəmäzana and near ↗Ḥam. These sites include both pre-Aksumite and ↗Aksumite settlements and cemeteries. Particularly relevant are the archaeological areas of Qoḥayto, Toḵonda, Käskäse and ↗Mäṭära.

Rock pictures have been recorded at many rock shelters in Tedrär, Loggo Särda, Degen, Däričč̣en, Märätta Säbänä, Aret, ᶜAddi Q̱äyyəḥ, Däqanamo, Zəban Mororo, Zəban Kutur, Qoḥayto, Abᶜa, Toḵonda, ↗Gʷənagʷəna (Mt. Edit) and Ḥam. These pictures include paintings or engravings of cattle and other animals in semi-naturalistic, schematic, "Ethio-Arabian" style, human figures in a schematic style and symbols.

Rock ↗inscriptions dating from the 9th cent. B.C. have been recorded at ᶜUngullä, Toḵonda, Kələttä ᶜAfa, Laʿlay ᶜAddi, Ruba Kodo, Zəban Mororo, Gobo Fənsəh, Däqanamo, Saro, Mt. Awalo, Daᶜru, ᶜAddi Alawti, Mäṭära, Edit, Dəbdəb, Fəqya and Bärä̱kit. They are mostly ↗Epigraphic South Arabian inscriptions, but also include inscriptions in unvocalized and vocalized ↗Gəᶜəz. These inscriptions in particular show the progressive development of the Ethiopic script from the South Arabian prototype.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, *Les anciens éthiopiens*, Paris 1990; DAE I-IV; GIULIO CALEGARI, "Presenza del Paleolitico Inferiore in Eritrea", *Archeologia Africana* (*Saggi occasionali*) 1, 1995, 23–28; ID., *L'arte rupestre dell'Eritrea: repertorio ragionato ed esegesi iconografica*, Milano 1999; GIOTTO DAINELLI – OLINTO MARINELLI, *Risultati scientifici di un viaggio nella Colonia Eritrea*, Firenze 1912; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, *Inscriptions de l'Ethiopie antique*, Leiden 1962; VITTORIO FRANCHINI, "Stazioni litiche in Eritrea", *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Studi Etiopici* 1, 1953, 25–30; ID., "Un' 'officina' preistorica a Monte Jaluà", *ibid.* 2, 1957, 47; ID., "La stazione litica all'aperto di Mehrad Tièl," *JES* 9, 1, 1971, 27–34; ERIC GODET, "Répertoire des sites préaxoumites et axoumites d'Ethiopie du Nord. IIème partie: Erythrée", *Abbay* 11, 1980–82, 73–113; PAOLO GRAZIOSI, "New Discoveries of Rock Paintings in Ethiopia I–II", *Antiquity* 38, 1964, 91–98, 187–90; MINISTERO DELLE COLONIE (ed.), *Elenco degli edifici monumentali* (*LXX*): *Tripolitania – Cirenaica – Marmarica – Eritrea – Somalia*, Roma 1912, 89; RIE; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Iscrizioni rupestri dell'Eritrea I", *RSE* 15, 1959 [print. 1960], 55–95; ID., "Iscrizioni rupestri dell'Eritrea II", *ibid.* 16, 1960, 77–119; BERNARDINO TRUCCA, "Il culto delle pietre ritte (ansâb) in terra etiopica", *QSE* 1, 1980, 66–78, here 73; GIUSEPPE TRINGALI, "Elenco commentato dei reperti archeologici custoditi nel museo del Collegio 'La Salle' in Asmara", *ibid.* 6–7, 1985–86, 143–57.

Rodolfo Fattovich

Akkiččʷu ↗ Baarentuu

Akkonu bəʾəsi

A. (**አኮኑ፡ ብእሲ**, Gəᶜəz 'was he not a man?') is a hymnographical composition addressed to ↗Mary the Mother of God. It is linked directly to the *Mirades of Mary* (↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*), which in glorifying the Virgin illustrates the highlights. Each one of the 34 stanzas comments on a miracle of Mary taken from the series of 33 miracles (the oldest), except for the first (intended as the introduction), 33rd (general praise) and 34th (which relates to a miracle accomplished at the monastery of Kalamun on behalf of an angel who had disobeyed God). The stanzas are made up of two parts: the two or three first verses evoke the Marian miracle, while the final verses each time ask for a favour (most often linked to the miracle being celebrated).

It seems that the reading of each of the narratives of the *Täʾammərä Maryam* concluded with a short hymn in the form of a rhyming stanza, which summarized what had just been read and, at the same time, ended with a wish or a prayer (↗*ᶜArke*). These short hymns would have formed afterwards an autonomous anthology, which was recognized as such, the A. This phenomenon is parallel to the practice of concluding the life of the saints read in the *Sənkəssar* with a ↗*sälam*, which is added even to non-Ethiopian saints. In this latter case, however, there was no formation of a distinct anthology.

The oldest ms. known by Adolf Grohmann (1919:322) dates from 1626. It is thought that the composition of these poems must go back to the beginnings of the use of the *Täʾammərä Maryam* as a liturgical book, a short time after its translation into Gəᶜəz, towards the middle of the 15th cent. This era, which witnessed a flourishing of Marian hymns, followed on from the development of her cult.

The liturgical use of the A. is not fixed. Some churches and monasteries schedule it for Holy Week (↗Calendar), and also during the fast of the Assumption (↗*Fəlsäta*), where it is sung after the ↗*Säbḥatä fəqur*, before the celebration of the mass (↗*Qəddase*), which occurs at the beginning of the afternoon. This is especially the case of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Dəmaḥ; elsewhere, it is recited at other times. In contemporary use, the singing of the A. no longer requires the reading of the *Täʾammərä Maryam*. On the contrary, it seems rather to be substituted for them.

Src.: ADOLF GROHMANN (ed.), *Äthiopische Marienhymnen*, Leipzig 1919 (Abhandlungen der philologisch-

historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 33, 4), 322–82.

Lit.: GENEVIÈVE NOLLET, "Le culte de Marie en Éthiopie", in: HUBERT DU MANOIR (ed.), *Maria: études sur la Sainte Vierge*, Paris 1949, vol. 1, 403f.

Habtemichael Kidane

Aklilä Wärq Gäbrä Ǝsṭifanos

Aläqa A.W. (**አክሊለ፡ ወርቅ፡ ገብረ፡ እስጢፋኖስ**, b. 1850, d. August 1914), church scholar, a nephew of *liqe* Märᶜawi, the famous legal counsellor of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, was born and brought up at Qəsännät Ǝsṭifanos, Farṭa (Däbrä Tabor), where he received his education under his unde and other church scholars. He further studied *qəne* poetry and *zema* in Gondär, where he also subsequently served. It was while he taught here that the ↗Mahdists burnt Gondär and took him to the Sudan as a captive in 1888. He was so active and so shrewd that the Mahdists allegedly appointed him head of the captives. His relationship was such that he was eventually able to negotiate his freedom as well as that of some of the captives whom he subsequently led back to Gondär.

A.W. was renowned not only for his composition of *qəne*, some of which have survived, but also for the profundity of his knowledge of Amharic poetry and sarcasm, as well as for his nimble wit. He lived for some time in the court of *aṣe* Mənilək II, though he apparently held no significant office. He resented his treatment by the court officials as a migrant and returned to Gondär to serve at the Bäʾata church, where he stayed till his death.

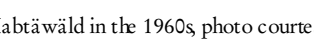
Src.: ADMASU ĞÄMBÄRE (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ፡ ዝክረ፡ ሊቃውንት** (*Mäṣḥafä qəne zəkrä liqawənt*, 'The Book of *Qəne* – the Heritage of Scholars'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M [1970/71 A.D.], 126f.; interviews with *mämhər* Asayyähəñ and other elders of Gondär in 1973.

Bairu Tafla

Aklilu Habtäwäld

Ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz A.H. (**አክሊሉ፡ ሀብተ፡ወልድ**, b. 12 March 1912, Adda, Šäwa, d. 24 November 1974, Addis Abäba) was a prominent statesman for over three decades in *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase's government.

A.H. was the youngest son of a poor family of religious functionaries. His father *aläqa* Habtäwäld Habtənäh, a clergyman of Qəddus Raguʾel church in Addis Abäba, and his mother *wäyzäro* Yädägdəgu Fəlfəlu were both originally from ↗Bulga. A.H., after studying in a traditional church school, attended Mənilək II School in Addis Abäba for three years. In 1925 he was sent by *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən to the French Lycée in Alexandria, Egypt, to pursue his education, where he graduated successfully in 1931. From there he proceeded to Paris and entered the Sorbonne University for higher studies. Having completed his studies (1931–36) he obtained a Licence en Droit (LLB) and, subsequently, a Diplôme de Doctorat en Droit Public and a Diplôme de Doctorat en Economie, a Certificat d'Etudes Supérieures Commerciales and a Certificate in Political Science. While studying in France he married V. Colette.



Aklilu Habtäwäld in the 1960s, photo courtesy of the family

A.H.'s political and diplomatic career was outstanding. He started his career as Press Attaché in 1936 and was promoted successively to Secretary and *chargé d'affaires* of the Ethiopian Legation in Paris. He remained in Europe during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia (1936–41). On his return from exile in 1941, he served for two years in the Ministry of the Pen as Vice-Minister. Thereafter, he was appointed to head the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he served from October 1943 to November 1957 (the first six years with the rank of Vice-Minister and the rest as full Minister). In November 1957 he was given the honorific title of ↗*blatten geta* and appointed as Deputy Prime Minister, while retaining the portfolio of the Minister of Foreign

Affairs. On 17 April 1961 he was appointed Prime Minister and the Minister of the Pen with the highest traditional title of ↗*ṣähafe təʾəzaz*. It was in 1966, during his terms of office, that the power of the Prime Minister was elevated, at least juridically, to the level of Head of Government.

He took the leading role in all of the more important diplomatic negotiations: the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement of 1944 (by which the sovereignty of Ethiopia was recognized by Great Britain), the 1947 Agreement on the border with Kenya (↗Boundaries), the 1954 Agreement for the withdrawal of British forces from the Reserved Zones of ↗Ogaden, the Franco-Ethiopian Agreement of 1954 on the boundary around the area of Lake Afambo and the 1959 Agreement on the railway line, as well as the return of Gambella (↗Treaties).

A.H. was also instrumental in Ethiopia's participation in the San Francisco Conference held in 1945 to establish the ↗United Nations Organisation, and the Paris Peace Conference in 1946, in both of which Ethiopia was invited to participate. At the San Francisco Conference A.H. played an active part in the formation of the United Nations and the framing of its Charter, which he signed on 26 June 1945 on behalf of Ethiopia, one of the founding member states. At the Paris Peace Conference he presented the Ethiopian territorial claim on Eritrea and Somalia and the question of reparations, war crimes, Italian property in Ethiopia and national archives and treasures taken by Italians from Ethiopia. The Peace Conference, while deciding on many of the issues raised, authorized the Big Four (the United States, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union) to resolve Ethiopia's territorial claim, with a proviso that if they did not solve the issue within one year, the matter be taken to the United Nations. Consequently, A.H. defended the Ethiopian case in the sessions of the Big Four held in London in 1947, at the Inquiry Commission sent to Eritrea by the Big Four in the same year, the United Nations Assembly in Paris and New York (1948–50) and the United Nations Commission for Eritrea (1951–52), led by ↗Anze Matienzo. Due to these efforts the United Nations finally agreed on a compromise formula that Eritrea be federated with Ethiopia. The federal arrangement, which was effected in September 1952, was dissolved in November 1962 by an overwhelming vote of the Eritrean National Assembly (*bayto*) and the approval of the Emperor. Eritrea then became one of the governorates-general of Ethiopia. A.H. was one of those who were not supportive of the move for dissolution of the federation. However, in the second half of the 1960s, when his chief rival in Ethiopian politics, *ras* ↗ʿAśratä Kaśa, was the governor of Eritrea, A.H. supported a heavy-handed line against the local separatists.

As a member of the Committee of Five on the Suez Canal crisis, A.H. rendered commendable diplomatic service in London and Cairo in 1956. He also played a major role in the preparation of the Charter of the ↗Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the establishment of the organization on 25 May 1963. At the Cairo Summit of Heads of States and Governments of Africa in August 1964, he proposed Addis Abäba as the seat of the headquarters of the organization, which was accepted with a warm applause. As a leading figure in the OAU A.H. was strongly behind the Emperor's emphasis in the 1960s on African diplomatic affairs. As a member of the Commission on Constitutional Revision A.H. took an active part in the drafting of the 1955 Revised Constitution of Ethiopia. In 1961 he submitted to the Emperor radical proposals, which included constitutional, judicial and land reforms and the enactment of liberal laws on local administration, the civil service, pensions, employer and employee relations, etc. Some of his reform initiatives materialized while he was in office. A.H. was an unassertive and honest statesman (his manner of handling state affairs was more of the "European" than Ethiopian approach). His knowledge of internal intrigues manipulated by different groups and his direct contact with the people were very limited. He had very little standing either with the military or with the Governors, as their allegiance was to the Emperor.

Due to political pressures and revolt of the military A.H. resigned on 27 February 1974 with members of his cabinet. He was held as a political prisoner on 26 April 1974. While he was under detention he was summoned by the Commission of Inquiry to defend himself when he presented on 17 September 1974 a written report recounting what he did for the country. He was executed by the *Därg* without trial on 24 November 1974 along with 59 other civil and military high officials of Ḫaylä Śəllase's Government, seven line officers and a private.

Lit.: CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Haile Selassie's Government*, London 1969, 193; ID., "Aklilu Habtäwäld", in: *EncAfr* I, 47f.; JOHN HATHAWAY SPENCER, *Ethiopia at Bay: a Personal Account of the Haile Selassie Years*, Algonac, Michigan 1984, 80, 117, 122; ABÄRRA ĞÄMBÄRE, **የአበር፡ በቱ፡ አበሳ፡ በታላቁ፡ ቤተመንግሥት** (*Yä'əsər betu abäsa bätallaqu betämängəśt*, 'The Agony in the Grand Palace'), Addis Abäba 1985 A.M. [1992/93 A.D.], 107–35; GETACHEW TEDLA (ed., tr.), *Aklilu Remembers: Historical Recollection from a Prison Cell*, Uppsala 1994; HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Struggle over Eritrea, 1962–1978*, Stanford 1983.

Aberra Jembere

Aklilu Lämma

A.L. (**አክሊሉ፡ ለማ**, b. 18 September 1935, d. 5 April 1997) was a distinguished scientist, born in the town of Ğiğğiga, currently the chief administrative town of the Somali Region of Ethiopia. He was educated in Addis Ababa University College (↗Addis Ababa University) and in the United States, where he obtained his D.Sc. in 1964. His dissertation was on sandfly-borne leishmaniasis. He then returned to Ethiopia, where he was given a position at the then Ḫaylä Śəllase I University. He founded the Institute of Pathobiology and taught there until 1976, when he left it for a job in the United Nations. He served the UN in many capacities as a scientist and finally obtained a position in his alma mater, the Johns Hopkins University.

He made his most important scientific discovery very early in his career, in 1964. He found out that the plant ↗*əndod* had properties of a molluscicide and a detergent. It kills snails, which are responsible for the spread of schistosomiasis ("snail fever disease"), otherwise known as bilharzia. This discovery made the plant an object of scientific research in many parts of the world. A.L. himself was in the forefront of this research. His work acquired an international reputation, which in turn led to various awards, including honorary doctorate degrees. The most prestigious award was the one he won together with his research associate, Dr. Läggäsä Wäldä Yoḥannəs in November 1989 – the Right Livelihood Award of Sweden, commonly referred to as the Alternative Nobel Prize.

He died in the United States and was buried in Ethiopia, on 13 April 1997.

Src.: *Aklilu Lemma International Memorial Symposium Proceedings – September 18–19, 1997*, Addis Ababa n.d.

Shiferaw Bekele

Aḳrur

A. (**አኾሩር**, 15°06'N, 39°14'E, 1,871 m A.S.L.) is a Ṣänᶜadäglä settlement at the foot of Säraᶜit mountain. Founded by the ↗Bet Asgäde, it is one of the earliest centres of Catholic Lazarist missionary activity in Eritrea. The church has several 15th–16th cent. mss. A partially steep pathway connects it with Sägänäyti in the west.

Together with the surrounding villages of Ḥebo in the east, ᶜAddi Finiᶜ and ᶜAddi Qʷänṣi, it was the nucleus of ↗Catholicism in Akkälä Guzay. Already when "apostle" Justin de ↗Jacobis blessed the foundation of a new church in A. in 1852, the people of A. showed sympathy to Catholicism. When in October 1865 many suffered from cholera, the missionary ↗Delmonte arrived to prevent skirmishes with Sägänäyti following cattle-stealing. He was successful in arbitrating peace, and simultaneously the epidemic ceased. This led to a mass conversion of the inhabitants of A., followed by similar demands from nearby villages like ↗Dəgsa in 1866.

This church was burnt down together with the village in late 1871 by the army of Kaśa Marḳa (the later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV), when he subsequently raided the Catholic border areas after his decisive battle with *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis near ᶜAdwa in July. Later, the good relationship of Fr. Adeodato Duflos in A., "the apostle of Akkälä Guzay" in Catholic tradition, with the new Emperor secured the villages from further persecutions. But in the 1880s *ras* ↗Alula Ənggəda restricted missionary activities to A. and its surroundings and to Muslim areas.

Src.: interview with Gäbräzgi Adḥanom, 2001; *Guida* 288.
Lit.: [JEAN-BAPTISTE COULBEAUX], "Abyssinie", *Les Missions catholiques* 158, 14 June 1872, 395; KEVIN O'MAHONEY, "*The Ebullient Phoenix*": *a History of the Vicariate of Abyssinia*, 3 vols., Asmara 1982–91, vol. 1, 111f., vol. 2, 34, 132, 220ff.; JOHANNES AXEL KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega. Traduction française*, Uppsala 1915, 13 (Archives d'études orientales 5:2); SILVIO ZANUTTO, *Bibliografia Etiopica, in continuazione alla "Bibliografia etiopica" di G. Fumagalli*, vol. 2, Roma 1932, 139.

Wolbert Smidt

Aksimaros

A. (**አክሲማሮስ**, Arab. Aksīmāris, from Gr. **ἑξαήμερος**, 'six days') is an elaborated and enlarged paraphrase of God's creation of the world up to Adam and Eve's expulsion from Paradise, ascribed to Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 403). Before the creation of light, God created the four elements, three heavens and the angels. The report of the third day also comprises an explanation of Christ's being the Messiah. The report of the fourth day gives the history of Satan's fall. Adam and Eve's sin is dated on the sixth day.

The A. is a very literal translation of an Arabic original preserved in a couple of manuscripts, the *Aksīmāris* (Graf 1944:201ff.). Guidi (GuiSLett 69) dated the translation tentatively to the period of *aṣe* ↗Zär'a Ya'ǝqob. The attribution to Epiphanius of Salamis is probably due to the fact that Epiphanius's work *De mensuris et ponderibus* contains a small **ἑξαήμερος** that is also transmitted separately. The Arabic *Aksīmāris* is the first part of *The History of Adam and Eve and what happened to them after the expulsion from Paradise and of their stay in the Cave of Treasures*, the *Gädlä ↗Addam* in Ethiopic translation. The connection between the A. and the *Gädlä Addam* is retained in some of the Ethiopian manuscripts. Both A. and the *Gädlä Addam* are largely based on the Syriac *M'arraṯ gazzē* ('Cave of Treasures'; Götze 1924:56–91). The A. should not be confused with the work ↗*Ṭǝntä haymanot* ('The Beginning of Faith'), which also treats God's creation of the world and the history of Adam, Eve, Cain and Abel, and is attributed to Epiphanius as well.

Mss. of the A. are: London, BritLib Orient. 751, II; Paris, BN Eth. d'Abbadie 125, 3 (fol. 85–98); Paris, BN Eth. 175; Paris, Collection É. Delorme (now dispersed), no. 5; Jerusalem, Ethiopian Archbishopric 100 (JE 698E); EMML 3979, 2 (late, careless copy). Noteworthy is an anonymous commentary on the A. (BN Eth. d'Abbadie 67, 4, fol. 102–37).

The edition of Trumpp, based only on the London ms., is rather poor (cf. Dillmann 1882; Haffner 1923). Grébaut's partial edition (1913) is also based on only one manuscript, so a complete re-edition is desirable.

Src.: WrBriMus 211ff., no. 320 [Orient. 751], ii; ChAbb 47, ms. d'Abbadie 67, 4; 80, ms. d'Abbadie 125, 3; EMML vol. IX, 264, no. 3979; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Les manuscrits éthiopiens de M. E. Delorme", *ROC* 19, 1914, 347–57; ID., *ibid.* 20, 1915–17, 82–91; ID., *ibid.* 21, 1918–19, 137–47; ID., "Le sixième jour de l'hexaméron d'Épiphane de Chypre", *ROC* 18, 1913, 432–41; EPHRAIM ISAAC, "Shelf List of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Monasteries of the Ethiopian Patriarchate of Jerusalem", *RSE* 30, 1987, 53–80, s. 78, ms. Ethiopian Archbishopric 100 [= JE 698E]; ERNST TRUMPP (ed.), *Das Hexaëmeron des Pseudo-Epiphanius. Aethiopischer Text verglichen mit dem arabischen Originaltext und deutscher Übersetzung*, München 1882 (Abhandlungen der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, I. Cl., XVI., II. Abth.).
Lit.: AUGUST DILLMANN, [Review of TRUMPP 1882], *Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland*, 1882, 1689ff.; AUGUST HAFFNER, "Das Hexaëmeron des Pseudo-Epiphanius", *OrChr* neue Ser. 10–11, 1923, 91–145; ALBRECHT GÖTZE, "Die Nachwirkung der Schatzhöhle", *ZSem* 2, 1924, 51–94, and 3, 1925, 153–77; GEORG GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1: *Die Übersetzungen*, Città del Vaticano 1944, 201ff.; GuiSLet 69.

Stefan Weninger

Aksum

History of the town and Empire

The town of A. (**አክሱም**, 14°7'8"N, 38°43'46"E) in Təgray, once capital of a substantial eponymous empire, became in later times a "holy city" surrounding its church of Maryam Ṣǝyon (↗Aksum Ṣǝyon). At an even later stage, after several sackings, it declined to village status and today remains modest in size, not even ranking as a regional centre. However, by reason of its long and important history and its monuments, it is now a major tourism destination.

Very little is known about the earliest centuries of A.'s (inferred) development from a modest regional centre to a major power. Stone Age material has been recovered nearby at ↗Gobǝdra (Gobo Dəra). The excavations directed by R. Fattovich on *amba* ↗Betä Giyorgis above A. confirm the pre-Aksumite origin of a settlement at A., from ca. 7th–4th cent. B.C. The excavations in the Stele Park in the centre of A. confirm activity there right from the beginning of our era.

By the late 1st cent. A.D. the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* mentions *basileus* (king) ↗Zoskales, who ruled an area of highland and coastal Ethiopia, "from the Moskhophagi to the other Barbaria" (Huntingford 1980:21). The chief city is called the *metropolis* of the Aksumites. King Zoskales, it is said, was a man greedy for gain, but well-versed in Greek literature. There is also a brief note in ↗Ptolemy's *Geography* that the royal palace was at A.

Aksumite dominance over ↗Adulis permitted exchange of Ethiopian goods for foreign imports. Pliny and the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* both mention this port, a three-day journey away from the first ivory market at ↗Coloë, itself five days distant from A. This Red Sea commerce, embracing the region from the Roman Empire in the north to India and Ceylon to the east, allowed Aksum to prosper, exporting ivory, tortoiseshell and rhinoceros horn. Pliny noted these goods as well, adding hippopotamus hide, monkeys and slaves.

Around 200 A.D., Aksumite ambitions had expanded to Southern ↗Arabia, where A. seems to have established itself in al-Maʿāfir and to have fought wars with Sabaʾ and ↗Ḥimyar at different times, with different combinations of alliance with the chief kingdoms and tribes. The kings ↗GDRT and ʿḎBḤ in the earlier part of the 3nd cent. sent military expeditions there. The local Arabian dynasties' inscriptions refer to these rulers by the title "*nağāšī* of Aksum and Ḥabašāt", and a metal object found in Təgray also names a certain "GDR *nəguś* of Aksum". Later in the century, the *mlky ḥbśt dtwns wzqrns* ('kings of Ḥabašāt DTWNS and ZQRNS') are mentioned, also fighting in Arabia. These kings, and ↗Sembrouthes, the "great king", known from a Greek inscription from Eritrea and perhaps the king who wrote the text recorded by ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes from a stone throne at Adulis (the ↗Monumentum Adulitanum), evidently contributed to an important increase in Aksum's power.

The peoples with whom the king of the Monumentum Adulitanum fought were Gaze, Agame (↗ʿAgamä), Siguene, Aua, Singabene, Aggabe, Tiama, Agathous, Kalaa, Samene, Lasine, Zaa, Gabala, Atalmo, Beja (↗Beğa), Taggaiton, Annine, Metine, Sesea, Rauso and Solate in Africa, and over the Erythraean Sea, the Arabitas and Kinaidokolpitas. From the African section, in which the terrain is sometimes described (the snows of Səmen, the hot plains of the east, the incense lands), we gain some idea of the territorial expansion of A. Overseas, the unnamed king campaigned "from Leuke Kome to the land of the Sabaeans" (Munro-Hay 1991:22)

By the late 3rd cent. A.D., A. was listed by the prophet Mani in the *Kephalaia*, with Rome, Persia and Sileos, as one of the four kingdoms of the world, indicating that its name was becoming widely known. King ↗ʿEzana — the first Christian king of A. — employed the titles "King of A., Ḥimyar, Raydān, Ḥabašat, Sabaʾ, Sälḥen, Ṣəyamo, Kasu and the Bega tribes, king of kings" (DAE IV, no. 6), confirming the wide spread of A.'s influence in Africa and over the Red Sea into Arabia. Ṣəyamo/Ṭiyamo is perhaps the same as the old ↗DʿMT (Daʿəmat) polity, to which A. in a measure succeeded as the paramount political power on the highlands. So far, it seems as if there were relatively few aspects of continuity between A. and its DʿMT predecessor centred not too far away at ↗Yəḥa, though the Gəʿəz script is a cursive version of the Daʿəmat monumental script and the disk and crescent symbol as a sign for divinity also survived.

As the political power of the city expanded, so also did the monuments of A. increase in size and splendour. Several archaeological expeditions have excavated certain areas of the city. An early use of ↗stelae, or obelisks used as grave-markers, is attested and these gradually developed to include some of the world's largest monuments. The granite stelae in the main cemetery, where are also the Aksumite royal tombs, and the several other cemeteries around

the town, were at first plain and rough, then plain but of carefully dressed granite, then finally carved to imitate multi-storey towers built in a characteristic architectural form. Massive dressed granite blocks, smaller uncut stones as walling, fixed with mud mortar, bricks used for vaulting and arches, and a wooden framework visible externally as round "monkey-heads" or square corner extrusions are characteristic of this Aksumite ↗architecture. Walls tend to shelve inwards as they rise and are usually built with several recessed bays to add strength. Substantial "palace" buildings are known at A. and other cities (Adulis, ↗Mäṭära), employing this same architectural style.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, visiting A. in the second decade of the 6th cent., wrote of the four-towered palace of the king of Ethiopia, where he saw bronze statues of unicorns. There were also rows of monumental granite thrones in A., which seem to have borne metal statues dedicated to pre-Christian deities like ↗ʿAstär, ↗Baḥer, ↗Madr and ↗Maḥrəm, and to have incorporated at the sides and back large panels bearing inscriptions. Some of these inscriptions, apparently of Ousanas, ʿEzana, ↗Kaleb and his son Waʿzeb, have been found. They chronicle the wars of these kings and seem to have constituted victory monuments. In one inscription it is stated that ʿEzana set up a throne "here in Śädo" (DAE IV, no. 10), doubtless the name of a place in A. A large reservoir, now called May Šum, situated below the hill called May Qoḥo, may date back to Aksumite times; the city must have possessed a reliable water supply to have remained a capital for so long. We can postulate a rich agricultural neighbourhood (wheat is pictured prominently on Aksumite coins), large supplies of cattle and other animals, and enough local forest to supply firewood over many centuries. Metalworking, glassware, pottery and other local industries are attested at A., to add to the Aksumites' splendid achievements in architecture and stone-working. Ivory and leather-working may also have been among the local products. Examples of all this have been found in Aksumite tombs.

The chronological order of the kings of A. is known (approximately) from study of their ↗coinage. The pre-Christian kings ↗Endubis, ↗Afilas, Ouazebas, Ousanas and ʿEzana issued coins of gold, silver and copper. ʿEzana's coins and inscriptions make the change from pre-Christian imagery to Christian symbolism around 340 A.D., and after that a list of Christian kings names is supplied by the coinage: Ouazebas, MḤDYS, Eon, Ebana, Nezana and Nezool, Ousas (who may be the same as Ousanas). Nothing else is known about them.

But Kaleb (ƎllägAṣbəḥa), king and saint, became famous in his own time as the conqueror of the Yemen, adding to his titles ↗Ḥaḍramawt in south-eastern Yemen, and the coastal plain and highland of Yemen with "all their Arabs" (Munro-Hay 1991:230). A. may have lost much of its influence in the Yemen in the intervening centuries, but an inscription alluding to Kaleb's rival King ↗Yūsuf Asʾār Yaṭʾar of Ḥimyar mentions a campaign against the Ḥabaš in Ẓafār [the capital city of Ḥimyar], where the church was destroyed. This certainly sounds as though A. had retained some sort of presence even at the Ḥimyarite capital, including a church to worship in the Jewish king's own capital. The Aksumites installed an Arab viceroy, Sumyafaʿ Ašwaʿ, but after five years he was overthrown in a coup led by an Aksumite, ↗Abraha, whose family ruled the Yemen until about 570. According to Procopius, after Aksum's failure to eject him, Abraha ruled the Yemen under a tribute arrangement with the king of A.

After Kaleb, as before him, we know only of WʿZB (from an inscription which calls him "son of ƎllägAṣbəḥa") and the list of the kings' names from the coins, even the exact order being uncertain. Alla Amidas (↗ƎllägʿAmida), Wazena, ↗Ellä Gäbäz, ↗Ioel, Ḥataz, ↗Ǝsraʾel, ↗Gersem and ↗Armaḥ are the last of the coin-issuing kings of A. On most of their coins are mottoes, mentioning Christ or good wishes for the people or the country. The kings always refer to themselves as "king of the Aksumites", or "king of A.", though King ʿEzana, in the text of an inscription (DAE IV, nos. 4, 6, 7), uses "Ethiopia" in Greek (↗Aithiopía) to translate the Gəʿəz word Ḥabäša (↗Abyssinia).

A.'s trade in the Red Sea may have suffered first from the Persian conquests in Egypt and Syria and then in the Yemen, and then again, and permanently, around 640 with the new expansion of the Muslim empire. Trade with the Roman/Byzantine world ceased when the eastern Roman provinces were seized by the Arabs and, as a consequence, A. grew poorer and more isolated. It ceased to be the political capital of the Christian Ethiopian kings at an uncertain time,

Aksum in 1906, photo taken by the Deutsche Aksum Expedition (Littmann Nachlaß K 99 IV 600, Berliner Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin)

perhaps not long after the foundation of the Muslim state.

An inscription, carved on an Aksumite throne base, may supply a hint of what happened to A. It was written by a certain *haśani* ↗Danəʾel and mentions that he reduced the king of A. to the status of a tributary to his own kingdom. It may be expected, too, that the area around A. became ecologically damaged as the demands for more and more foodstuffs and firewood continued. The area around the town may have become incapable of supporting the population of a major political centre.

Summarizing the data from different sources (Aksumite coins, South-Arabian and Ethiopian inscriptions, some Greek texts), a tentative list of historical Aksumite rulers can be compiled. Arranged chronologically, they appear as in the following sequence: for the 1st cent. A.D.: Zoskales (s. above); the 3rd cent.: Gädär (one inscription, RIE 180), ʿDBH (Ja 576, s. Jamme 1962), DTWNS and ZQRNS (s. Robin 1981), Sembrouthes (Greek inscription from ↗Däqämḥare, RIE 275), Endubis (coins); the 3th–4th cent.: Afilas (coins); the 4th cent.: Wazeba (coins), Ousanas (coins), ʿEzana, son of Tazena (coins, inscriptions, Greek sources), Ouazebas (coins), MḤDYS (coins); the 4th–5th cent.: Eon (coins); the 5th cent.: Ebana, Nezana, Nezool (all known by coins); the 5th–6th cent.: Ousas (perhaps also Ousana, Ousanas; coins); the 6th cent.: Kaleb (Ǝllä Aṣbaḥa), son of Ǝllä ʿAmida (coins, inscriptions, Greek sources); WʿZB (one inscription, RIE 192). The rest attested by coins only: Alla Amidas (Ǝllä ʿAmida), Wazena, Ǝllä Gäbäz, Ioel, Ḥataz [Iathlia]; Ǝsraʾel; the 6th–7th cent.: Gersem; the 7th cent.: Armaḥ.

It may be expected, though it is not certain, that from ʿEzana's time there was an important church in A. Aksum Ṣəyon church still remains, though subjected to many rebuildings, one of the most important churches in Ethiopia, and thanks to this the city retained a certain aura even after the loss of its pre-eminent position as the seat of the kings and the government. The church was restored by *aṣe* ↗Dawit II in 1406 and by the

time of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, its dedication to Maryam Ṣəyon is attested. It was said to contain an important sacred object, identified variously as the Tablets of Moses or the ↗Ark of the Covenant. Zärʾa Yaʿəqob was crowned there (1436) and remained in residence in A. for three years. A few other kings in later times also came to be crowned at A., a ceremony involving a curious ritual of cutting a cord held by the "daughters of A.", so that the king might become "king of Zion": the kings crowned there were Śärṣä Dəngəl (1580), Susənyos (1608), Iyasu I (1693) and Yoḥannəs IV in the late 19th cent. They used the old Aksumite stone thrones as coronation chairs (the "coronation" was in fact an anointing and tonsuring ritual) and heard mass in the church. At a place called Məʿraf in A., where part of the ceremony took place, stood a so-called trilingual inscription of King ʿEzana.

A. came to have the status of a sanctuary town. It was administered by an official called the ↗*nəburä əd*, an office that assumed very high consequence after *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl adopted it personally. High privileges were accorded to the *nəburä əd*. He could remain seated in a court of justice and could drink the royal mead seated on a carpet in the king's presence. The office was sometimes linked with that of governor of Təgray (↗*Təgre makʷännən*). The first known *nəburä əd* is Täkäśtä Bərhan, named in a (copy of a) land grant of *aṣe* Yəkunno Amlak, so the office may not have been extant in Aksumite or ↗Zagʷe times.

A set of Gəʿəz documents, comprising a brief legendary history of A., land charters and other material, called the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum*, is sometimes found bound in manuscript books with the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* and other works. This offers many details about the church property and the later history of the town. An alternative "history" of the origins of the town was collected by Enno ↗Littmann from an old Aksumite priest: "Kam begat Kush; Kush begat Äthyopis, and after his name Ethiopia is known until today … Äthyopis begat ʾAksūmāwī; ʾAksūmāwī begat Malakyā ʾAksūm. And he begat Sūm, Nafās, Bagīʿō, Kūdūkī, ʿAkhōrō, Farhebā. These six [grand] sons of ʾAksūmāwī were the Fathers of Aksum …" (DAE I, 38). Oddly, since it seems to have been a *nəburä əd* of A., Yəsḥaq, who wrote the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, and since in later times it became recognized that A. was the place where the Ark of the Covenant resided (the story of its coming is a main theme of the *Kəbrä nägäśt*), A. is never mentioned in the book. Instead, the "city of the kingdom" is called Däbrä Makədda.

A. was several times sacked and burned. In 1535 ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's troops burned it, destroying the church that Alvares had described. In 1611 an ↗Oromo incursion resulted in the burning of A. and the restored church Śärṣä Dəngəl had built. In 1655 Princess Yodit, daughter of *aṣe* Fäsilädäs, came to the dedication of the church after its restoration, and in 1678 ↗Färis, governor of Säläwa, again burned A. The church was restored again in 1749–50 by *aṣe* Iyasu II.

There have been a number of visitors who in the past have described A. Alessandro Zorzi recorded the remarks of the "Franciscan" Brother Thomas of Ganget: A. was "one of the greatest cities in those provinces, and another and greater Rome for grandeur and splendid buildings, ancient and wondrous; and that there are columns as great as the campanile of San Marco in Venice, with great arches also and worked stones with great Chaldean letters that few can read" (CrawItin 189ff.). Francisco ↗Alvares spent eight months in "Aquaxumo" in the 1520s and described the church of Maryam Ṣəyon, the stelae, the thrones and other structures. He thought the town had been the residence of the Queen of Saba, ↗Makədda, as well as ↗Candace and Gudit (↗Ǝsato).

Manoel de ↗Almeida confirmed the extent of the ruin that befell A. in the 16th cent., commenting that it then had only about 100 inhabitants. Pedro Paes around 1620 saw in "Agçum" only about 150–200 mud houses, and Manoel Barradas wrote that he could call "Acçum" no more than a village. Poncet visited A. (which he called "Heleni") in 1700, describing the stelae and the church. Yohannes Tovmacean also went there (he called it "Saba") and recorded his impressions of the stelae and a palace, seemingly the so-called Tombs of Kaleb and Gäbrä Mäsqäl just outside the town. James Bruce also left some rather imaginative descriptions of the old town, which in his time consisted, he estimated, of about 600 houses. He believed A. to have been mainly the work of the Ptolemies, crediting most of the monuments to Ptolemy Euergetes.

Henry ↗Salt published the first plan of the town in 1809 (Mountnorris 1810, vol. 3). It shows the following features: the church compound with

Aksum with the old and the new Aksum Ṣəyon cathedrals, 1997, photo courtesy of Matthew Curtis

the church, steps, throne pedestals and gate-house; a small running stream (the May Ḥəğğa) leading from a tank or reservoir (May Šum) between a North Hill and an East Hill (Betä Giyorgis and May Qoḥo). The central and south-eastern groups of stelae are shown and the ʿEzana inscription with three thrones, another five being indicated beside some rocks described as resembling a wall (at Məḥṣab Däğğazmač Wäldä Gäbrəʾel). Further east "Abba Lucanes" (Abba Liqanos) and Abba Ṗänṭälewon are indicated, the latter on a hill called "Mantilles". Other features are the "catacomb of Calam Negus", the "tombs" of Kaleb and Gäbrä Mäsqäl and some "remarkable stones seen by Mr. Salt" three furlongs south-west of the largest standing stele.

19th-cent. visitors estimated a population of only about 1,500–3,000 inhabitants. (For these and other visitors who supplied some information about A. s. Munro-Hay 2002.) A very thorough account of A. in 1906 was prepared by the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition. For details about the archaeological work at A. in the time of Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase (s. Munro-Hay 1989:27–31; for more recent work s. Phillipson 1995).

The DAE recorded the names of the suburbs of Mälake Aksum, Kuduku and ʿAddi Kəlättä in A. The name Däbtära was given to the ecclesiastical district around Maryam Ṣəyon, including the church of Arbaʾatu Ǝnsəsa ('the Four Animals'). The market-place was in the district named Näfas, and on the other side of the May Matare stream south of Däbtära was Bagiʿo. The stream, which runs past May Šum reservoir, is called May Ḥəğğa and May Məlaḥso further north.

In modern times ↗Ḥawəlti (Tgn. word for 'stele') designates the suburb west of the Stele Park, arranged to form a monumental centre for the town opposite the round church of Maryam Ṣəyon built by Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase. The ecclesiastical quarter is called Gäza Fälästi ('Monks' houses'), or ʿAwdä Məḥrät ('The ward of mercy'), or ʿAṣädä Betä Krəstyan. Next to it, near A. Museum, is Ǝnda Rasi, centred on a round house that belonged to the family of the

ras of Təgray. West of the church enclosure gate is a large fig-tree, Daʿro ʿEla. The ʿAddi Ṣäʿanaduq district lies further west, then the Ǝgziʾ Ḥasära quarter. Mikʿa Käbäro is situated south of Arbaʾatu Ǝnsəsa church. ʿAddi Kələttä is further west towards Dungur, where the ruin called locally "the queen of Sheba's palace" stands. A stream called May Lahlah descends in this area from Betä Giyorgis hill. South of Gäza Fälästi is Gäza Amus, with Godif to the east.

In the valley of the seasonal stream May Ḥağğa, beyond the Stele Park, on the Betä Giyorgis side, is the church of Ǝndä Iyäsus. Beyond that is the area formerly (DAE) called Ǝndä Nəguś. A further stele field lies to the north. Rising up the eastern slope of Betä Giyorgis is the district called Gäza ʿAgmay. From here there are tracks leading to Aṣḥafi or ʿAddi Ṣäḥafi (where there is a rock-cut fruit press), to ʿAddi Gʷatiya (rock-cut tombs) and Ǝnda Kaleb ("tombs" of Kaleb and Gäbrä Mäsqäl). A valley called Mägfa Ḥanṣi leads to the church of *abba* Liqanos.

Src.: RIE nos. 180, 192, 275; CrawItin 189ff.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Documenta ad illustrandam historiam. Liber Axumae*, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1909–10 (CSCO 54, 58, [SAe 24, 27]); BeckHuntAlm 90; BeckHuntAlvar 2, 521–25; MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici (1634). A Seventeenth Century Historical and Geographical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABETH FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43); GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (tr., ed.), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, London 1980 (Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, second ser., no. 151); THEODORE J. BENT, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, New York — Bombay 1896; WILLIAM FOSTER (ed.), *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century as Described by Joseph Pitt, William Daniel and Charles Jaques Poncet*, London 1949 (Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, second ser., no. 100); ALBERT JAMME, *Sabaean Inscriptions from Mahram Bilqîs (Mârib). With foreword by Wendell Phillips*, Baltimore 1962, 19ff., no. Ja 576; WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS (ed., tr.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès. La topographie chrétienne*, 3 vols., Paris 1968; GEORGE ANNESLEY MOUNTNORRIS, Viscount VALENTIA (ed.), *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt, in 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*, London 1810, vol 3.

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Stuart Munro-Hay

Archaeology of Aksum

A. is located on the Təgrayan Plateau in northern Təgray, about 22 km to the west of ↗ʿAdwa, at an average elevation of 2,200 m A.S.L. The hills of Betä Giyorgis and May Qoḥo dominate the present town to the north-west and east, respectively. The town is cut by two streams: May Ḥəğğa, draining between Betä Giyorgis and May Qoḥo, and to the west May Lahlah, draining from Betä Giyorgis hill. Some hills, with an average elevation ranging between 2,406 m and 2,289 m, surround Betä Giyorgis (2,440 m) and May Qoḥo (2,335 m) and form a crown delimiting a roughly circular plain, gently sloping from north to south and south-east, about ten km in diameter. From this plain a number of streams connect A. to the Märäb-Gaš valley to the north, Šire to the west, Səmen to the south and Tämben to the south-east. Thus, the region of A. can be described as a fertile plain delimited by a crown of hills, forming a natural border and connected to the surrounding regions through a radial system of river valleys. Most likely, this was the core territory of the Aksumite polity in Proto-Aksumite and Early Aksumite times (↗Proto-Aksumite culture; Pre-Aksumite culture). A. occupies the central area of the plain, while Betä Giyorgis and May

Aksum, the so-called giant stelae in 1906, broken in ancient times (second and third fragment, seen from the south, with the walls separating two courtyards), photo taken by Theodor v. Lüpke, Deutsche Aksum-Expedition (Littmann Nachlaß K 98 II 232, Berliner Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin)

Qoḥo occupy the north-eastern sector of it. The church of Maryam Ṣəyon is located approximately in the centre of this territory, at an average distance of four km from the main hills delimiting the plain.

The archaeological area of A. includes the whole territory of the ancient capital city. The area can be divided into three main zones: a) a core zone; b) a peripheral zone; and c) a marginal zone.

The core zone encompasses a) the "Old Town" of A.; b) the hills of Betä Giyorgis and May Qoḥo; c) the plain along the piedmont of Betä Giyorgis to the west of May Lahlah; d) the piedmont of May Qoḥo to the east; and e) the plateau of Abba Liqanos to the north-west. This is the area most frequently visited by travellers in the 16th–19th cent. and has been more intensely investigated by archaeologists in the 20th cent. Archaeological remains in the core zone include:

1) the main residential area of the ancient capital city, with some traces of possible royal palaces (Taʾaḵa Maryam, ↗Ǝnda Səmᶜon, ↗Ǝnda Mikaʾel) in the western sector of the old town (Kudku/Kuduku and Mälake Aksum quarters), and on the plain of Dungur to the south of Betä Giyorgis hill;

2) the remains of the Aksumite Christian church, and the Gondärian cathedral of the 17th cent. (Ǝnda Maryam Ṣəyon, or Aksum Ṣəyon), as well as some ancient thrones in front of the cathedral and an ancient elite residential area to the north of the church, in the north-eastern sector of the old town;

3) a domestic area in the valley of May Məlaḥso, between Betä Giyorgis and May Qoḥo hill;

4) the "royal" cemetery, with man-made platforms, huge carved stelae and monumental shaft- and hypogean tombs in the "Northern Stele Field", at the base of Betä Giyorgis hill along the May Ḥəğğa;

5) another ceremonial and funerary area, with a rock-cut shrine, thrones, stelae and hypogean tombs, including the "Tomb of Bazen" at the base of May Qoḥo;

6) the Gudit stele field and the so-called "Tomb of Mənilək" to the south-west and west of the main elite residential area;

7) the May Šum cistern and the ruins of Ǝnda Gabər on the eastern and south-eastern side of May Qoḥo, respectively;

8) two hypogean tombs (Ǝnda Kaleb and Gäbrä Mäsqäl) and some shaft-tombs on the western side of the Abba Liqanos plateau;

9) Betä Giyorgis, with an elite residential area (ᶜOna Nägäśt/Ǝlaᶜ Nägäśt) in the south-western sector of the hill, a funerary area with stelae (ᶜOna Ǝnda Abboy Zäwge) in the central sector, a quarry and two Aksumite churches on the southern slope of the hill.

The peripheral zone corresponds to the sloping plain to the south and north of A. Many sites have been recorded in this zone. Archaeological remains in the peripheral zone include:

1) some evidence of ruins at Mäzabär, to the north of May Qoḥo;

2) some pre-Aksumite remains at Abba Ṗänṭälewon;

3) stele fields at May Aqno, May Č̣əqqa and Gumale on the plain to the north of A.;

4) residential sites at Kuḵi, May ᶜAyni, ᶜAwdi Ǝmni, May Bäräḵ, Ḥabbi Ṣällim, Ḥamäd Gäbäz, May Fosso and Məšəllam in the plain to the south and south-east of A.

The marginal zone corresponds to the hills which surround the plain of A. and delimit the territory of the ancient capital city. Archaeological remains in the marginal zone include:

1) the rock-picture of a lioness, quarries and lithic assemblages at Gobədra, to the west of A.;

2) traces of a building at Wəḥatäy Golo;

3) fruit presses at ᶜAṣḥaf

4) small sites at Bägärawi, Filfilli, Katkat May Ṣaᶜəda, ᶜAddi Watot and Ḥasina to the north-west, north and north-east of A.

Finally, a few sites have been recorded at the periphery of the region of A., and thus they are not considered as a component of the Aksumite archaeological area. They include Mädäbay,

Wälläl, ca. ten km to the north of A.; Medage, south-west of A.; Käwḥi, south of A.; Ḥawəlti and ↗Mälazo, south-east of A.; and Mäḥabärä Dəyagʷe, south-west of Ḥawəlti.

A total of over 160 sites, including isolated monuments, have been recorded in the archaeological area of A. to date. Most of them (over 70) are located in the core zone, where extensive excavations have also been conducted in the 20th cent. Over 90 inscriptions have been recorded as well, and they are another important component of the archaeological heritage in the area of A. At present the following chronological sequence of the monuments and sites in the archaeological area of A. can be outlined.

The only sites that definitely date to late prehistory (ca. 7000–1000 B.C.) are the Gobədra and Anqär Baʾahti rock-shelters in the marginal zone, with a stratigraphic sequence dating from ca. 10th to early 1st millennium B.C. A few other sites, tentatively dated to late prehistoric times, are located along the eastern and southern slopes of Gobədra hill, on the southern and western sides of Betä Giyorgis, on the terraces to the south-east of ʿAddi Gʷatiya, on the plain of Bruḵ ʿAwdi, on the south-eastern terraces of Kube, along the May Ruba gorge and at Məšlam.

Pre-Aksumite sites (ca. 700–400 B.C.) have been recorded at ʿOna Nägäśt and ʿOna Ənda Abboy Zäwge on the top of Betä Giyorgis hill, as well as in the domestic area along the May Məlaḥso at A., in the core zone. 25 more sites have been tentatively dated to Pre-Aksumite times. They are located in the core zone (ʿAddi Gundi Yəlbo, Gʷanga Ədaga, Gudğad Agazen), in the peripheral zone (Betä Ṗänṭälewon, Abba Ṗänṭälewon) and in the marginal zone (Ḥasina, May Ruba, Məšlam, ʿAddi Barah, ʿAddi Kern, ʿAddi Haleki, Safaho, Əye Maha, Gobo Išr, ʿAddi Osri, Gobo Dura, ʿAddi Daro, Gollo and Ketetekil.

Proto-Aksumite sites (ca. 400–150 B.C.) have been recorded at ʿOna Nägäśt and ʿOna Ənda Abboy Zäwge on the top of Betä Giyorgis hill, in the so-called domestic area along the May Məlaḥso) and near Maryam Ṣəyon at A., in the core zone.

The majority of recorded sites and monuments in the area of A. date to the ↗Aksumite culture period (ca. 150 B.C.– 700 A.D.). In the core zone, Aksumite sites have been recorded at A., Betä Giyorgis, May Qoḥo, and on the Abba Liqanos plateau. At A. these sites include 1) the Northern Stele Field, including Stele Park with associated platforms and tombs, 2) the domestic area along the May Məlaḥso, 3) the sites along the May Qoḥo hill, 4) the Southern Stele Field with associated tombs, thrones and inscriptions, 5) the thrones, Old Cathedral, Arbaʾətu Ənsəsa church, Taʾaḵa Maryam, Ənda Səmʿon, Ənda Mikaʾel, Ruin A, B, C, and the sites ES, IW and K; 6) Gudit Stele Field, 8) ↗Dungur sites ("Tomb of Mənilək", ʿAddi Kələttä, Dungur Palace, Dungur sondages 1, 2, and 3 and Sheba/Dungur). At Betä Giyorgis, the Aksumite Period is well represented at ʿOna Ənda Abboy Zäwge, ʿOna Nägäśt, the Betä Giyorgis churches and the Betä Giyorgis quarry. On May Qoḥo hill, Aksumite remains have been recorded at Ənda Gabər. On the Abba Liqanos plateau, Aksumite sites have been recorded at Ənda Kaleb and Gäbrä Mäsqal and the associated cemetery, ʿAddi Gʷatiya, Azi Kaleb and Ğana Duk. In the peripheral zone, Aksumite sites have been recorded at May Č̣əqqa, Gumale, Zala, May Aqno, Ḥamäd Gäbäz, Ḥabbi Ṣällim, May Baraḵ, Əye Maha, Ṣaḥafo, ʿAwdi Əmni, May ʿAyni, Kudku, and Mista Wälke. In the marginal zone, Aksumite sites include ʿAddi Watot, Abba Liqanos, Betä Ṗänṭälewon, Məšlam, May Foso, ʿAddi Qana, ʿAddi Haleki, ʿAddi Daro, Gobo Dura, Gollo, Filfilli, Bägärawi, Katkat May Ṣaʿəda, Ənda Mikaʾel, and Əndäne Kabasäne.

In particular, at Aksum, assemblages of the Aksumite first phase (ca. 150 B.C.–150 A.D.) occur in the domestic area along the May Məlaḥso, at Ənda Səmʿon and at Maryam Ṣəyon. At Betä Giyorgis, the Aksumite first phase is documented at ʿOna Nägäśt and ʿOna Ənda Abboy Zäwge.

Sites dating to the Aksumite second phase (ca. 150 A.D.–400/450 A.D.) occur at A. in the domestic area, at Ənda Səmʿon, in Stele Park, at Maryam Ṣəyon, Ənda Mikaʾel, Taʿaḵa Maryam and the "Tomb of Mənilək". At Betä Giyorgis, this phase is documented at ʿOna Nägäśt and ʿOna Ənda Abboy Zäwge.

At A., evidence dating to the Aksumite third phase (ca. 400/450–550 A.D.) has been collected in the domestic area along the May Məlaḥso, at Ənda Səmʿon, ʿAddi Kələttä, Stele Park, Maryam Ṣəyon, Ənda Mikaʾel and Taʾaḵa Maryam. At Betä Giyorgis, this phase is represented at ʿOna Nägäśt.

Topographic map of Aksum showing the archaeological sites, adapted after Phillipson 2000, vol. 1, page 10

The Aksumite fourth phase (ca. 550–700 A.D.) is represented at Aksum in the domestic area along the May Məlaḥso, Stele Park, at Məlaḥso Näfas Mäwčа, Ǝnda Səmʿon, ʿAddi Kələttä and Maryam Ṣəyon. At Betä Giyorgis, this phase is documented at ʿOna Nägäśt. On the Abba Liqanos plateau, evidence dating to this phase was collected at Ǝnda Kaleb.

Post-Aksumite evidence (from ca. 700 A.D.) has been recorded in the core zone at A. (Stele Park, Näfas Mäwčа, "Tomb of the False Door", Ǝnda Səmʿon and Maryam Ṣəyon), Betä Giyorgis (ʿOna Nägäśt, ʿOna Ǝnda Abboy Zäwge, Betä Giyorgis "Superiore", Betä Giyorgis "Inferiore", Gudğad Agazen) and Abba Liqanos (Ǝnda Kaleb, Abba Liqanos, and Mäzabär). In the marginal area, Post-Aksumite sites were recorded at ʿAddi Wätot, Məšlam, ʿAddi Kerni, Grat Fugo, Gobo Dura, ʿAddi Mulyon, Mənṣaf, Nəʾəštoy Gobo, Gollo, Ǝnda Mikaʾel and Ketetekil.

At present, the archeological evidence suggests:
1) the region of A. has certainly been inhabited since the Early Holocene;
2) the top of Betä Giyorgis hill was occupied in pre-Aksumite times (7th–4th cent. B.C.). Pre-Aksumite occupation has also been recorded at the base of the hill, to the north of the present town of A.;
3) in the 4th–2nd cent. B.C., a residential area with a monumental building and a funerary area with man-made stone platforms covering pit-graves cut in the bedrock and marked with monoliths was established on the top of Betä Giyorgis hill;
4) in the mid-2nd cent. B.C. to mid-2nd cent. A.D., a monumental funerary area with rock-cut tombs, stone platforms and carefully carved stelae was located on the top of Betä Giorgis hill and an elite residence was also built there;

5) in the mid-2nd to mid-4th cent. A.D., a palace was located on Betä Giyorgis hill. Beginning in the 2nd–3rd cent., the royal cemetery was located in the so-called "Stele Park" along the May Ḥəğğa. In the late 3rd cent. a middle-to-high status cemetery was located in the Gudit area, to the south-west of A. The so-called "Tomb of the Brick Arches", a monumental and very rich rock-cut tomb at May Ḥəğğa, was probably excavated in the 4th cent. A.D.;
6) in the 5th cent. A.D., the palace at Betä Giyorgis was no longer used as an elite residence and the stelae ceased functioning as a funerary symbol. Most likely in this period some palaces were built on the plain at the base of Betä Giyorgis hill;
7) in the 6th–7th cent., large residential palaces were built at A. and another palace was located at Betä Giyorgis. A middle-to-low status domestic area was located between Betä Giyorgis and May Qoḥo. Two churches were built in this period on the eastern slopes of Betä Giyorgis hill;
8) in the late 1st millennium A.D., the settlement at A. occupied a much smaller area and was concentrated around the cathedral;
9) in the 10th–15th cent. A.D., the settlement did not exceed 40 ha in size and was mainly concentrated between the cathedral and the slopes of Betä Giyorgis hill.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "L'archéologie d'Axoum en 1972", *Paideuma* 18, 1972, 60–78; KATHRYN A. BARD — RODOLFO FATTOVICH — ANDREA MANZO et al, "Archaeological Investigations at Betä Giyorgis (Aksum), Ethiopia: 1993, 1994 and 1995 Field Seasons", *Journal of Field Archaeology* 24, 1997, 387–403; KARL WILHELM BUTZER, "Rise and Fall of Axum, Ethiopia: a Geo-Archaeological Interpretation", *American Antiquity* 46, 3, 1981, 471–95; HENRI DE CONTENSON, "Trouvailles fortuites aux environs d'Axoum (1957–1959)", *AE* 4, 1961, 15–23; ID., "Les fouilles à Ouchatei Golo, prés d'Axoum, en 1958", *AE* 4, 1961, 3–16; ID., "Les fouilles à Haoulti-Melazo en 1958", *ibid.*, 39–60; ID., "Les fouilles à Axoum en 1958", *AE* 5, 1963, 1–16; ID., "Les fouilles à Haoulti en 1959", *ibid.*, 41–86; RODOLFO FATTOVICH — KATHRYN A. BARD — L. PETRASSI et al, *The Archaeological Area of Aksum: a Preliminary Assessment*, Napoli 2000; DAE I–IV; JOSEPH W. MICHELS, "Regional Political Organization in the Axum-Yeha Area during the Pre-Axumite and Axumite Eras", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 61–80; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Aksum. Ricerche di topografia antica*, Roma 1938; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Excavations at Aksum*, London 1989; DAVID W. PHILLIPSON, "The Excavation at Gobedra Rock-Shelter, Axum", *Azania* 12, 1977, 53–82; ID., "Excavations at Aksum, Ethiopia 1993–94", *Antiquaries Journal*, 75, 1995, 1–41; ID., *The Monuments of Aksum*, London 1997; ID., *Ancient Ethiopia. Aksum, its Antecedents and Successors*, London 1998; ID., *Archaeology at Aksum, Ethiopia 1993-7*, London 2000; DAVID W. PHILLIPSON — JACKIE PHILLIPS, "Excavations at Aksum, 1993–1996: a Preliminary Report", *JES* 31, 2, 1998, 1–56; DAVID W. PHILLIPSON — ANDREW REYNOLDS, "B.I.E.A. Excavations at Aksum, Northern Ethiopia, 1995", *Azania* 31, 1996, 99–147; S.M. PUGLISI, "Primi risultati delle indagini compiute dalla Missione Archeologica di Aksum", *Africa Italiana* 8, 1941, 95–153; LANFRANCO RICCI — RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "Scavi archeologici nella zona di Aksum. A. Seglamien", *RSE* 30, 1987, 117–69; ID., "Scavi archeologici nella zona di Aksum. B. Betä Giyorgis", *RSE* 31, 1988, 123–97.

Rodolfo Fattovich

Aksum Ṣəyon

The church A.Ṣ. (**አክሱም፡ ጽዮን**), or Maryam Ṣəyon (**ማርያም፡ ጽዮን** '[St.] Mary of Zion') at ↗Aksum has a long legendary history and the site possesses a long archaeological pedigree, though the existence of an ancient church dedicated to Maryam Ṣəyon cannot be proven.

A legend in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum* (ca. 15th cent.) declares that Aksum was built "for the third time" by ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa. They climbed "a great mountain called Məkyadä Ǝgziᵓənä" and prayed for a revelation about where to build a church. Christ appeared and threw earth to fill a large lake. On that spot, the church was built. It was destroyed by ↗Ǝsato and restored by *aṣe* Anbäsa Wədəm.

Some scholars suggest that the five-aisled church described ca. 1520 by Francisco ↗Alvares owed something to Roman/Byzantine precedents. But even if we accept that a church was built at Aksum by the first Christian king, ↗ᶜEzana, we know nothing of its dedication, architecture, or history.

Archaeology confirms that there were ancient structures on the site, but nothing connects them with an ancient church. In 1958, excavations just north of the present church podium revealed several building levels. One, on virgin soil, on a different orientation from today's church, produced pre-Christian Aksumite coins. Above was a structure, disappearing under the present podium, oriented like today's church. North of this were other ruins on a similar orientation to the pre-Christian structure, in the style of Aksumite elite domestic structures. Embedded in the podium of today's church are substantial remains of a typical Aksumite structure (6th cent.?).

Dedication to Maryam Ṣəyon is unconfirmed in Aksumite documentation. It is only attested in its complete form in a later copy of a land

Western facade of Aksum Ṣəyon, photo by Eike Haberland, 1972/74, © Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (37–Ha 008–37)

in its complete form in a later copy of a land grant of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob. The 15th-cent. *Gädlä Libanos* states that *aṣe* Dawit II ordered the church restored (1406). The *Iter de Venetüs ad Indiam* (ca. 1400) mentions that in "Chaxum" the kings subject to Prester John were crowned in a rich and beautiful basilica. From the early Solomonid period the title of ↗*nəburä əd* of Aksum is attested. As time went on, the possessions of the church, administered by this official, grew very substantially. Many land grants to the church are preserved in the *Mäṣḥafä Aksum*, and this same source provides the names of numerous officers of the administration, records of dues or maintenance work owed by individuals or villages, gifts to the church and similar material.

The *Mäṣḥafä Aksum* describes "Our Mother Ṣəyon, the *gäbäz* of Aksum" in technical terms: depth of foundations, thickness of walls, height of vaults, number of columns, shutters, "wheels" (round-headed windows?), arches, 3,815 "monkey-heads" (ርእሰ ሀባይ, *rəʾəsä həbay*), 91 gargoyles (Conti Rossini 1909:7). This suggests that the church resembled the classic "monkey-head style" of building seen also on the Aksumite ↗stelae.

Francisco Alvares wrote the only description we have of the old church as it survived until ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ) destroyed it in 1535: "This church is very large; it has five aisles of good width and great length, vaulted above, and all the vaults closed, the ceiling and sides all painted. Below, the body of the church is well worked with handsome cut stone; it has seven chapels, all with their backs to the east, and their altars well ornamented. It has a choir after our fashion, except that it is low, and they reach the vaulted roof with their heads; and the choir is also over the vault, and they do not use it." A document in the *Mäṣḥafä Aksum* lists 1,705 golden objects as well as many other items from A.Ṣ. that *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngal distributed to the governors of Tagray, Tämben, Saḥart, Säläwa, ʿAgamä, Abärgälle and others to save them from Grañ's invasion, and it is recorded in the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (1898:355) that a large stone object was removed at this time for safety to "Tabr". By the 17th cent., Almeida describes the stone altar tablet of the church as the ታቦተ፡ ጽዮን (*tabotä Ṣəyon*), that is, ↗Ark of the Covenant.

Aṣe ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl rebuilt the church. F. Guerreiro described it in 1604/05 (s. Monneret de Villard 1938:65) with a nave, two aisles, and a thatched roof. Part of the internal architecture of the former church perhaps survived, with the outer walls, within whose shelter the smaller new church stood. In 1608, when *aṣe* Susənyos was crowned in Aksum, he heard Mass here. The ↗Oromo burnt this church in 1611, according to a Jesuit annual letter for 1612.

Even so, when Manoel de Almeida was at Aksum between 1624 and 1633, he recorded "a church of stone and mud, thatched … built among the ruins and walls of another, ancient, one, the walls of which are still visible … but very wide apart" (BeckHuntAlm 90); Śärṣä Dəngəl's church, restored again. In 1627 Thomas Barreto recorded that the church standing within the older walls was built by "Mala Seguet" (Śärṣä Dəngəl). Emmanuel Barradas, between 1624 and 1633, visited this church, observing the square wooden columns and thatched roof of the existing smaller church, and the older walls of the former structure.

These outer walls were, presumably, demolished ca. 1655, when, according to the *Mäṣḥafä Aksum*, *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs restored the church. Its dedication was celebrated in the presence of his daughter Yodit. Fasilädäs gave "an incalculable quantity of money", so that the church became "marvellous and magnificent". In 1678, rebels under *ras* ↗Faris, governor of Säläwa, burned Aksum, but the church survived to serve at the coronation of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I in 1693.

What we see today is a Gondärine style building. Some internal fixtures at the sanctuary end may date to the pre-1535 structure and some walls may remain from the rebuildings by Śärṣä Dəngəl and Fasilädäs, but under *aṣe* Iyasu

II in 1749/50, there was more reconstruction, leaving the structure more or less as it is today, with some later 19th-and early 20th-cent. alterations to the portico and roof. The podium doubtless conceals earlier structures down to the exposed Aksumite elements at the base at the east end.

The publication of the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition described the church in 1904. The main church was little different from today, but there have been radical changes in the layout of the surrounding structures. The treasury, with above it a structure housing the ታቦተ ሙሴ (*tabotä Muse*, 'Tablet of Moses', or Ark of the Covenant), is recent, built in the time of Ḫaylä Śəllase by his wife ↗Mänän. Most of the older structures that once stood along the north side of the church have disappeared. The large new round church of Maryam Ṣəyon which now stands next to the older one was also built by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

↗Tabot; ↗Zion

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Documenta ad illustrandam historiam. Liber Axumae*, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1909–10 (CSCO 54, 58 [SAe 24, 27]) 7, 85f.; BeckHuntAlm 90; MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici (1634). A Seventeenth Century Historical and Geographical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABET FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 118–23; ANTOINE D'ABBADIE – PHILIPPE PAULITSCHKE (ed., tr.), *Futûh el-Hábacha, des conquêtes faites en Abyssinie au XVIe siècle par l'Imam Muhammad Ahmad dit Gragne, version française de la chronique Arabe du Chahâb ad-Din Ahmad*, Paris 1898, 355.

Lit.: HENRI DE CONTENSON, "Les fouilles à Axoum en 1958. – Rapport préliminaire", *AE* 5, 1963, 1–40; Crawltin; MARILYN HELDMAN, "Maryam Seyon: Mary of Zion", in: RODERICK GRIERSON (ed.), *African Zion. The Sacred Art of Ethiopia*, New Haven – London 1993, 71–75; RODERICK GRIERSON – STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *The Ark of the Covenant*, London 1999; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *Ethiopia: the Unknown Land. A Cultural and Historical Guide*, London 2002; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Aksum, ricerche di topografia generale*, Roma 1938 (Analecta Orientalia 16).

Ill.: DAE I–IV.

Stuart Munro-Hay

Aksum: Mäṣḥafä Aksum

One of the most important achievements of Ethiopian historiography is the M.A. (**መጽሐፈ: አክሱም** 'Book of Aksum', also referred to as *Liber Axumae*), a composite work sharing with the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* at least a part of the latter's manuscript tradition (e.g., ms. Paris, BN Abb. 97).

The work can easily be divided into three parts, dating back to different periods of Ethiopian history. The first contains: 1) information about the historical topography of ↗Aksum and some of its monuments, a large number of traditions related to the location of the town and to the religious buildings constructed there throughout the centuries; 2) an architectural description of Maryam Ṣəyon (↗Aksum Ṣəyon) cathedral; 3) lists of services, duties and offerings from various individuals to the Ethiopian sanctuary and its clergy. This is a source of primary importance since it gives valid information about the more ancient history of the town and its cathedral, providing useful hints to modern archaeological researches, too. The description of Maryam Ṣəyon reflects the aspect the church had before the damages caused in the mid-16th cent. during the *ǧihād* of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī: this factor, among others, allows us to fix the dating of the first section of the work to the years of the reign of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob.

The second part contains a collection of 103 historical and legal texts, preceded by brief protocols, attesting alleged ↗*rəst* and ↗*gʷəlt* grants from different kings and local chiefs to monasteries and churches of Eritrea and Təgray and to the same Maryam Ṣəyon sanctuary. Similar collections of documentary writings are not rare in Ethiopian literature, because they expressed the need to certify the antiquity and the truth of different ecclesiastical daims: see, e.g., the cases of the "Golden Gospels" of Däbrä Libanos (35 documents) and of Ḫayq Esṭifanos (the "Gospel of Iyäsus Moʾa", 30 documents and more historical notes). For its width, the land register of the M.A. is similar to the archives of the Ḫamärä Noḫ church in Gondär (146 documents), preserved in the ms. London, BritMus Or. 508, fol. 277v–87, dating back to the 17th cent. The third part contains a miscellany of 14 historical and legal texts concerning to the past of Aksum and its territory.

Since most of these texts refer to the period preceding the reign of Iyasu I (1682–1706), one can suppose that the M.A. dates back to the last part of the 17th cent., probably to the same years in which the collection of Ḫamärä Noḫ church in Gondär was drawn up. To this core, incorporating the first section compiled in the 15th cent., more documents were added in the mid-19th cent.

The text of the M.A. was edited by Carlo ↗Conti Rossini in 1910 on the basis of five mss., but its stratified tradition, as well its frequent association with the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, is still waiting for a comprehensive study.

Src.: CRAbb 203, no. 203 [Abb. 97]; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Documenta ad illustrandam historiam I. Liber Axumae*, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1909–10 (CSCO 54, 58 [SAe 24, 27]); repr. 1961–62; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (ed., tr.), *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1965 (Monographs in Ethiopian Land Tenure, 1); StrANL 133–37, no. 44 "Documents additionnels pour le *Liber Axumae*".

Lit.: UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Aksum, ricerche di topografia generale*, Roma 1938 (Analecta Orientalia 16), 134; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'evangelo d'oro di Dabra Libānos", *RRALm* ser. 5, 10, 1901, 177–219; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "L'Evangeliaire de Dabra Libanos", in: *PICES* 8, 163; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [print. 1995], 5–36, here 31; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Däbrä Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Gli archivi in Abissinia", in: *Atti del congresso internazionale di scienze storiche* (*Roma, 1–9 aprile 1903*), vol. 3: *Atti della sezione II. Storia medievale e moderna, metodica, scienze storiche ausiliarie*, Roma 1906, 651–98.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Aksumawi

In local Aksumite legend, A. (**አክሱማዊ**) was the son of ↗Ityopis, son of Kush (Kʷəsa), son of Ham (Kam), son of Noah (Noḫ). This information seems first to have been recorded by Enno ↗Littmann, who had it from "an old wrinked priest in Aksum, called Gabra Wāhed, who passed for an authority on the history of the ancient city" (s. DAE I, 38). Littmann's servant Paulus wrote down the history of ↗Aksum in Təgrəñña and Littmann renders it as follows: "Kam begat Kush; Kush begat Äthyopis, and after his name Ethiopia is known until today … Äthyopis begat ʾAksūmāwī; ʾAksūmāwī begat Malakyā ʾAksūm. And he begat Sūm, Nafās, Bagīʿō, Kūdūkī, ʿAkhōrō, Farhebā. These six [grand-]sons of ʾAksūmāwī were the Fathers of Aksum…" (DAE I, 38).

The story extends the line of descent noted in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum* by three further generations, offering a different explanation as to the origins of the founders of Aksum.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Documenta ad illustrandam historiam. I. Liber Axumae*, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1909–10 (CSCO 54, 58 [SAe 24, 27]), 3, 6 (text); DAE I, 38.

Stuart Munro-Hay

Aksumite culture

The A.c. period spanned approximately a millennium between ca. 150 B.C. and 900 A.D. and witnessed the development of sociopolitical complexity and state civilization centred in the highlands of northern Ethiopia and Eritrea. The A.c. and its resultant Aksumite State polity (↗Aksum) seem to have developed from preceding sedentary agricultural communities living in the highlands of the northern Horn of Africa during the ↗Proto-Aksumite period (ca. 400–150 B.C.). Archaeological and historical research concerning Aksumite settlement patterns, technology and subsistence economy, suggest that the African origins and foundation of A.c. were paramount in the development of the Aksumite State in the first millennium A.D.

The term "Aksumites" was used as early as the first cent. A.D. in the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* to describe a powerful cultural group of the northern highlands that engaged in international trade and possessed a metropolis. During the 2nd cent. A.D., the geographer of Ptolemy referred to Aksum as a royal capital. Archaeological and textual evidence indicates that by this time a centralized regional polity with defined social stratification had emerged within the A.c. area. By the beginning of the 4th cent. A.D. an Aksumite state with urban centers, official currency in ↗coinage struck in gold, silver and copper, an intensive agricultural system and an organized military (↗Army) was already well established. Between the 4th and 6th cent. A.D. this state functioned as a fully-fledged empire, controlling important ancient trade routes and engaging in expansionistic activity throughout much of the northern ↗Horn of Africa and southern ↗Red Sea area. The early 4th cent. brought the gradual adoption of Christianity throughout the A.c. area. By the 6th cent. A.D. ↗Christianity was firmly established and seems to have helped solidify Aksumite ethnic identity and played a central role in developing and maintaining strategic alliances with the Roman and ↗Byzantine empires. The 7th cent. saw the decline of the Aksumite state as a regional power in north-eastern Africa and the Indian Ocean world. The polity's final demise during the late first millennium A.D. was, in large part, the result of environmental degradation from over-exploitation of resources and changes in international trading patterns in the Red Sea area and north-eastern Africa subsequent to Islamic expansion.

A.c. settlements were located throughout much of the highlands of the northern Horn of Africa, with the bulk of settlements situated in north-eastern and north-western ↗Təgray, Ethiopia and the ↗Akkälä Guzay and ↗Säraye regions of highland Eritrea. However, some Aksumite settlements were also located south of the ↗Täkkäze River and extended as far north as the ↗Rora region of northern Eritrea. In addition to the highlands, A.c. period sites were located along the Red Sea coast of Eritrea near the Gulf of ↗Zula. Many Aksumite settlements were positioned along an axis stretching from Aksum to the Gulf of Zula, following a route linking the Aksumite capital in the highlands to the chief Aksumite port of ↗Adulis and adjacent harbour on the Red Sea. Two of the largest Aksumite-era settlements, ↗Mäṭära and ↗Qoḥayto, were situated in the Eritrean highlands along this route. A concentration of Aksumite settlements existed also along traditional routes connecting the highlands with the western lowlands of the Horn and the eastern Sudan. Expansive residential areas of commoner, middle-rank, and elite occupation were constructed in Aksumite settlements, creating distinctly Aksumite urban landscapes with diversity in function and form. Aksumite urban centres such as those at Aksum, Qoḥayto, and Mäṭära were linked to urban hinterlands, producing extensive areas of ancient settlement and great population density in the highlands of Təgray and central Eritrea.

The A.c. possessed sophisticated technologies and craft specializations, including metal-working, diversified ceramic (↗Pottery) and lithic tool traditions, ivory-carving and wood-working industries and elaborate architectural and building traditions. Aksumite ↗architecture and building included the construction of multi-story structures with dressed-stone elements, architectural and agricultural terraces and platforms, complex shaft- and multi-chamber tombs and monumental stone ↗stelae. The capital of Aksum contained hundreds of stone stelae, including three famous giant monoliths elaborately carved as representations of multi-story buildings and very likely marking royal graves of Aksumite rulers.

A complex agricultural system that included irrigation and dam construction, terracing, and plough-farming produced food that sustained urban and rural Aksumite populations and allowed for demographic complexity in the A.c.

Fine oval globular pot, Fine Red Aksumite ware, burnished, rim diameter: 7.2 cm, height: 27.8 cm, diameter at girth: 34.5 cm, from Munro-Hay 1999:184

area. Cereal crops of both African and Near Eastern origin were cultivated by Aksumite farmers, including ↗*tef* (*Eragrostis tef*), finger-millet (*Eleusine coracana*), ↗sorghum (*Sorghum bicolor*), emmer wheat (*Triticum dicoccon*), bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum*), hulled ↗barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and oat (*Avena sp.*). Linseed/flax (*Linum usitatissimum*), ↗cotton (*Gossypium sp.*), grape (*Vitis vinifera*) and legumes of Near Eastern origin were grown, including lentil (*Lens culinaris*), fava bean (*Vicia faba*), chick-pea (*Cicer arietinum*), common pea (*Pisum sativum*) and grass pea (*Lathyrus sativus*). In addition, domesticates such as the African oil crop, noog (*Guizotia abyssinica*), as well as gourd (*Lagenaria sp.*) and cress (*Lepidium sativum*) represent other important crops grown by the Aksumites. These crops were combined with the herding of domesticated cattle, sheep and goats to create a highly productive indigenous agropastoral food-producing tradition that formed an integral component for the development of the Aksumite economy and state power.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, *Les anciens Ethiopiens: siècles d'histoire*, Paris 1990; KATHRYN A. BARD et. al., "The Environmental History of Tigray (Northern Ethiopia) in

the Middle and Late Holocene: a Preliminary Outline", *African Archaeological Review* 17, 2000, 65–86; SHEILA BOARDMAN, "The Agricultural Foundation of the Aksumite Empire, Ethiopia: an Interim Report", in: MARIJKE VAN DER VEEN (ed.), *The Exploitation of Plant Resources in Ancient Africa*, New York 1999, 137–47; ANGELA CATHERINE D'ANDREA et. al., "Ethnoarchaeological Approaches to the Study of Prehistoric Agriculture in the Highlands of Ethiopia", in: *ibid.* 101–22; KARL WILHELM BUTZER, "The Rise and Fall of Axum, Ethiopia: a Geo-Archaeological Interpretation", *American Antiquity* 46, 1981, 471–95; CHESTER CAIN, "Results from Zooarchaeological Analysis at Axum, Ethiopia", *Archaeozoologia* 10, 1–2, 1999, 27–45; RODOLFO FATTOVICH – KATHRYN A. BARD, "The I.U.O./B.U. Excavations at Bieta Giyorgis (Aksum) in Tigray (Northern Ethiopia)", *JES* 30, 1, 1997, 1–29; ID., *The Aksum Archaeological Area: a Preliminary Assessment*, Napoli 2000; YURI M. KOBISHCHANOV, *Axum*, tr. by LORRAINE T. KAPITANOFF, ed. by JOSEPH W. MICHELS, University Park 1979; JOSEPH W. MICHELS, "Regional Political Organization in the Axum-Yeha area during the Pre-Axumite and Axumite Eras", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 61–80; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *Aksum: an African Civilisation of Late Antiquity*, Edinburgh 1991; DAVID W. PHILLIPSON, *Ancient Ethiopia: Aksum, its Antecedents and Successors*, London 1998; ID., *Archaeology at Aksum, Ethiopia, 1993–7*, London 2000; SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270*, Addis Ababa 1972; DAE.
Ill.: STUART MUNRO-HAY, "Aksumite Pottery from Medebai", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 183–89.

Matthew C. Curtis

Akʷätetä qʷərban ↗ Eucharist

Alaa ↗ Qottu

Alämayya

A. (**አለማያ**, from *ʿaläm maya*, lit. 'the place from which the world may be viewed' or 'the place where one can enjoy life'; formerly **ሐረ.ማያ**, Ḥaramaya) is the name of a town located at 9°24'N and 42°1'E, about 20 km north-west of Härär on the road to Dərre Dawa (for exact location s. the map for Afdäm on page 126). It lies on a long sloping hillside at an altitude of 2,046 m A.S.L.

A. is a vivid market town and the administrative centre of Alämayya *wäräda* (formerly part of Harärge Province; today East Harärge Zone of Oromo Region). In 1978 the population was estimated at 7,741 people; the number has been steadily increasing.

It is said that the town owes its present name to *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, who, when visiting the site of the future University College, was so impressed with the location that he changed the name of the village and surrounding area from Ḥaramaya to A. In fact, the campus – and the town – derive their name from Lake Alämayya in the immediate vicinity, which is an indispensable source of water for the city of Harär. The gradually falling water-level of the lake and its pollution have lately been issues of great concern.

On 16 May 1952 an agreement was signed between the United States Technical Cooperation Administration (the "Point Four" program) and Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College (now Oklahoma State University [OSU]) to give assistance to the government of Ethiopia in furthering economic development and in establishing and operating a college of agriculture. The Imperial Ethiopian College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, modeled upon the land-grant college system of the United States, was built in Harärge Province near the village then known as Ḥaramaya upon a 1,150-acre site granted to the College by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

Official dedication ceremonies for the College were held on 16 January 1958, when the Emperor paid tribute to the first class of graduates. The College originally was responsible for agricultural instruction, research and extension on a national basis. In 1961 the College became part of Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (now ↗Addis Ababa University), but responsibility for national agricultural extension remained with the Ministry of Agriculture. The College continued to receive major institutional development assistance from OSU under contract with the United States Agency for International Development until 1968, when the OSU technical assistance program was terminated. During the 1970s, the College was considered a showplace and a centre of internationally recognized education and research excellence. On 27 May 1985 the College became an autonomous university, A. University of Agriculture (from 1999 – A. University). Since its establishment, it has granted 5,713 B.Sc. degrees, 302 M.Sc. degrees, and 2,982 Diplomas.

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE, *Ethiopia Statistical Abstract 1978*, Addis Ababa 1978, 28.
Lit.: JERRY GILL, *A History of International Programs at Oklahoma State University*, Stillwater, OK 1991; OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY IN ETHIOPIA, *Terminal Report 1952–1968*, Stillwater, OK 1969; BROOK LEMMA, "Seasonal Limnological Studies on Lake Alemaya", in: *Archiv für Hydrobiologie*, Supplement Bd. 107, 1995, 263-85.

Theodor M. Vestal

ʿAlämayyähu Goššu

Fitawrari ʿA.G. (**ዓለማየሁ፡ ጎሹ**, "horse name" Abba Yəbläṭ) was born in Gondär. He was a commander of an Ethiopian-British Commission's escort which fought against Italians during the battle of ↗Wälwäl in Ogaden district. ʿA.G. was severely wounded at the beginning of the battle and died 26 *Ḫədar* 1927 A.M. [5 December 1934 A.D.].

The command of the escort was taken over by *balambaras* Ali Nur, who ordered the soldiers to withdraw to Ado and take the body of ʿA.G. from the battlefield.

Lit.: PAULOS ÑOÑO, **የኢትዮጵያና፡ የኢጣሊያ፡ ጦር ነት** (*Yäʾityopyanna yäʾiṭaliya torənnät*, 'Ethio-Italian War'), Addis Abäba 1980 A.D., 15; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia. A New Political History*, London 1965, 190f.; ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI, *I front II wojny światowej*, Warszawa 1971, 457; ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Historia Etiopii*, Wrocław ²1987, 368f.

Katarzyna Hryćko

ʿAlämayyähu Mogäs

ʿA.M. (**ዓለማየሁ፡ ሞገስ**, b. 1914 A.M. [1921/22 A.D.], Goǧǧam, d. 1992 A.M. [1999 A.D.], Addis Abäba) was a prolific writer and a university teacher. His father was a *märigeta* known for his great knowledge of traditional *qəne* poetry. ʿA.M. himself also received an intensive traditional church education including *qəne*, O.T., and trained as scribe and painter with various teachers in Goǧǧam and Wällo. ʿA.M. arrived in Addis Abäba in 1946 and attended the Holy Trinity Theological College, where he received a modern education. On several occasions he skipped grades and thus was able to graduate in 1950, much earlier than expected. Later, ʿA.M. received training in several disciplines induding, languages, philosophy and theology in Greece and at Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (Addis Ababa University).

ʿA.M. spent most of his life teaching and writing. He taught Amharic in secondary schools until 1960 when he joined Ḫaylä Śəllase I University as a part-time lecturer in Gəʿəz and Amharic. He continued to teach Amharic poetry and Gəʿəz there until his retirement. ʿA.M. published about 20 books and many articles, some of them are still used as teaching and reference materials. His books include anthologies of poetry [s. Src. part 1], works of fiction [Src. part 2], language and literature textbooks [Src. part 3], philosophical and polemic works [Src. part 4].

Irrespective of their forms, culture and tradition, religion and history, education and modernization are among the major themes in his works. However, his most thought provoking and controversial work is a book entitled **ለምን፡ አልሰለምሁም** (*Läman alsällämhumm*, 'Why I Do Not Convert to Islam'), which was written in response to a Muslim writer who "belittles the Christian faith" in 1990 A.M. [1997/98 A.D.], only two years before his death in 1992 A.M. [1999 A.D.]. Because of its publication he faced attacks from Muslim elites in the national media and was accused in court of having violated the freedom of religion.

Src.: ALEMAYYEHU MOGES, "Geez and Amharic Study without *Qene* is Incomplete", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 99-166; ID., "Language Teaching and Curricula in Traditional Education of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church", *Ethiopian Journal of Education* 6, 1, 1973, 115-48. 1. Poetry: ʿALÄMAYYÄHU MOGÄS, **ሰምና፡ ወርቅ። ፩ኛ፡ መጽ ሐፍ** (*Sämənna wärq. Andäññä mäṣḥaf*, 'Wax and Gold. Book One'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.]; **ሰምና ፡ ወርቅ። ፪ኛ፡ መጽ ሐፍ** (*Sämənna wärq. Hulätäññä mäṣḥaf*, 'Wax and Gold. Book Two'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.]; **የአማርኛ፡ ሐረግ** (*Yäʾamarəññä ḫarag*, 'Amharic Verse'), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.]; **ሀገር፡ ምንድ ን፡ ናት** (*Hagär məndən nat*? 'What is a Nation?'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960 A.D.]; 2. Fiction: **ወይዘሮ፡ ዓላሚቱ** (*Wäyzäro ʿAlamitu*, '[Mrs.] ʿAlamitu'), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.]; **ገብረ፡ መስቀል ፡ ባሪያ ው** (*Gäbrä Mäsqäl bariyaw*, 'Gäbrä Mäsqäl the Slave'), Addis Abäba 1955 A.M. [1962/63 A.D.]; **እኔስ፡ ሰው ፡ አልሆንም** (*Ǝnnes säw alhonəmm*, 'I Would not Become a Man'), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.]; 3. Language and literature textbooks: **ሰዋሰው ፡ ግዕዝ** (*Säwasäwä gəʿəz*, 'Gəʿəz Grammar'), Addis Abäba 1950 A.M. [1957/58 A.D.]; **ቀዳማዊ፡ ምንባብ ፡ ግዕዝ** (*Qädamawi mənbabä gəʿəz*, 'Primary Gəʿəz Reader'), Addis Abäba 1950 A.M. [1957/58 A.D.]; **የአማርኛ፡ ግጥምና ፡ ቅኔ፡ ማስተማሪያ** (*Yäʾamarəññä gəṭəmənna qəne mastämariya*, 'Teaching Material for Amharic *Gəṭəm* and *Qəne*'), Addis Abäba 1950 A.M. [1957/58 A.D.]; **የግዕዝ፡ ቅኔ፡ ዜማ** (*Yägəʿəz qəne zema*, 'The Melody of *Qəne* in Gəʿəz'), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.]; 4: **ሠርግና፡ ልማድ** (*Śärgənna ləmad*, 'Marriage and Ritual'), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.]; **ለምን፡ አልሰለምሁም** (*Läman alsällämhumm*? 'Why I Do Not Convert to Islam'), Addis Abäba 1990 A.M. [1997/98 A.D.].

Lit.: DÄMMALÄŠ ʿALÄMAYYÄHU, **ዓለማየሁ፡ ሞገስና ፡ ሥራዎቹ** (*ʿAlämayyähu Mogäsənna śərawoccu*, 'Alämayyähu Mogäs and his Works'), B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1984 (Lit.).

Berhanu Gebeyehu

ʿAlämayyähu Tewodros

Däǧǧazmač ʿA.T. (**ዓለማየሁ፡ ቴዎድሮስ**, b. 1860, d. November 1879) was the eldest son of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II and *ətege* ↗Ṭəru Wärq Wəbe (also called Ṭərunäš), a daughter of *däǧǧazmač* Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam of Təgray and Səmen.

When eight years old, A.T. was regarded as the

ᶜAlämayyähu Tewodros, photographed in 1868 near Mäqdäla by the Royal Engineers, Napier Expedition, photo courtesy of the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Köln

heir to the throne, when the British army under Sir Robert Napier invaded Ethiopia and caused Tewodros to commit suicide in 1868. Separated from his family and Ethiopian instructors, he was taken to Englan d for education.

By 1879 ᶜA.T. was enrolled at the Military Academy at Sandhurst, and as relations between Britain and *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV deteriorated, there were plans to replace the latter with ᶜA.T. Unhappy and in poor health, ᶜA.T. died in November of the same year (Bates 1979:218ff.). He was buried at Windsor Castle.

Lit.: SVEN RUBENSON, *King of Kings Tewodros of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1966 (Haile Sellassie I University Department of History, Historical Studies no. 2), 56; DARRELL BATES, *The Abyssinian Difficulty*, Oxford 1979, 218ff.; JEAN SOUTHON, "Prince Alamayehu and Captain Speedy", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 251-63; RICHARD PANKHURST – DENIS GÉRARD, *Ethiopia Photographed, Historic Photographs of the Country and its People Taken between 1867 and 1935*, London – New York 1996, 22 (ill.).

Sven Rubenson

ᶜAläme Gʷalu

Grazmač ᶜA.G. (ዓለሜ፡ ኀሉ), one of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II's sons-in-law, was among his most loyal military commanders.

At the very beginning of his rule, Tewodros appointed ᶜA.G. ↗*afänəguś*, which clearly shows that ᶜA.G. must have been among the Emperor's closest associates starting from the very first years of his reign (Littmann 1902:30). After the Oromo rebellion raised by the then governor of Mäqdäla *däğğazmač* ↗Liiban and ↗Amäde Bäšir of Wärrä Himäno was suppressed in February 1857 with ᶜA.G.'s help, he was additionally appointed governor of Mäqdäla. ᶜA.G. is reported to have fought Amäde Bäšir for several years (s. Moreno 1942:168–79).

When ᶜA.G. left Mäqdäla in May 1859 (to govern ↗Agäw Mədər for the duration of his rebellious brother (?) ↗Tädla Gʷalu's campaign, cf. Mondon-Vidailhet 1904:30f.), Tewodros is even reported to have exclaimed, "If *grazmač* ᶜAläme deserts me, then whom do I trust?" (Littmann 1902:43).

Later, however, ᶜA.G. returned to, and was accepted back by Tewodros. His loyalty to the sovereign is also proved by the tax registers of Mäqdäla (cf. Pankhurst 1979:102) which attest to large taxes he paid in cattle.

ᶜA.G.'s role became even more prominent in the last months of Tewodros's reign, as he tried to mediate twice between the Emperor and Sir Robert ↗Napier. He forwarded at least two letters in addition to escorting Hormuzd ↗Rassam and other British captives to the English camp. The diplomatic efforts remained unsuccessful. Nothing is known of ᶜA.G. after the fall of Tewodros.

Src.: FRANÇOIS MARIE CASIMIR MONDON-VIDAILHET (ed., tr.), *Chronique de Theodoros II, roi des rois d'Éthiopie (1853–1868)*, Paris 1904 [repr. Westmead 1971], 18, 31, 60f. (text) = 22, 38, 68f. (tr.); *däbtära* ZÄNNÄB, *The Chronicle of King Theodore of Abyssinia*, ed., tr. by ENNO LITTMANN, Princeton, NJ 1902, 30f., 43ff.; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, "La cronaca di re Teodoro attribuita al dabtarà 'Zaneb'", *RSE* 2, 1942, 143–80, here 168, 179ff.; LUIGI FUSELLA (ed.), ያጤ ፡ ቴዎድሮስ ፡ ታሪክ (*Yaṭe Tewodros tarik*, 'Chronicle of Emperor Tewodros'), Rome 1959, 42f. [tr. as ID., "La cronaca dell'Imperatore Teodoro II di Etiopia in un manoscritto amarico", *Annali IUO* 6, 1954–56, 61–121, here 116f.]; RICHARD PANKHURST (ed., tr.), *Tax Records and Inventories of Emperor Téwodros of Ethiopia (1855–1868)*, London 1978, 16, 102; ID. (ed.), *The Ethiopian Royal Chronicles*, Addis Ababa – London 1967, 155ff.; SVEN RUBENSON (ed.), *Tewodros and his Contemporaries 1855–1868*, Addis Abeba — Lund 1994 (Acta Aethiopica 2), nos. 241f.

Lit.: SVEN RUBENSON, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, London 1978, 265f.; ID., *King of Kings Tewodros of Ethiopia*, Addis Abeba – Nairobi 1966 (Haile Sellassie I University Department of History, Historical Studies no. 2), 75, 77.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

ᶜAlämu Ḫaylä Maryam

ᶜA. (ዓለሙ፡ ኃይለ፡ ማርያም, b. 1918/19, Bəčäna [Goğğam], d. 1991, Addis Abäba) was an Ethiopian artist. He received a traditional church education and became a *diyaqon*. He was taught to paint by a traditional painter and priest *qesä gäbäz* Antänah. In 1932/33 ᶜA. went to Addis

ʿAlämu Ḫaylä Maryam at work, photo by Doro Röthlisberger, 1986, courtesy of the author

Abäba and joined his brother Yətbaräk Ḫaylä Maryam, who painted for the flourishing tourist market. Yətbaräk schooled his brother in the painting of secular themes and at first ʿA. merely copied Yətbaräk's style, but afterwards he found his own means of expression.

Samples of ʿA.'s paintings are to be seen in the Museum of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Abäba and in the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich.

Lit.: GIRMA KIDANE, "Four Traditional Ethiopian Painters and their Life Histories", in: RICHARD PANKHURST (ed.), *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art*, London 1989, 72–77, here 75f.

Elisabeth Biasio

Alaniqos

The name of the saint *abunä* A. (**አላኒቆስ**) is connected with the monastery of May Bärazyo (in Təgray, not far from Aksum, s. Villari 1938). The history of this monastery, where A.'s tomb is said to be found, can be traced to as early as the time of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (s. ms. ANLin 23, fol. 3–18). Otherwise, there are land charters of *aṣe* Gälawdewos stating that in 1554 he confirmed the land grants given to the monastery by his father Ləbnä Dəngəl (Conti Rossini 1909:43f.; Huntingford 1965:55f.).

The only source giving details on A. is the collection of twelve Miracles (s. Marrassini 1982), including also a ↗*mälkəʾ* verse in honour of A. In the Miracles A. is said to have been a son of *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak. Therefore, *aṣe* ↗Wədəm Räʿad, during whose reign A. left the secular life, must be his brother (cp. Marrassini 1982:143f., 156f.). However, the Ethiopian tradition tends to conflate the two, identifying A. with Wədəm Räʿad, who is said to have left the throne and become a monk.

As is stated in A.'s monastic pedigree, he was the spiritual son of a certain Yoḥannəs Käma. Among the places and persons mentioned in his mirades are *abunä* Tomos of Däbrä Ṣälay, in the Qagma region, whose population A. converted to Christianity, the hermitage (*gädam*) of Wali (↗Waldəbba), which A. is reported to have visited, and ↗Akḥadom, the half-legendary ruler of Təgre. The last three miracles of the collection are posthumous, referring to the time of the Emperors Aṣnaf Sägäd (Ləbnä Dəngəl) and Susənyos.

The monastery May Bärazyo was demolished in the course of the Italian occupation (↗Italian war 1935–36), but restored after the liberation.

Src.: PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Il gadla Alaniqos", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 5, 1982, 143–82; StrANL 79, ms. 23; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Documenta ad illustrandam historiam. I. Liber Axumae*, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1909-10 (CSCO 54, 58 [SAe 24, 27]), 43f. (text) = 51f. (tr.) [nos. 51f.]; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (ed., tr.), *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa – Nairobi 1965 (Monographs in Ethiopian Land Tenure no. 1), 55f.
Lit.: GERARDO VILLARI, "I '*gulti*' della regione di Axum", *Rassegna economica dell'Africa Italiana* 16, 9, 1938, 15f.; AmhChurchD vol. 5, 37ff.

Denis Nosnitsin

Aläqa

The term A. (**አለቃ**) in broader sense refers to a chief or a commander. Its etymology is not certain; Təgrəñña has preserved the ancient form **ሐለቓ** *ḥaläqa* (s. BassDic 35, GuiVoc 414).

In contemporary use, A. is usually combined with other words to form numerous composites, including names for military offices up to the rank of ↗*šaläqa*. Its main sphere of application remains the ecclesiastical field. A. is a title given to the head of a major church (↗*Däbr*) or a monastery as long as he is not conferred with any other honorary title. An A. is responsible not only for maintaining order in the church, but also for the material needs and the administration of the structure placed under his responsibility. During celebrations the A. is responsible for the composition of certain types of ↗*qəne* (such as *śəllase*, *mäwäddəs* etc.), a task requiring a great deal of expertise. The title can be also applied to a priest or a *däbtära* who has no organizational responsibility but has reached a high level of traditional education and knows how to direct the liturgical singing of the ↗*dəggʷa*.

Formerly, this title was only conferred on someone who had completed the study of the four *gubaʾəyat* (lit. 'gatherings', sg. *gubaʾe*) or traditional fields of learning: Old Testament, New Testament, the Prophets and the patristic and monastic writings, as well as liturgical texts and their commentaries.

Src.: KaneDic 1107; BassDic 35; GuiVoc 414; DillmLex 28; THMDic 694; LesDic 261; BTafA s. index; AGOSTINO TADLA, *Vocabolario Tegreñña-Italiano*, forthcoming; IGNAZIO GUIDI, *Supplemento al vocabulario amarico-italiano*, Roma 1940, 124; *liqä səlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƎNÄH, **ጥንታዊ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ትምህርት** (*Ṭəntawi yäʾityopya śərʿatä təmhərt*, 'The Ancient Ethiopian Order of Teaching'), Addis Abäba 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.], 300, 303.

Habtemichael Kidane

ᶜAläqʷa

ᶜA. (**ዓለቂ**) is the highest mountain-top of ↗ᶜAgamä, measuring about 3,291 m A.S.L. It was an important battle-scene between the Italians and the Ethiopians during the ᶜAdwa campaign (↗ᶜAdwa, battle of). The Italians had initially secured collaboration from prominent chiefs of ᶜAgamä like *ras* Səbḥat Arägawi and his uncle *däğğazmač* ↗Ḥagos Täfäri on the eve of the 1895–96 campaign. This act of collaboration can be explained by the earlier power conflicts between the "House" of ↗Säbagadis Wäldu of ᶜAgamä and *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV.

Nevertheless, led by a number of chiefs of lower rank, the resilient people of ᶜAgamä started to attack the Italians at the time of their retreat from Mäqälä in the years 1895–96. Among others, the ᶜAgamä peasantry offered a strong resistance to the Italians at ᶜA. It is strategically located at a mountain-pass immediately west of ᶜAddigrat in the direction of ᶜAdwa, the later battlefield. This caused great military setbacks to the Italian army.

Moreover, ᶜA. symbolized the resistance of the ᶜAgamä people after the hereditary chiefs *ras* Səbḥat and *däğğazmač* Ḥagos had betrayed the Italian camp in favour of their country. By raising about 1,200 ᶜAgamä troops, Səbḥat blocked regular Italian manoeuvres at mount ᶜA. to the extent of blocking the lines of supply and communication. The people of ᶜAgamä under Səbḥat's command opened a new front of attack there against the disillusioned Italian troops. The latter were now being stabbed in the back while rushing to fight and defeat the Ethiopian army in and around ᶜAdwa.

Lit.: TSEGAY BERHE, *A History of ᶜAgamä 1822–1914*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1996, 163f. (Lit.); GEORGE FITZ-HARDINGE BERKELEY, *The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik*, Westminster 1902, 241f.; KEVIN O'MAHONEY, '*The Ebullient Phoenix*': *a History of the Vicariate of Abyssinia, 1839–1860*, vol. 3, Asmara 1991, 98f.

Tsegay Berhe G. Libanos

Alata

A. (**አላታ**) is a locality in Bägemədər by the Abbay. Situated in the vicinity of the famous Ṭisəssat falls, some 19 miles from where the river leaves Lake Ṭana, the place was well known to the ↗Jesuits. Manoel de Almeida, writing of the great waterfall, located nearby, declared that its roar was "so great that for a considerable distance around it numbs the hearing" (BeckHuntAlm 26). He reports that *aṣe* ↗Susənyos's army, on at least one occasion, crossed the nearby river "on poles though by a bridge", but that a stone bridge was shortly afterwards erected there, by the Ethiopian monarch's commands, in 1626. The builders were Indian craftsmen, who had been brought to the country, on the monarch's orders, by the Jesuit leader Alfonso ↗Mendez, and had only a few years earlier introduced the use of mortar.

Lit.: BeckHuntAlm 26; HuntGeogr 33, 173.

Richard Pankhurst

ᶜAlawīya

ᶜA. (علوية بنت شيخ هاشم المیرغني ᶜA. bint *šayḫ* Hāšim al-Mīrġanī, b. 1310 H. [1892/93 A.D.], d. 1359 H. [1940 A.D.]) was the second daughter of

Hāšim al-Mīrġanī, the founder of the Ḫatmīya-Mīrġanīya brotherhood.

Although ᶜA. was the most outstanding exponent of the Ḫatmīya brotherhood in Eritrea for a long time since the demise of her father in 1901, the available information about her biography up to now is surprisingly scanty. ᶜA. is usually referred to as *sittī* ᶜA., *sittī* being the spoken-Arabic form of the word *sayyidatī* ('my lady'), a respectful term duly attributed to the descendants of the lineage of Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, as ᶜA. and her Mīrġanī family were (Hofheinz 1992).

During the Italian rule, it seems that ᶜA. managed to come to good terms with the colonial regime, which respected her (Caniglia 1940) and made use of her powerful influence on the Muslim society of Eritrea. She died in 1940 (ErDizBio 213, Hofheiz 1992:26) without issue and is buried together with her father *šayḫ* Hāšim in a big shrine in Ḥəṭumlo, near Massawa. According to the custom of the faithful in Ḥəṭumlo, her yearly *ḥawlīya* (pilgrimage and festival on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of a holy man) is held on the 23rd of the month of *Šawwāl*.

↗Islamic brotherhoods

Lit.: ALBRECHT HOFHEINZ, "Sons of a Hidden Imām. The Genealogy of the Mirghani Family", *Sudanic Africa* 3, 1992, 9–27; GIUSEPPE CANIGLIA, *La sœriffa di Massaua* (*la Tarica Katmia*), Roma 1940, passim; ErDizBio 213.

Alessandro Gori

Albertone, Matteo Francesco

General A. (b. 1840, Alessandria, d. 1919, Rome) was in Eritrea during 1885–90 as the Supreme Commander of the armed forces in Asmära. He returned to Eritrea in February 1896 with the reinforcements sent by Italy to General Oreste ↗Baratieri after the first Italian defeats at Ambalage and at Mäqälä. During the council held in the Italian field on 28 February 1896, in the presence of three other generals (Giuseppe ↗Arimondi, Vittorio Emanuele Dabormida and Giuseppe ↗Ellena), A. advised Baratieri to attack the Ethiopian forces, thus provoking the start of the fatal battle of ↗ᶜAdwa. At the beginning of the combat, his column went beyond the positions assigned and was crushed by the enemy forces in the violent battle of ᶜAddi Beči. He was taken prisoner, only to be freed 14 months later following the signing of the Addis Abäba Italo-Ethiopian peace treaty on 26 October 1897.

Lit.: ROBERTO BATTAGLIA, *La prima guerra d'Africa*, Torino 1958 (Biblioteca di cultura storica 62); GEORGE FITZ-HARDINGE BERKELEY, *The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik*, Westminster 1902, s. index.

Marco Lenci

Albuquerque, Afonso de

A Portuguese of noble origin, A. (b. 1450/55, d. 1515) was the Governor General of Portuguese India from 1509 to 1515. In these six years he established the Portuguese in the eastern Indian Ocean through the alliance with Hormuz (1507, resulting in protectorate in 1515), the conquest of Malacca (1511) and founded a territorial base for the Portuguese administration's headquarters with the conquest of ↗Goa in 1510. A. also showed interest in Ethiopia, attempting to break the Islamic hegemony in the ↗Red Sea through an alliance between the two kingdoms. To reach this aim he suggested, for example, diverting the course of the Nile, by collaboration between the Portuguese and the Ethiopians (Ludolf 1691:130).

Albuquerque, late 15th cent. anonymous portrait (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisboa), from Pinto 1992, fig. 13

In November 1512, he received ↗Mateus the Armenian, an envoy of Empress Ǝleni of Ethiopia. He dispatched him to Lisbon, where he was received by King ↗Manoel I, who named Duarte Galvão ambassador to negotiate the alliance's commands. In 1515 A. was succeeded by Lopo Soares de Albergaria, five years before the first Portuguese Embassy, run by Dom Rodrigo de ↗Lima, arrived in Ethiopia.

Src.: RAIMUNDO ANTONIO DE BULHÃO PATO (ed.), *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, 7 vols., Lisboa 1884–1915; HIOB LUDOLF, *Iobi Ludolfi aliàs Leutholf dicti ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius* …, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 12, 130, 598; THOMAS FOSTER EARLE – JOHN VILLIERS, *Albuquerque: Caesar of the East*, Warminster 1990; FERNÃO MENDES PINTO, *The Peregrination of Fernão Mendes Pinto: Soldier of Fortune, Trader, Pirate, Agent, Ambassador* …, ed., tr. by MICHAEL LOWERY, Manchester – Lisbon 1992 (ill).

Lit.: GIRMA BESHAH – MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso-Ethiopian Relations 1500-1632*, Lisboa 1964, 21–27; GENEVIÈVE BOUCHON, *Albuquerque: Le lion des mers d'Asie*, Paris 1992; MARIA CLARA JUNQUEIRO, "Albuquerque, Afonso de", in: LUIS DE ALBUQUERQUE – FRANCISCO CONTENTE DOMINGUES (eds.), *Dicionário de história dos descobrimentos portugueses*, vol. 1, Lisboa 1994, 34–39; CHARLES RALPH BOXER, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825*, London 1969.

Leonardo Cohen

Alcohol ↗ Drinks

Alef

A. (ኦሌፍ) was one of the ↗Nine Saints believed to have followed ↗Zämika⁾el Arägawi from Roman territory at the end of the 5th cent., bringing Syrian monasticism to Ethiopia. According to tradition, A. originally came from Caesarea, and Conti Rossini (1898) suggested that his name be compared with the mountain of Alpip, the location of a famous monastery dedicated to the Apostle Matthew, although it is not immediately obvious what this would prove. Traditions about the Nine Saints are by no means consistent, and in the Acts of *abba* ↗Gärima, the place of *abba* A. is taken by *abba* ↗ᶜOṣ, who is also said to have come from Caesarea. A. is said to have founded the monastery of Däbrä Halleluyanear the Märäb river.

The *Sənkəssar* commemorates *abba* ᶜOṣ on 4 *Taḫśaś*. Some manuscripts also mention *abba* A. on 11 *Mäggabit*. The iconography of the Nine Saints, including *abba* A., is discussed by Mordini (1952), Staude (1959), Leroy (1967), Gerster (1970) and Juel Jensen (forthcoming).

↗Syrian influences

Src.: IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Il «Gadla 'Aragâwî»", *MRALm* ser. 5, 2, 1, 1894, 54–96; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'Omilia di Yohannes, vescovo d'Aksum, in onore di Garimâ", in: *Actes du Onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes: Paris – 1897, Quatrième Section*, Paris 1898, 139–77; ID., *Vitae Sanctorum Antiquiorum: I. Acta Yārēd et Panṭalēwon*, Roma 1904 (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9, 10]); BudSaint 32, 688.

Lit.: BudHist 1, 152f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Storia d'Etiopia*, Milano 1928, 158–65; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Un'antica pittura etiopica", *RSE* 11, 1952, 29–32; WILHELM STAUDE, "Étude sur la décoration des églises Abbā Antonios de Gondar et Dabra Sinā de Gorgora", *AE* 2, 1959, 185–250, here 199, plate 83; JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Painting*, London 1967, 53 and plate 20; GEORG GERSTER, *Churches in Rock*, London 1970, 135f., plate 188; KinBibl 62, no. 13; TadTChurch 23ff.; ARTHUR KINLOCH IRVINE – SEIFU METAFERIA, "'Aléf", in: *DicEthBio* 18 (Lit.); WITOLD WITAKOWSKI, "Syrian Influences in Ethiopian Culture", *Orientalia Suecana* 38/39, 1989/90, 191–202; RODERICK GRIERSON – STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Red Sea, Blue Nile: a History of Ethiopia*, London 2002; BENT JUEL JENSEN, "Two Manuscripts from Debra Damo", in: RODERICK GRIERSON (ed.), *Miscellanea Aethiopica: Essays in Honour of Richard Pankhurst*, forthcoming; ARTHUR VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient: a Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East*, vol. 3, Louvain 1988 (CSCO 500, Subsidia 81), 272–78.

Roderick Grierson

ALERT

A. (All Africa Leprosy [Tuberculosis] and Rehabilitation Training Center) is a medical facility in Addis Abäba, specializing in Hansen's disease, also known as ↗leprosy. A. is the result of Dr. Eugene Kellersberger's vision for a leprosy training-centre to serve Africa, and has functioned as such, hosting trainees from many African countries and beyond. A.'s activities focus on its hospital, rehabilitation of leprosy patients, training-programs for leprosy personnel from around the world, and leprosy control (administration of the Ministry of Health's leprosy control program for the region). From the beginning, A. provided leprosy training for medical students from Addis Ababa University. Also at A. is the Armauer Hansen Research Institute founded in 1970, specializing in leprosy research.

A. is on the site of the leprosy hospital originally built by Dr. Thomas ↗Lambie in 1922 and the Princess Zännäbä Wärq Hospital. A memorandum to found A. was signed 11 December 1965 by representatives of the Ministry of Health, Addis Ababa University, the International Society for the Rehabilitation of the Disabled, the Leprosy Mission and the American

Leprosy Mission. The purpose of A. was stated to be "to train men and women in all aspects of leprosy with special emphasis on control, treatment, and rehabilitation as it applies to Africa".

Lit.: WINIFRED KELLERSBERGER VASS, *Doctor Not Afraid: E.R. Kellersberger, M.D.*, Dallas ²1999.

Peter Unseth

Alexander the Great

The attention paid by Christian oriental cultures to the myth of A. is largely due to the literary success of the Greek Romance attributed to Callisthenes of Olynthus, a 4th cent. work written in Alexandria and belonging to the early Byzantine *Volksliteratur*.

One of the several Greek recensions was translated firstly into Syriac, then into Arabic and finally into Gəᶜəz. The lost Arabic version can be reconstructed from the Ethiopic translation, which dates from the 16th cent. and is titled **ሑረቱ፡ ለእስክንድር** (*Ḥurätu läʾəskändər*, 'The Journey of Alexander'). Unusually, in the history of Ethiopic literature, this translation harks back to an Islamic model. Hence, the possibility that it was made by the monk and theologian ↗ᶜƎnbaqom, an Arab native of Yemen, who became a Christian and was then appointed abbot (*əṣṣäge*) of ↗Däbrä Libanos.

In the 14th cent. a different and older Ethiopic text of the A. Romance was loosely translated from a Christian Arabic model, now lost, probably within a Təgrayan monastic community. In the manuscript the text is styled **በእንተ፡ ግብሩ ፡ ወመንግሥቱ፡ ለእስክንድር፡ ንጉሥ ፤ ፍቁረ፡ እግዚአብሔር** (*Bäʾəntä gəbru wämängəštu läʾəskəndər nəguś fəqurä əgziʾabəḥer*, 'About the Acts and the Reign of the King Alexander, Beloved of the Lord'), but it is better known as **ዜና፡ እስክንድር** (*Zena Ǝskändər*, 'The Story of Alexander') or the *Christian Romance of Alexander the Great*. In this work the literary myth of A. is strictly related to the representation of the political and religious principle of the universal Christian monarchy. For the Ethiopians A. is both a pre-Christian saint and a king invested with a civilizing mission, an enlightened one knowing spiritual mysteries and a warrior fighting against pre-Christian peoples. The interlinking identification of the *nəguś* with the Greek hero lent some popularity to the image of A. and consecrated the *Zena Ǝskändər* as revealing the traditional values inspiring the Ethiopian monarchy. Since in the Christian Romance, especially in the famous episode of Gog and Magog, the activity of A. is often directed against magic and divination, in traditional Ethiopian culture he is credited with supernatural powers. On account of this, in the magic literature the name of A. is invoked and a series of texts reports the apocryphal words uttered by the king when sealing the wall he had built to separate Gog and Magog from the rest of the mankind.

↗ Gəᶜəz literature

Src.: ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great Being a Series of Ethiopic Texts* …, 2 vols., London 1896.

Lit.: THEODOR NÖLDEKE, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans", *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse* 38, 5, 1890; KARL FRIEDRICH WEYMANN, *Die äthiopische und arabische Übersetzung des Pseudocallisthenes: eine literarische Untersuchung*, Kirchhain 1901; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Origine e significato della presenza di Alessandro Magno nella letteratura etiopica", *RSE* 38, 1994 [print. 1997], 95–118 (Lit.).

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Alexandria ↗ Egypt

Aləyyu Amba

A.A. (**አልዩ፡ አምባ**) is often called the "little Harär of Šäwa", because its relatively small historical walls recall the wall of Harär and its gates. A.A. is a Muslim town, located about 58 km south-east of the town of ↗Däbrä Bərhan, in north-eastern Šäwa on the main trade route to Harär and Awsa. It has an altitude of 1,805 m A.S.L. (Cecchi 1885–87, vol. 3, 529). Its weekly markets used to take place every Friday (Rochet d'Héricourt 1841:229; Harris 1844, vol. 1, 381, cp. *Guida* 407). According to a local written document recently consulted (*Taʾrīḫ al-Islām* …, fol. 19), A.A. has been one of the biggest market-towns since at least the 17th cent.

A.A. assumed its regional prominence with the rise of Šäwa in the late 17th cent. Rochet d'Héricourt, who visited Šäwa between 1839 and 1843, reported that around 1,500–1,700 camels were used to transport valuable items of trade to and from this market centre. A.A. was, therefore, one of the largest trade centres of 19th-cent. Šäwa. Apart from the Argobba, Amhara and ᶜAfar from nearby areas, Waṛğih, Oromo, Harari, Turkish, Greek, Armenian and Banyan traders were frequent visitors to the town. William Harris in that time described it as a trading centre with a "motley community"

(Harris 1844, vol. 1, 365). Rochet d'Héricourt and Cecchi fix A.A.'s population between 2,000–4,000 (Rochet d'Héricourt 1846:259f.; Cecchi 1885–87, vol. 1, 302).

The customs duty of Šäwa in the 19th cent. was based on the market price of A.A., among other factors, due to the high profits it made over a long period. As a junction between the Christian- and Muslim-dominated areas of north-eastern Šäwa, it attracted the agricultural products of both communities. A.A. was part of the main gateway to the Gulf of Aden, and further trade routes to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean also converged here before reaching ↗Ankobär.

During the Mənilək II era a modern customs office was opened here for the first time in the history of modern Ethiopia. A telephone line was installed between Mənilək's town of ↗Ǝntoṭṭo and A.A.

The Djibouti–Addis Abäba railway, constructed between 1897 and 1917, was first intended to pass through A.A. This was rejected after the rugged terrain of the region was studied by the French experts (*Taʾrīḫ al-Islām…*, fol. 32f.). The customs office was then transferred to ↗Dərre Dawa, the newly prominent railway town. Quite a number of inhabitants were gradually forced to flock to the more prosperous cities of ↗Däse, Addis Abäba, Harär and Dərre Dawa.

The ousted *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu went to his allies in that area and later to A.A. Although he was received with due respect at first, later he was harrassed by local government forces at A.A.

In 1937 the Italian forces burnt A.A. down, so that it would not be used by patriots and the secret intelligence group (**ውስጥ፡ አርበኞች**, *wəsṭ arbäñño*čč). After 1941 A.A. was a market town of low status.

The market of A.A. has, however, continued to exist until the present; and its resources are still enjoyed by the nearby ᶜAfar, Argobba and Amhara communities.

Src.: *Taʾrīḫ al-Islām fī l-Ḥabaša* ('A History of Islam in Abyssinia'), ms. in possession of the late *šayḫ* Hando Šayh Sadeq, Šäwa Robit, January 1993; *Guida* 407; CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE, *A Diary Written during a Journey in Abyssinia in the Years 1840, 1841, 1842 and 1843*, London 1846, 300–15; ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, 3 vols., Roma 1885–87, vol. 1, 302, vol. 3, 529; CHARLES JOHNSTON, *Travels in Southern Abyssinia, through the Country of Adal to the Kingdom of Shoa, during the Years 1842–1843*, London 1844, ²1972, vol. 2, 227; CHARLES E. XAVIER ROCHET D'HÉRICOURT, *Voyage sur la côte orientale de la Mer Rouge, dans le pays d'Adel et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1841, 229, 293–300; ID., *Second voyage sur les deux rives de la Mer Rouge, dans le pays des Adels, et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1846, 96, 259f.; WILLIAM CORNWALLIS HARRIS, *The Highlands of Æthiopia*, London 1844, vol. 1, 362–89, esp. 365f.

Lit.: AHMED HASSEN OMER, *A Historical Survey of Ethnic Relations in Yefat and Timmuga Awrajjä, Northeast Shäwa (1889–1974)*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1994, passim (Lit.); ID., "The Italian Impact on Ethnic Relations: a Case Study of a Regional Policy in Northern Shäwa (Ethiopia), 1936–1941", *AE* 16, 2000, 153f.; REXFORD H. KOFI DARKWAH, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire, 1813–1889*, London 1975, 161–67; **ሰሜን፡ ሸዋ፤ የታሪክና፡ የባህል፡ እምብርት** (*Sämen Šäwa yätarikənna yäbahələmlərt*, 'Northern Šäwa: the Core of History and Culture'), Addis Abäba 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.], 21f. [a documentary brochure of the North Šäwan Cultural Bureau].

Ahmed Hassen Omer

Alfieri, Raffaele

A. (b. 1840, Civitella) was an Italian physician and traveller. He fought under Garibaldi at Mentana in 1867 and was transferred to Egypt in 1870. In 1879/80, A., together with Giacomo Bartolomeo Messedaghoi, was assigned by the Egyptian government to Darfur in the Sudan as a government physician. He was wounded and taken prisoner by the soldiers of *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) in an encounter at Gudru in 1882 and became his personal physician. He participated in the Blue Nile expedition of April 1883 with the French traveller Soleillet and in 1886 followed Mənilək in the campaign for the occupation of Harär. He went back to Italy in 1888, but returned in 1889 as a functionary in ↗ᶜAsäb, from where he was transferred in 1890 to Transvaal where he probably died.

Lit.: ISTITUTO FARMACOTERAPICO ITALIANO (ed.), *Medici italiani in Etiopia. Raffaele Alfieri. Vincenzo Ragazzi*, Roma 1936, 3–14, 18; GIAN CARLO STELLA, *Raffaele Alfieri*, Ravenna 1982, 33; LEOPOLDO TRAVERSI, "Il dottor Raffaele Alfieri", *Rivista delle Colonie Italiane* 9, luglio 7, 1935, 659–65.

Gian Carlo Stella

Alfonso V

A., named "the Magnanimous" (b. 1394/96, Medina del Campo, d. 27 June 1458, Naples), Count of Barcelona, succeeded his father Ferdinand I of Antequera as king of Aragon and Sicily (r. 1416–58) and gained later the kingdom of Naples (r. 1443–58).

Besides territorial expansion of the kingdom and important campaigns in the Italian peninsula, A. set up a thorough eastern policy, probably planned in favour of the interests of his Catalan subjects in the Levant trade (Ryder 1990:295f.) rather than as an explicit opposition to the Ottoman power (Marinescu 1994). It was in this context that A. approached *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq, with whom he is known to have been in contact since 1428 at the latest. Ambassadors of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob were present at A.'s triumphal entry into Naples on 16 July 1450 (Ryder 1990:282). A. also entertained a project of a double wedding of his cousin Jeanne and the infant Don Pedro with some relatives of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob. Such diplomatic strategies, however, did not progress any further. The Ethiopian – Catalan correspondence kept in the "Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó" in Barcelona (reg. 2579, 2658, 2680, 2681, 2689) reveals the strong interest the Ethiopian rulers showed in importing European craftsmen and military aid rather than religious solidarity; such a diplomatic dynamic was to be repeated the next century with the Portuguese kings.

Src.: Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, registers 2680, 2579, 2658, 2681, 2689.

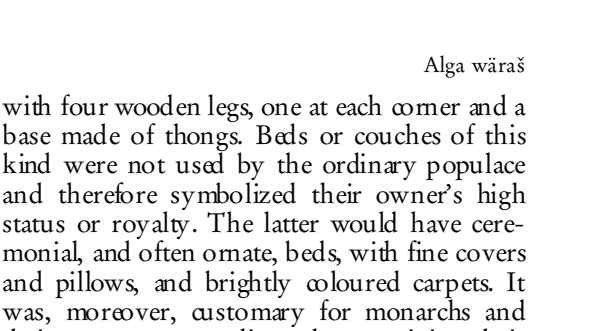
Lit.: CONSTANTIN MARINESCU, *La politique orientale d'Alfonse V d'Aragon, roi de Naples (1416–1458)*, Barcelona 1994, passim; ALAN RYDER, *Alfonso the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396–1458*, Oxford 1990, 282, 295f., 299; F. CREONE, "La politica orientale di Alfonso di Aragon", *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane* 27, 1902, 1–93.

Andreu Martínez

Alga

A. (**አልጋ**) is Amharic for a traditional Ethiopian bed and, by extension, throne. This culturally important artefact was traditionally rectangular, with four wooden legs, one at each corner and a base made of thongs. Beds or couches of this kind were not used by the ordinary populace and therefore symbolized their owner's high status or royalty. The latter would have ceremonial, and often ornate, beds, with fine covers and pillows, and brightly coloured carpets. It was, moreover, customary for monarchs and their consorts to recline when receiving their guests, as illustrated, for example, in the engravings of *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase and Queen Bəzunäš in d'Héricourt 1846.

The political connotation of the word is also



An *alga* from a traditional Amhara household, from Huyn – Kalmer 1935:80

seen in such terms or phrases as **አልጋ፡ ወራሽ**, ↗*alga wäraš*, i.e. 'inheritor of the A.', or 'crown prince', **አልጋ፡ ልጅ**, *alga ləǧ*, 'of royal race', **አልጋ፡ ጠባቂ**, *alga ṭäbbaqi*, 'guardian of the throne', **ባለ፡ አልጋ**, *balä alga*, 'occupant of the throne', and **አልጋ፡ ነቀነቀ**, *alga näqännäqä*, 'he shook the throne', meaning 'he rebelled'.

Src.: KaneDic 1112; GuiVoc 415; ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Dictionnaire de la langue amariñña*, Paris 1881, 460; CHARLES E. XAVIER ROCHET D'HÉRICOURT, *Second voyage sur les deux rives de la Mer Rouge dans le pays des Adels et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1846, plate I; CHARLEMAGNE THÉOPHILE LEFEBVRE, *Voyage en Abyssinie, exécuté pendant les années 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843 …*, Paris 1845–51, Atlas, plate I, 38; JULES BORELLI, *Ethiopie méridionale*, Paris 1890, 100; GueCopMen I, 58, 196, 200; FRANÇOIS MARIE CASIMIR MONDON-VIDAILHET (ed., tr.), *Chronique de Theodoros II, roi des rois d'Éthiopie (1853–1868)*, Paris 1904, 82; GRAF LUDWIG HUYN – JOSEF KALMER, *Abessinien. Afrikas Unruhe-Herd*, Salzburg 1935, 80 (ill.).

Richard Pankhurst

Alga wäraš

A.w. (**አልጋ፡ ወራሽ**) is an Amharic expression for the 'heir to the throne'.

The term was in all probability first used officially when *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu was chosen by *aṣe*

Mənilək II to be the Heir to the Throne in July 1908. As such, he executed his power till his grandfather's death in 1913 and ruled Ethiopia without being crowned emperor till 1916.

After the ↗Coup d'état of 1916, *ras* Täfäri Mäk^{w}ännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) was chosen to be A.w. at the gathering of the aristocracy (*mäsafənt*). He ruled Ethiopia together with *nəgəśtä nəgəśtat* Zäwditu and *fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis before he took the title of ↗*əndärase* after some years, possibly in 1919.

In Ḫaylä Śəllase's time, his son, ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase, was titled A.w. during his father's coronation ceremony in 1930 with no power connected with the title. When Asfa Wäsän suffered a stroke in 1974, on the eve of the Revolution, the Emperor proclaimed Asfa Wäsän's son Zär^{ə}a Ya^{ʿ}əqob the "acting" *alga wäraš*, without depriving the latter's father of the title. They both used their titles while in exile in the United States.

Src.: KaneDic 1112; THMDic 699; DTWDic 929; *blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **ዝክረ፡ ነገር** (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba ^{2}1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 619ff.; HAILE SELASSIE I, *My Life and Ethiopia's Progress, 1892 – 1937*, ed., tr. by EDWARD ULLENDORFF, Oxford 1976, 57.

Lit.: BTafA 877; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Time and Reign of Menelik II of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1975, 241; ID., *Haile Sellassie I: the Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley 1987, 18–27; TÄKLÄ ṢADƎQ MÄK^{w}ƎRIYA, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ። ፬ኛ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ከዐፄ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ እስከ፡ ግርማዊ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ** (*Yä^{ʾ}ityopya tarik. Aratäññä mäṣḥaf: kä^{ʿ}aṣe Tewodros əskä gərmawi Ḫaylä Śəllase*, 'History of Ethiopia. Book IV: From *aṣe* Tewodros to Ḫaylä Śəllase the Great), Addis Abäba 1954 A.M. [1961/62 A.D.], 100f., 131; HANNA RUBINKOWSKA, "Wybrane aspekty panowania Lydża Ijasu, 1909 – 1916", *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Afrykanistycznego "Afryka"* 12, 2000, 25–38; BAHRU ZEWDE, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855–1974*, London – Athens – Addis Ababa 1991, ^{2}2001.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Algäden

A. (**አልገዴን**) is a small village of the homonymous ethnic group A., situated at the western side of ↗^{ʿ}Aqordät. At the end of the 19th cent. the village was an important trading centre on the commercial routes between Kassala and Tokar on the Red Sea and Ḫamasen – Sawäkin. It was also a crossing area of Beğa nomadic people at the Sudanese/Eritrean border and a linking point between the Barka and ^{ʿ}Ansäba regions, and therefore an important political area in the relations between the highlands and the lowlands.

Under the Italian administrative law of 1898 the people of A. were incorporated into the *residenza* of Barka Mogareb along with the ↗Beni ^{ʿ}Amər, ↗Säbdärat, Barya (↗Nara) and ↗Kunama and classified as "eastern Sudanic tribes of Muslim religion". To the west they bordered with the Säbdärat. In the colonial census of 1900 their population was estimated at 1,350.

The village of A. is quoted for the first time in Italian records in the *Indice delle località abitate* (1903) and later in both *the Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano* (1929:641) and the *Guida* (219). Conti Rossini (1903; 1906) collected the oral traditions of the A. people. He believed the A. to be the remnants of the ↗Funǧ domination in the area of Barka and ↗Gaš and to have been assimilated into the Kunama and Beğa populations.

According to Baker (1886), the A. were in origin cultivators defending their lands against the Kunama and Barya, against whom they made frequent livestock raids beyond the Gaš. They are Muslim and speak Təgre. They fought on the Egyptian side against the Ethiopians, but were allied with the latter against the Dervishes in the battle of ↗Kufit.

Src.: *Indice delle località abitate*, Asmara 1903; *Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano. Possedimenti e colonie*, Milano 1929, 641; *Guida* 219.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Ricordi di un soggiorno in Eritrea*, Asmara 1903, VI: "Tradizioni Beni Amer, Algheden, Sabderat"; ID., "Il censimento delle popolazioni indigene della colonia eritrea", *Rivista geografica italiana* 9, 1, 1902, 52–62; ID., "Schizzo etnico e storico delle popolazioni eritree", in: SOCIETÀ DI STUDI GEOGRAFICI

E COLONIALI: FERDINANDO MARTINI – OLINTO MARINELLI (eds.), *L'Eritrea economica: prima serie di conferenze tenute in Firenze sotto gli auspici della Società di Studi Geografici e Coloniali con un ritratto di Ferdinando Martini* […], Novara – Roma 1913; ID., "Documenti per lo studio della lingua tigré", *Giornale della società asiatica italiana* 16, 1903, 1–32; ID., "Per la conoscenza della lingua Cunama", *ibid.*, 187–227; SAMUEL WHITE BAKER, *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia*, London 1886; HAGGAI ERLICH, *A Political Biography of Ras Alula, 1875–1897*, Michigan 1982.

Irma Taddia

Ali Alula

A.A. (**አሊ፡ አሉላ**, also Ali II, Ali Tannaš, Ali Təkku, b. 1818, d. 1866) ruled central Ethiopia 1830–53 as the last of the ↗Yäǧǧu dynasty of Oromo chiefs who ruled during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. After three of his uncles had succeeded each other in a matter of six years, he became *ras* at the age of 12 or 13. During the first decade of his rule his mother ↗Mänän Libän Amäde dominated political affairs at ↗Däbrä Tabor, where A.A. resided with Bägemdər, Yäǧǧu and Wällo as his main power-base. Because of the almost complete breakdown of imperial authority, the task of safeguarding the political unity of the country fell on the *ras*. Even after he came of age, however, A.A. seems to have failed to show the qualities of a strong and energetic ruler. After a period of conflicts, shifting alliances and regional wars in the Lake Ṭana region, in particular with the *däǧǧazmačočč* of Goǧǧam and Səmen-Təgray, A.A. was finally overthrown by his own son-in-law Kaśa Ḫaylu (the future *aṣe* Tewodros II) at ↗Ayšal.

It was during A.A.'s years in power that Europeans first came in large numbers to explore the commercial, political and missionary opportunities in Ethiopia. A.A. received them well and allowed them to travel as they liked. In 1849 he concluded a treaty of friendship and commerce with Great Britain, signing himself as "King of Abyssinia" and affixing his own as well as the emperor's seal to the text (Rubenson 1987:178–87).

Nominally a Christian, though of Muslim background, A.A. is by some reported to have been a strong supporter of the Muslim sectors of the population, by others to have been tolerant in religious matters. He is also known to have been active as a peace-maker between quarrelling factions of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church of his time.

Ali Alula, from Massaja 1885:135

Lit.: ARNAULD D'ABBADIE, *Douze ans dans la Haute-Éthiopie*, Paris 1868; SVEN RUBENSON (ed.), *Correspondence and Treaties 1800–1854*, Addis Abeba — Evanston 1987 (Acta Aethiopica 1), 178–87; SHIFERAW BEKELE, "The State in *Zamana Masafent*: an Essay in Reinterpretation", in: TADDESSE BEYENE — RICHARD PANKHURST — SHIFERAW BEKELE (eds.), *Kasa and Kasa*, Addis Ababa 1990, 25–68; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1952; GUGLIELMO MASSAJA, *I miei trentacinque anni di missione nell'alta Etiopia*, vol. 1, Milano 1885, 135 (ill.).

Sven Rubenson

ʿAlī b. Dāʾūd dynasty

In 1567 Muḥammad Gaša I transferred the centre of ↗ʿAdal from Harär to ↗Awsa. From then on Harär was ruled by a governor with the title ↗*amīr*. Gradually, however, the town loosened itself from its ties with Awsa and in 1647 *amīr* ʿA. (علی بن داود) regained total independence. He founded a dynasty, which ruled the city state of Harär for two centuries till *aṣe* Mənilək II conquered the town in January 1887. This period was interrupted only by the Egyptian occupation from 1875–85.

ʿA., who had already held several important posts under his predecessors, attained power after a short period of turmoil in the government of Harär. After the death of the *amīr* Ṣādiq his two followers both died a violent death in the same year. Having won the throne, ʿA. and his

successors stabilized their rule through an extensive marriage policy with the chiefs of the surrounding tribes and the families of their high officials. This neutralized the always existing threat from the neighbouring Oromo so far that the *amīrs* could sometimes extend the town's influence as far as ↗Alәyyu Amba in the west and the Fafan (near Ǧiǧǧiga) in the east.

This is all that can be said about the history of the dynasty in the 17th and the 18th cent., since our only source is an Arabic list of the rulers which exists in several copies. It became known to European travellers at the end of the 19th cent. and also to ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis Gäbrä Mäsih, who induded it in his *History of the Galla* in an Amharic translation. Critical and annotated editions were published by Basset (1914), Cerulli (1942) and Tedeschi (1974). For the period after 1800 some information can be obtained from the European travellers.

The last *amīr*, ↗ʿAbdullāhi b. Muḥammad (1885–87), lost power after the Ethiopian conquest. Here is the line of ʿA.'s successors, as known from the list published by Tedeschi (PICES 4): ʿAlī b. Dāʾūd, ↗Hāšim b. ʿAlī, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, Ṭalḥa b. ʿAbdallāh, Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh, Ḫalaf b. Abī Bakr, Ḥāmid b. Abī Bakr, Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr, ↗Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, ↗ʿAbdaššakūr b. Yūsuf, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, ↗ʿAbdarraḥmān b. Muḥammad, ↗ʿAbdalkarīm b. Muḥammad, ↗Abū Bakr b. *aftal-garād* ʿAbdalmannān b. Muḥammad, ↗Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr, ↗Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdaššakūr, ʿAbdullāhi b. Muḥammad.

Lit.: RENÉ BASSET, "Chronologie des rois de Harar (1637–1887)", *JA* 3, 1914, 245–58; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli emiri di Harar dal secolo XVI alla conquista egiziana (1875)", *RSE* 2, 1, 1942, 3–20 [repr. in: ID., *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971, 368–82]; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "L'Emirato di Harar secondo un documento inedito", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 481–500; BTafA 853–57 [cf. also the review by EWALD WAGNER, *ZDMG* 139, 1989, 233–40, here 239f.]; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Dynastic Inter-Marriage in Medieval Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 206–20, here 210.

Ewald Wagner

ʿAlī b. Ṣabraddīn

Qaṭ ʿA. (علی بن صبرالدین, r. 1335/36–1374/75) was a *sulṭān* of ↗Ifat. After the victories of *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣәyon I over the Muslims, the sultanate of Ifat had to accept the suzerainty of the Ethiopian emperors. Consequently, the policy of the ↗Walašmaʿ rulers of Ifat was to regain independence, while that of the emperors incited internal quarrels inside the Walašmaʿ dynasty to retain the Ethiopian overlordship. This situation is reflected in the rule of the Walašmaʿ *sulṭān qaṭ* ʿA.

According to the Walašmaʿ Chronicle (Cerulli 1971:142f.) *qaṭ* ʿA. succeeded his father ↗Ṣabraddīn I Muḥammad b. Dalḥūy and ruled for 40 years, followed by his son ↗Aḥmad Ḥarb Arʿad b. ʿAlī b. Ṣabraddīn, who ruled for two years. That suggests that ʿA. must have ruled from 1335/36–74/75.

From al-Maqrīzī's *Ilmām* (1895:9ff.), however, we learn that things were more complicated. When ʿA. took over, he, like his father, was a vassal of the Ethiopian emperor. He overthrew the Ethiopian suzerainty for some time, but then later had to submit to it again. When he was governing his country in the name of *aṣe* Nәwayä Krәstos (↗Säyfä Arʿad), the bedouins (Danakil) rebelled, and this provided a reason for the Emperor to imprison ʿA. and all his sons except Aḥmad Ḥarb Arʿad, who was installed in Ifat.

ʿA. was kept hostage for eight years at the imperial court, while his son ruled in Ifat. Then the Emperor was reconciled with ʿA. and reinstalled him in Ifat, so that Aḥmad Ḥarb Arʿad now became the hostage. After some time, however, the Emperor seemed certain of his vassal's loyalty, so that he released him. He ordered ʿA. to give Aḥmad a governorship in the "Ǧäbärti region". ʿA. did so. Aḥmad was not very successful in his new role and was killed by his rebelling subjects. After Aḥmad's death, his son ↗Ḥaqqaddīn II b. Aḥmad Ḥarb Arʿad, who was studying in Ifat, was pursued with hatred by his grandfather ʿA. and his uncle *mollā* Aṣfaḥ b. ʿAlī and finally driven out of the town. Ḥaqqaddīn collected troops in the country of his exile, so that when his uncle *mollā* Aṣfaḥ rebelled against his father ʿA. with the help of the Ethiopians, Ḥaqqaddīn came in support of his grandfather, defeated the allied forces and killed his uncle. Victoriously, he returned to Ifat. ʿA. was forced to become reconciled with his now powerful grandson and to hand over to him the rule of Ifat. Ḥaqqaddīn, however, did not stay in Ifat. He proceeded to Šäwa, were he built a new capital named Wahal. The town of Ifat fell into ruins.

Later, according to al-Maqrīzī (1895:13), ʿA. died in the time of ↗Saʿdaddīn Abū l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ḥarb Arʿad (1386/87–1415) after having been imprisoned by the Em-

peror for 30 years. It may be that ʿA. still stayed for a while in Ifat after Ḥaqqaddīn had left, and became engaged in another futile conflict with the Emperor.

Src.: AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Al-Ilmām bi-aḫbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabaša min mulūk al-Islām* ('Overview of the Islamic Rulers who were in the Land of Ḥabaša'), Cairo 1895, 9ff., 13.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* 328, ser. 6, 4, 2, 1931, 39–101 [repr. in: ID., *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971, 136–206]; ID., *Studi etiopici*, 1: *La lingua e la storia di Harar*, Roma 1936, 24f. [repr. in: op. cit., 281–327].

Ewald Wagner

ʿAlī b. Umardīn Walasmaʿ

↗ Walašmaʿ dynasty

Ali Gʷangul

Ras A.G. (**አሊ፡ ንጉሱ**, also ʿAli Gʷangʷəl, Ali I, or *təlläqu ras Ali*, '*ras* Ali the Great', d. 1788) came, according to Ethiopian tradition, from the family of *šayḫ* ↗ʿUmardīn b. Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn. During the war against Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"; 16th cent.), the family settled in ↗Yäğğu. A.G.'s father, Seru [Śərw] Gʷangul, was said to be the seventh descendant of *šayḫ* ʿUmar. A.G.'s mother, *wäyzäro* Gällabu, was a daughter of *ras* Färis, a landlord from Lasta and Säläwa.

In 1784 *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis I made A.G. governor (↗*Əndärase*) of Bägemdar (Blundell 1922:342). In 1784–88 A.G. became governor of Gondär as well. His reign marked the beginning of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* era, as he founded a dynasty of Gondär rulers of Seru Gʷangul's family, commonly known as the Yäğğu dynasty. The dynasty ruled in Gondär up to 29 June 1853, when *däğğazmač* Kaśa Ḫaylu (later *aṣe* Tewodros II) defeated its last representative, *ras* ↗Ali Alula, in the battle of Ayšal.

Src.: HERBERT WELD BLUNDELL, *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia 1769–1840*, Cambridge 1922, 346 (tr.); EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main 1838–40, vol. 2, 372–77.

Lit.: TÄKLÄ ṢADƏQ MÄKʷƏRIYA, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ። ፫ኛ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ከዐፄ፡ ልብነ፡ ድንግል፡ እስከ፡ ዐፄ፡ ቴዎድሮስ** (*Yäʾityopya tarik. Śostäññä mäṣḥaf käʿaṣe Ləbnä Dəngəl əskä ʿaṣe Tewodros*, 'History of Ethiopia. Book III: From *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl to *aṣe* Tewodros'), Addis Abäba 1942 A.M. [1949/50 A.D.], 208–12; ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANIEL-NIEĆKO, *Geschichte Aethiopiens*, Berlin 1978, 224–30, 646f.; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London 1952, 107f., 110; SHIFERAW BEKELE, "The State in *Zamana Masafent*: an Essay in Reinterpretation", in: TADDESSE BEYENE – RICHARD PANKHURST – SHIFERAW BEKELE (eds.), *Kasa and Kasa*, Addis Ababa 1990.

Joanna Mantel-Niećko

ʿAlī Ḥamdūn

ʿA.Ḥ. (علي حمدون) is the written Arabic form of the name of the renowned holy man currently called in ↗Harär *sayyid* ʿAlī Ḥamdon. Cerulli (1936:51) explains Ḥamdon as the Harari abbreviation of the Arab name Ḥamdullāh.

Two places in the old town of Harär are related to the memory of this venerable personage. The shrine in which his remains are kept and which is considered as one of the most holy sites in Harär, is located to the west of the main market-place of the town (*Gidīr magāla*). A mosque named after him is found on the east side of the same market-place (Wagner 1973:271; Foucher 1988:269).

According to a local written genealogy published and analyzed by Wagner (1974:115f.), ʿA.Ḥ. was a descendant of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib through Ǧaʾfar al-Ṣādiq: he is thus of noble origin and deserves the Arabic title of *sayyid*.

A historical tradition studied by Wagner (1973:271f.) states that ʿA.Ḥ. reached the Harari land during the reign of *sulṭān* ↗ʿUṯmān, entered the town in 1584 and died on 30th November 1614 [*27 Šawwāl* 1023 H.].

The name of ʿA.Ḥ. is invoked in the seventh verse of a Harari *qaṣīda* written in Arabic to beseech saints for protection (Wagner 1975:31), in which the holy man is called "*sayyid* of the *sayyids*" and "descendant of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn", the grandson of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, *Studi etiopici*, 1: *La lingua e la storia di Harar*, Roma 1936, 51; EMILE FOUCHER, "Names of Mussulmans Venerated in Harar and its Surroundings. A List", *ZDMG* 138, 1988, 263–82, s. 269; EWALD WAGNER, "Eine Liste der Heiligen von Harar", *ibid.* 123, 1973, 269–92, here 271f.; ID., "Arabische Heiligenlieder aus Harar", *ibid.* 125, 1975, 28–65, here 31; ID., "Genealogien aus Harar", *Der Islam* 51, 1974, 97–117, here 115f.

Alessandro Gori

ʿAli Mäḥammäd Musa Räd'ay

Däğğazmač ʿA.M. (**ዓሊ፡ መሐመድ፡ ሙሳ፡ ራድአይ** or ʿAli Räd'ay, b. 1913, Kärän, d. 1974, Asmära) was a prominent Eritrean politician. After completing the basic education provided by a colonial school in Kärän, he became a prominent local merchant. His economic success and educational background helped him become

ʿAli Mäḥammäd Musa Räḏ'ay, from *Religious Freedom in Ethiopia*, p. 81

an important political figure among the Muslim population of Ansäba Province. Under the ↗British Military Administration in Eritrea, he was appointed the Secretary of Kärän in 1946. He became an influential representative of the ↗Muslim League party until in 1950 he became involved in personal clashes with its president, ↗Ibrāhīm Sulṭān.

The British Military Administration and its "divide and rule" policy gave ʿA.M. ample opportunity to advocate the idea of Eritrean partition between Ethiopia and the Sudan. The idea of partition also enabled him to get support from Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I. ʿA.M. formed a new party, the Moslem League of the Western Lowlands with the core idea to have the provinces Sänhit and Saḥəl transferred under the British Trusteeship, which finally led to a merger with Sudan.

Although his partition policy was a failure due to widespread rejection, ʿA.M. formed a coalition with ↗Tädla Bayru's Unionist Party. The new coalition party advocated a total Ethiopian control over Eritrea. Following the first elections of 1952 ʿA.M. became the President of the first Assembly of Eritrea.

However, the idea of unionism was strongly rejected and Tädla Bayru was finally forced to resign from his post as the Chief Executive of the Eritrean Government in 1955 – and ʿA.M. had to resign, too.

ʿA.M. was given much credit for his unionist ideas by the new Chief Executive of the Eritrean Government, ↗Asfaḥa Wäldä Mikaʾel. He was soon promoted to a Cabinet post, which he kept until he was assassinated by members of the Eritrean Liberation Front in 1974.

Lit.: KilHDic 68; [IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA (ed.)], *Religious Freedom in Ethiopia* [*after 1965*], n.d., 81 (ill.); TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia, the Federal Experience*, New Brunswick – New Jersey 1997, 83, 105, 218.

Mussie Tesfagiorgis

Ali Musa

Šeh A.M. (አሊ፡ ሙሳ or *aš-šayḫ* ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Ǧabartī) was an Ethiopian merchant at Gondär in the middle of the 19th cent. He exercised considerable political influence and was often called upon to safeguard peace and order in the capital. He acted as a mediator between warring factions in the last years of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* and involved himself, inter alia, in attempts to avoid war in 1852 between ↗Ali Alula and the future *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, then known as *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa.

Preserved letters testify to A.M.'s international contacts. A.M. is known to have built a large mosque in Gondär and to have promoted Sufism among his co-religionists.

Lit.: SVEN RUBENSON – GETATCHEW HAILE – JOHN HUNWICK (eds.), *Correspondence and Treaties 1800–1854*, Evanston – Addis Ababa 1987 (Acta Aethiopica 1), s. index.

Sven Rubenson

ʿAlī Nūrīn

ʿA.N. (علي نورين) was a late-19th-cent. chief of the ↗Säbdärat group in the Gaš region of western Eritrea on the Sudanese border. He was recognized chief of ↗Taka province by the Egyptians in 1870.

In 1883 ʿA.N. fought the invading Mahdist forces in the Säbdärat region east of Kassala and at an initial stage succeeded in defeating them. Consequently, the Mahdists launched a massive counter-attack that resulted in the decimation of the Säbdärat and their flight from their lands near the border. Although the battle left him seriously wounded, ʿA.N. reached Asmära, sought *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda's assistance against the Mahdists and fought at his side against ↗ʿUṯmān Diqna, the leading military commander of the Mahdists in Eastern Sudan, at the battle of ↗Kufit on 23 September 1885.

Afterwards ᶜA.N. continued to fight the Mahdists, this time siding with the Italians, who had proclaimed Eritrea a colony in 1890. General ↗Baratieri's conquest of Kassala in 1894 resulted in the return of the Säbdärat people to their lands. ᶜA.N. died on 21 January 1897 while fighting the Baqqāra cavalry near Šaglät.

Lit.: ErDizBio 12f.; ALBERTO POLLERA, *Le popolazioni indigene dell'Eritrea*, Bologna 1935, 187ff.; HAGGAI ERLICH, *A Political Biography of Ras Alula*, East Lancing, MI 1982 [=*Ras Alula and the Scramble for Africa; a Political Biography: Ethiopia and Eritrea 1875–1897*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1996], 62, 71, 101.

Jonathan Miran

Ali Sabieh

Located at an altitude of 750 m A.S.L., A.S. (also ᶜAli Sabiḫ), is one of the seven principal towns of the Republic of ↗Djibouti. Located in the foothills of Mount Dadin and Mount Array 95 km from the city of Djibouti (11°16'N, 42°71'E), A.S. was founded at the beginning of the 20th cent. in the region of ↗ᶜIssa Somali. Its origins and development are closely linked to its economic function: it was the final train station built in Djibouti along the Addis Abäba–Djibouti ↗Railway. While it originated with the railroad, A.S. also has filled a variety of military and administrative roles because of its strategic location near the Somali and Ethiopian borders. In recent years, many refugees have come to it from these adjacent countries. Because of the existence of administrative and educational services, and its continuous trade with Ethiopia following the pattern of the railway, A.S. has played an important role in the economic and governmental decentralization of Djibouti.

A.S. is also the centre of an administrative district (*cercle*) of the same name, with the population of over 70,000.

Lit.: EDGARD AUBERT DE LA RÜE, *La Somalie française*, Paris 1939; COLETTE DUBOIS, *Djibouti 1888–1967. Héritage ou frustration?*, Paris 1997; PATRICK FRILET – PATRICK EROUART-SIAD, *Djibouti*, Brumath 1999; ROBERT SAINT VÉRAN, *À Djibouti avec les Afars et les Issas*, Cagnes 1977; PIERRE VELLUTINI – PATRICK PIGUET, *Djibouti. Itinéraires géologiques*, Djibouti 1994.

Colette Dubois

Ali Umar

A.U. (d. 1832) was a district governor in ↗ᶜAgamä in the first decades of the 19th cent. In 1827 he was charged with a mission to Cairo to acquire a new metropolitan for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. He travelled in company with the British settler at ᶜAdwa, William ↗Coffin. By the then ruler of northern Ethiopia, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu, they were also instructed to proceed to London and deliver a letter to King George IV asking for building materials and artisans for the construction of a new church. A.U. was left behind in Cairo and returned to Ethiopia two years later, bringing with him, not an Orthodox bishop, but the first Protestant missionaries to enter Ethiopia after Peter ↗Heyling in the 17th cent.

Lit.: SVEN RUBENSON, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, London 1976, 60–67, s. index.

Sven Rubenson

Aligaz

Ras A. (አሊጋዝ, fl. 1788–91/92) was from the Wärräsek, or ↗Yäǧǧu Oromo dynasty, succeeding his brother *ras* ↗Ali Gʷangul as king-maker in Gondär in 1788. The marriage of his father, Seru Gʷangul, to the family of *ras* Faris, chief of Lasta and Säläwa, gave the Gʷangul family permanent land rights in parts of ↗Lasta. The Yäǧǧu lords later claimed this region as their traditional power base, thereby involving themselves in the politics of the region. A. himself also married into the family of another Lastan chief.

A. assumed the title of ↗*wag šum* when his brother forced the puppet king *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis I to confer the title on him. The appointment was designed to consolidate the position of

the Yäğğu lords in Wag and Lasta and to weaken the influence of local elite groups. It was also intended to strengthen Wärräsek control over the vital line of communication between Yäğğu and Gondär through the region of Lasta.

On the death of Ali Gʷangul in 1788, A. moved to Gondär and assumed the position of king-maker by manipulating Täklä Giyorgis I. He kept the title of *wag šum* and appointed legal subordinates to rule Wag and Lasta. A. and Täklä Giyorgis quarreled soon afterwards, which led to the king's deposition in 1789 and imprisonment in ↗Ǝmäkina, a mountain stronghold in Bugna, Lasta. A. then crowned *aṣe* ↗Həzqəyas.

The deposition of Täklä Giyorgis, who was largely supported by the Lastan group, brought strong opposition to A. and the Yäğğu domination. *Mäqet azmač* Wäldä Mikaʾel, from the region of Mäqet, rebelled against A. This was followed by the rebellion of the people of Muğğa in Lasta. A.'s Lastan brother-in-law and governor of Lasta, *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Wänd Bäwässän, and his family members, with support from Wällo Oromo chiefs, seriously challenged the power of A., who was also affected by an internal power rivalry and family feud.

In 1791/92 Ḫaylu Wänd Bäwässän proceeded to Ǝmäkina and released Täklä Giyorgis in open opposition to A., who then engaged the chiefs of Lasta militarily, but was unable to suppress their challenge. The Lastan group defeated A. and forced him to withdraw into Yäğğu. Then, two Lastan brothers, *ras* ↗ᶜAśrat and *ras* ↗Wäldä Gäbrəʾel, became king-makers until serious rivalry broke out between them in 1799, leading to their death on the same battlefield. The eventual political stalemate brought their supporter, *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa, to the position of the king-maker, thereby ensuring the dominance of the Gondärine court by the Yäğğu lords until 1853.

Src.: HERBERT WELD BLUNDELL (ed., tr.), *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia, 1769–1840,* Cambridge 1922, 110, 113, 121, 123, 149ff., 154ff., 158ff., 163ff., 168.

Lit.: JAMES CRAIG MCCANN, *Households, Peasants, and Rural History in Lasta, Northern Ethiopia 1900–35*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University 1984, 126, 137 [n. 4]; MOLLA TEKUYE, "The Rise and Fall of the Yajju Dynasty, 1784–1980", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 197–216, here 201; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Wag and Lasta: an Essay in the Regional History of Ethiopia from the 14th Century to 1800", in: *PICES 7*, 1984, 213–31, here 228; SHIFERAW BEKELE, "Reflections on the Power Elite of the Wärä Séh Mäsfenate, 1786–1853", *AE* 15, 1990, 157–79, here 160, 175 [n. 11], 176 [n. 18]; WUDU TAFETE KASSU, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, c. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 110f.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

ᶜAlitena

ᶜA. (ዓሊቴና, 14°31'N, 39°34'E) is a small town lying north of ᶜAddigrat within the old ↗ᶜAgamä region. Today, it is the capital of Irob *awraǧǧa* in East Təgray Zone. It constitutes the north-easternmost point of the region bordering Eritrea. Inhabited by the Buknayto Ari, a branch of the three ↗Irob clans, ᶜA. has a long history of settlement by several ancient small clan communities and is the furthest outpost of Orthodox Church expansion in the direction of the northern Ethiopian escarpment, but it is best known for its historical significance as a long-standing Catholic settlement.

As a centre of the Buknayto Irob, ᶜA. existed at least as early as the time of Säbagadis Wäldu (r. 1822–31). The Buknayto were among Säbagadis's vanguard forces and courtiers.

The foundation of ᶜA. as a small town is officially attributed to ↗Lazarists: in 1845 the Catholic settlement in ᶜA. was established by Giustino de ↗Jacobis, who won over influential members of the Buknayto Ari during the reign of *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam. This laid the foundation for the establishment of a strong Catholic community of Orthodox converts from Irob agri-pastoralists of ᶜA. and its surroundings. Through the Lazarists, ᶜA. became one of the first centres of modern education in

Ethiopia and attracted students from as far away as Šäwa.

In 1901, the Italians captured ᶜA. and crossed over to Irobland, due to their misreadings of the Italo-Ethiopian borders. Later, protests from the governor of ᶜAgamä and from the Ethiopian government compelled them to retreat back beyond the Ǝndali river. In the post-1941 period ᶜA. became the capital of Irob *wäräda*.

Lit.: TSEGAY BERHE, *A History of Agamä, 1822–1914*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1996; KEVIN O'MAHONEY, *Ebullient Phoenix: A History of the Vicarate of Abyssinia*, 3 vols., Asmara 1982–91.

Tsegay Berhe G. Libanos

Alkali ↗ Bayso

All Africa Leprosy, Tuberculosis and Rehabilitation Training Centre ↗ ALERT

Allaaba

Allaaba language

A. belongs to the Kambaata language group, which forms one subgroup of the Highland East Cushitic languages. The other languages of the Kambaata group are ↗Kambaata, ↗Qabeena and ↗Ṭimbaaro. Within this group the closest relative of A. is Qabeena (Crass 2001). According to a census published in 1998, native speakers of A. number 126,257 persons (Grimes 2001). The A. people live east of the Kambaata and the ↗Hadiyya. The neighbours of the A. in the east and the south are the ↗Arsi Oromo, in the north the ↗Urbaräg.

Like most of the other Kambaata languages, up to now A. has been little described. Probably, as in the other languages, the vowel system comprises five phonemically short and long vowels (*i*, *e*, *a*, *o* and *u*). The consonant inventory includes, among other phonemes, the ejectives *p̓*, *t̓*, *č̓* and *q̓*. Consonant gemination is phonologically distinctive. Within the verbal paradigm numerous morphophonological processes occur, such as assimilation, palatalization, metathesis and epenthesis.

Gender (masculine vs. feminine) is morphologically distinguished in nouns, in demonstratives and in the third person singular of verbs, personal pronouns, possessive pronouns and possessive suffixes. A feminine noun is marked by the suffix *-ta*, a masculine noun remains unmarked. Like Qabeena, A. distinguishes two deictic distances in demonstratives.

A. has six cases. The accusative is identical with the citation form. The other cases are the nominative, genitive, dative, locative/instrumental and ablative. Complex locational relations are expressed by head-final genitive constructions. The head noun is marked by the locative when necessary: *ali* 'top(side)', *mini aleen* 'on top of the house'.

Verbs are inflected by suffixes only. A verb form is composed of at least three morphemes: verb base – person marker – aspect marker. The last is represented by a vowel, which marks the perfective or imperfective aspect. In several verb forms a further suffix follows the aspect vowel. Other verb paradigms are the imperative/jussive and the converb.

The unmarked word order is Subject–Object–Verb. Adverbial clauses are marked by suffixes added to the verbal phrase or by postpositions.

The standard ten-word list for A. is: *matu* 'one', *lamu* 'two', *sasu* 'three', *gürata* 'fire', *waa* 'water', *arrüčuta* 'sun', *agančʊ* 'moon', *qegu* 'blood', *arrabita* 'tongue', *inkuta* 'tooth' (Korhonen et al. 1986b).

Lit.: JOACHIM CRASS, "The Position of K'abeena within Highland East Cushitic", *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 67, 2001, 5–60; ELSA KORHONEN – MIRJA SAKSA – RONALD JAMES SIM, "A Dialect Study of Kambaata-Hadiyya (Ethiopia)", *ibid.* 5, 1986a, 5–41, with "Part 2: Appendices", *ibid.* 6, 1986b, 71–121; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, "Appunti di Cambatta e di Alaba", *RRALm* ser. 6, 14, 1938, 269–79; HERMA PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER, "Grammatik der Alābā-Sprache", *RSE* 18, 1962, 83–96; BARBARA F. GRIMES (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas [14]2001.

Joachim Crass

Allaaba ethnography

The A. (Alaba, Halaba) are an ethnic group of approximately 120,000 people (1994) dwelling in the Rift Valley between the Bilate river and Lake Šala at an altitude of about 1,800 m A.S.L. Linguistically, the A. belong to the Highland East Cushitic cluster and are closely related to the Kambaata and Qabeena. Culturally they have been very much influenced by the Arsi Oromo. Until the 1950s the A. were mainly agropastoralists, but because of the growing density of population livestock has steadily been reduced in favour of the cultivation of maize as their staple food. Red pepper became an important cash crop of their country.

The name A. seems to have first been mentioned in the Chronicle of *aṣe* Zär'a Yaᶜəqob, where "Halab Gärad" was listed among the leaders of groups defeated by the Emperor (PerrZarY 18). The A. (Halaba) were by then one of the major tribal segments of the Hadiyya. They presumably spoke the Semitic language of the East ↗Gurage cluster. It can be reconstructed from their oral traditions that the bulk of the A. migrated (together with the Qabeena) from the Arba Gugu area in today's Arsi to Malge/Sidama near the Wabi Šäbälle headwaters during the holy war (*ǧihād*) which the ᶜAdal leader ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid, successor of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, led against the Christian empire.

For unknown reasons the A. left their homes in Sidamaland about 1720, crossed the Bilate and settled in the vicinity of the Kambaata-speaking Ṭimbaaro, whose Cushitic language they adopted during the subsequent decades. Ca. 1790 the A. and the Qabeena proceeded to the southern fringes of Gurageland. About 1815 they were chased from there by the immigration of the Leemo Hadiyya. Whereas the Qabeena moved northwards to Gurage, the A. migrated to a region east of the middle Bilate. In this area they joined another group of their kinsmen, the so-called Ullᵒ Allaaba (derived from *ulla* 'earth'), i.e. a homesteading people who had occupied this territory in the second part of the 16th cent. In contrast to them, the newcomers were called Hasan A. after an ancestor. The final ethnogenesis of the A. was achieved by the fusion of these two groups.

The A. of the Bilate valley are mentioned in a report of the Portuguese missionary Antonio ↗Fernandes in 1614. On a projected trip from the Ethiopian dependency Kambaata to the coast of the Indian Ocean, this traveller was forced by Aliko, the chief of A., to return northwards via Šäwa to Goǧǧam. Aliko was by then *de facto* independent from the Christian state and on hostile terms with *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. The oral traditions indicate that Aliko was the son of the famous chief *ḫāǧǧī* ᶜAli(ye) and a half-brother of Oyeta, who married king Ḥamälmal, the founder of the Kambaata dynasty around 1600. The major chiefs (*woma*) of the A. derived their descent from a person called Side (Sidi), who can historically be identified as a fierce enemy of *aṣe* Susənyos.

The A. traditions claim that in their original eastern domiciles of Arba Gugu they had been Muslims. But in the course of their subsequent migrations their Islam deteriorated through intensive contacts with non-Muslim peoples during the 17th and 18th cent. Around the middle of the 19th cent. Islam was revitalized by *šayḫ* Wolle from Yəfat and *šayḫ* Ḥana, who daimed descent from the famous *šayḫ* Nūr Ḥusayn of Annaǧina in Bale. In the early 1940s a person called Kabīr Dawa initiated the construction of a sanctuary dedicated to Nūr Ḥusayn's eldest son, Nūrāllāh Aḥmad, in Qolito, the governmental headquarters of the A. This fictive mausoleum became an important place of Muslim pilgrimage.

The area of the A. was incorporated into the Ethiopian empire by a military campaign of Mənilək's general Wädaǧo ↗Gobäna in 1891–92. Subsequently, it became part of the provincial territories of Kambaata and of Šäwa and now belongs to the Kambaata – Alaaba – Ṭimbaaro Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region.

Src.: PEDRO PÁEZ, *História da Etiópia, reprodução do códice coevo inédito da Biblioteca pública, de Braga, com uma introdução*, Porto 1945–46, vol. 3, 212ff.; PerrZarY 18; BeckHuntAlm 166–71.

Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Geschichte der Hadiya Süd-Äthiopiens: von den Anfängen bis zur Revolution 1974*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 50), 82, 121ff., 165f., 175–83, 277; ID., *Die Kambata – Geschichte und Gesellschaft eines südäthiopischen Bauernvolkes*, Wiesbaden 1983 (SKK 65), 42; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, "Nuove notizie sull'Alaba e sugli Alaba", *RSE* 1, 1, 1941, 43–53.

Ulrich Braukämper

Allamaṭa

A. (**አላማጣ**) is a town in southern Təgray, located at 1,530 m A.S.L. (27,000 inhabitants according to the 1994 census), and a *wäräda* by the same name. Formerly the main town of the Raya Kobo *awraǧǧa* in Wällo province, A. is located on the foot of *amba* Wämbärät (3,160 m), half-

way (195 km) along the road between Däse and Mäqälä. Its population was estimated in 1999 by the Central Statistical Authority as 34,783 inhabitants.

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY, *Ethiopia. Statistical Abstract 1999*, Addis Ababa 2000.
Lit.: *Guida* 315.

Eloi Ficquet

Almaqah

A. (ʾLMQH) was the supreme deity of the Sabaean pantheon (etymology unknown) and is invoked in the earliest inscriptions from Ethiopia as ʾLMQH (RIE 1:5; 5B:2; 6:3; 20:2; 22:2; 26:2–3; 27:2–3; 28:2; 29:1; 30:3; 31:3; 32C [?]; 37:1; 39:4–5; 56:2), ʾLMQHY (RIE 8:2; 10:14) and ʿLMQY (RIE 9:6 [scribal error?]).

His cult is attested only during the short-lived, strongly Sabaean-influenced Ethiopian kingdom of ↗DʿMT (8th–7th cent. B.C.?), together with other typical Sabaean deities: ḎT BʿDN (RIE 1:6; 2:2; 5B:2; 9:7; 10:14; 61:2), ḎT ḤMYM (RIE 1:6; 5B:2; 10:14; 46; 53 I:2) [also ḎT ḤMN (RIE 9:6–7; 53 II:1; 71:2; 72:2; 73:2; 74:1; 75:2; 77:2; 158; 163)], HWBS (RIE 6:3; 9/6; 35B) [also HBS (RIE 1:4.5; 5B:2; 10:14; 62:2; 69:2; 70:2; 85 I:2; 153; 155:1)], ŠRQN (RIE 63A:2–3) and ʿṮTR/ʿSTR (↗ʿAstär). The deity NRW (RIE 33 II) is – contrary to Brakmann 1994:41 – not part of the South Arabian pantheon.

The veneration of A. and the other Sabaean deities – except ʿṮTR/ʿSTR – must have ceased long before the rise of Aksum, because in the Aksumite texts they are not mentioned any longer.

Src.: RIE (nos. s. article)
Lit.: HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, ***TO ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΙC ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΙC ΕΡΓΟΝ ΘΕΙΟΝ***. *Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum*, Bonn 1994, 37–41; MARIA HÖFNER, "Südarabien. Die Semiten Äthiopiens", in: HANS WILHELM HAUSSIG (ed.), *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, vol. 1: *Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient*, Stuttgart 1965, 483–567.

Alexander Sima

Almeida, Apolinar de

A. (b. 1587, Lisbon, d. 1638, Ethiopia) was a Portuguese Jesuit. He entered the Society of Jesus on 5 November 1601. He taught philosophy and rhetoric in Évora, Coimbra and Lisbon. It was in the University of Évora that he received his Doctorate in 1624. He was later elected coadjutor bishop and future successor of Afonso ↗Mendes, Patriarch of Ethiopia. A. sailed to India on 3 April 1629, and by November that year he left for Ethiopia. He was able to enter the country after considerable trouble on 10 August 1630. He spent some months in ↗Fəremona and while there he met Patriarch Mendes and *aṣe* ↗Susənyos in Dämbəya. A. carried with him the papal bull conceding and extending to all Catholics of Ethiopia the indulgence of the holy year's Jubilee (1625).

As *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs took over the throne and the Alexandrine faith was restored in Ethiopia (1632), most of the Jesuits were banished from the country. Not so A., who hid in Ethiopia for some time. He lived through serious difficulties and banishments until he was murdered in a collective lynching along with his companions, Jacinto Francisco and Francisco ↗Rodrígues.

Src.: CAMILLO BECCARI, *Rerum aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, 15 vols., Romae 1905–17, vol. 7, 77–89, 287–91, 343ff., 369–77, 397–401; vol. 8, 120, 289–93; vol. 12, 333f., 442–46, 505ff., 540f.; vol. 13, 122ff., 162–68; BALTHAZAR TELLEZ, *História geral de Etiópia a alta ou Preste Ioam e do que nella obraram os padres da companhia de Jesus*, Coimbra 1660, 462, 465, 528, 587, 614–17.
Lit.: ELESBAN DE GUILHERMY, *Ménologe de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. I, Poitiers 1867, 532ff.; ANTÓNIO FRANCO, *Ano Santo da Companhia de Jesus em Portugal*, Porto 1930, 309f.; ANGEL SANTOS HERNANDEZ, *Jesuitas y Obispados*, vol. 2, Madrid 2000, 63–67.

Leonardo Cohen

Almeida, Manoel de

A. (b. between 12 December 1579 and April 1580, Viseu, Portugal, d. 10 March 1646, Goa), a Portuguese Jesuit, spent close on ten years as a

missionary in Ethiopia. During and after his stay, he composed a voluminous description and history of the country, the *História de Etiópia a alta, ou Abassia*. This well-organized work contains a wealth of information on Ethiopia, which to date has by far not been exhaustively analysed.

A. became a novice of the Society of Jesus in 1594. He studied at Coimbra and in 1602 was sent to ↗Goa, the capital of Portuguese India. There he continued his theological education and professed the fourth Jesuit vow in 1612. Thereafter, A. held various high offices as a clergyman or/and as an educator in Portuguese India, until in 1622 he was nominated Visitor to the Ethiopian Mission (established since 1557). In January 1624 A. and his companions reached ↗Massawa. From there they proceeded inland to ↗Fəremona, the Jesuit headquarters in Ethiopia. They were warmly received by *aṣe* Susənyos (1607–32), who had converted to Catholicism in 1622. Whereas, during his first years in Ethiopia, A. could conduct his missionary work in relative tranquillity, his later years in the country were overshadowed by the ever-intensifying Orthodox backlash against Catholicism in the last years of Susənyos's reign. Under his son and successor *aṣe* Fasilädäs (1632–67), the Jesuits then not only lost all imperial support but even suffered from the new monarch's enmity. Against this background, A. left Ethiopia in 1633; in 1641 the Jesuit presence in Ethiopia came to an end altogether.

A. began to write his *História* in 1628 in ↗Gorgora. His accounts, which are based on personal experience, oral communications and written sources in Gəʿəz and Portuguese, are generally considered to be very reliable, all the more so because A., a remarkable scholar, used to carefully weigh his sources. After his return to Goa, A., frustrated by the failure of the Jesuit enterprise in Ethiopia, for several years dropped all work on the *História*. In 1639, however, under

Detail of Almeida's map of "Æthiopia", from Beccari 1905-17, Liber I-IV, Tab. I after p. LXIV

an order from the Jesuit Father General, he picked it up again; the *História* was finished sometime between 1643 and 1645. A. divided the *História* into ten "books". Data on its printing history are not available. It appears that no full printed version was published until its inclusion in Beccari's monumental collection of Jesuit sources on Ethiopia, in which it fills volumes V–VII. Already in 1660, however, Balthazar Tellez had published an abridged version of A.'s account. Finally in 1954, book 1 of the *História* – a general description of the Ethiopian highlands and the manners and customs of its people – plus extracts from books 2, 4, 7, and 8, were published in an English translation (= BeckHuntAlm); this partial edition also has a valuable introduction, with additional data on A.'s life and work.

Src.: MANOEL DE ALMEIDA, *História de Etiópia a alta, ou Abassia,* in: CARLO CAMILLO BECCARI (ed.), *Rerum aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX,* 15 vols., Romae 1905–17, here vols. 5–7, Romae 1907–09; BeckHuntAlm; BALTHAZAR TELLEZ, *História geral de Etiópia a alta ov Preste Ioam e do que nella obraram os padres da companhia de Jesus*, Coimbra 1660.

Michael Kleiner

Alms

A. are charitable gifts given to the poor and sick (and on occasion to religious figures who have accepted voluntary poverty) as part of the norms of a religious or ethical community. In Ethiopia the giving of alms was found most commonly among Muslims and Christians. In general, local religions in Ethiopia do not appear to have ascribed special merit to generosity to strangers and outsiders. Moreover, in small-scale societies families were expected to be the primary source of assistance for orphans, widows, the sick and elderly. In such societies, charity rarely extended beyond the bounds of kinship. Gifts were usually part of social exchanges or norms of hospitality.

Alms in Ethiopian Christianity

Abstinence, voluntary poverty and charity all occupied a central place in the culture of Ethiopian Christianity. Lay people, clergy and rulers were all expected to give generously to the needy. In return they acquired merit and their sins were forgiven. A. (Gəʿəz: **ምጽዋት**; *məṣwat*) were frequently given to mark special occasions for the church or individuals. The 15th-cent. *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob ordered that A. be given on all Christian festivals including a number which he instituted himself. On a more personal level, charity was often given to mark an individual's rites of passage such as a marriage or particularly upon one's death. In the 17th cent. donations were given to the poor and the clergy on the third, seventh, thirtieth and fortieth day after burial as well as after one year. Mansfield Parkyns reported in the middle of the 19th cent. that the sixth month after the funeral was particularly important. People also gave A. to the poor on their patron saints's day. Couples having trouble conceiving are also reported to have given A. in the hope of being rewarded through the birth of a child.

The giving of A. and other forms of charity are discussed at great length in the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* (Paulos Tzadua 1968:98–113): "To give alms is one of the acts of mercy. It is an act of man's piety [done] with his own property for those who are in need, without any desire to be repaid by them, but [done] to fulfill the command of Our Lord, who said: 'Sell what you possess and give alms to the poor… [Lk 12:33]'". Among the topics it considers are the reasons for giving A., the different types of A., those most deserving of receiving A., rules for giving, and the role of the church in the receiving and distribution of A. It distinguishes between two forms of A.: those given privately i.e. directly from the giver to the needy, the hungry, the thirsty, the naked, the sick, prisoners and those in exile; and those given publidy as tithes, first fruits and vows to a priest. Not all are equally deserving of A. Ideally relatives were expected to assist needy members of their families in order to lessen the burden upon the church. Special mention is made of widows, who might not be able to support themselves, and orphans. Although believers are cautioned that only those unable to work should be given A., in practice some Ethiopians preferred to beg rather than undertake despised professions particularly crafts.

Although the giving of A. purifies from sin, believers were cautioned that one's eventual generosity was not a justification for unjustly acquired wealth or evil deeds. Indeed, both the church and the poor were cautioned against the acceptance of charity from the wicked. While the poor and needy were expected to pray for their benefactors, A. were expected to be given

without an eye towards a reward or recognition. Thus, A. given in private, hidden form the eyes of onlookers were particularly praiseworthy. Those wishing to become monks were expected to dispose of their wealth (or their share of the family wealth) before entering a monastery, and care for the poor was an important part of monastic practice. Thus monasteries often acted as conduits by accepting gifts from wealthy followers and novices and subsequently dividing the riches among the poor.

Src.: *Abba* PAULOS TZADUA, *The Fetha Nagast: the Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968, 98–113.; BeckHuntAlm 67; PerrZarY 76; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia*, London 1853, 272ff.

Lit.: CHARLES WHITE, "Almsgiving", in: *Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 1, New York 1987, 214–16; JOHN ILLIFE, *The African Poor: a History*, Cambridge 1987, 9–29; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Monastic Holy Man and the Christianization of Early Solomonic Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 1984 (SKK 73), 58.

Steven Kaplan

Alms in Ethiopian Islam

The giving of A. is integral to Islam and is provided for by several institutions of Islamic law. *Zakāt* (زكات), one of the five pillars (*arkān*) of Islam, is an obligatory payment assessed on certain forms of property at rates that are determined by the kind of property owned: a set number of animals in the case of livestock (camels, sheep and cattle), 10 % of crops irrigated at the expense of the grower, 5 % otherwise. On gold and silver and the value of items acquired for commerce the rate of *zakāt* is 2.5 %. Once a fixed minimum of property is held, *zakāt* is payable at once upon the harvesting of crops and the mining of gold and silver, and after the passage of one year in other cases. Those entitled to receive *zakāt* are set forth in Qurʾān (9:60) and include the poor, slaves seeking their freedom, warriors in the cause of Islam, debtors and travellers without available funds. State involvement in the collection and distribution of *zakāt* goes back to the Qurʾān, but became rare throughout the Muslim world after about 1100. Thereafter the distribution of *zakāt* was largely in the hands of individual Muslims and private organizations such as Sufi orders. In recent years a number of Muslim nations have enacted legislation that to one degree or another mandates the collection of *zakāt* by the government. Traditional emphasis on *zakāt* as a means of purifying and safeguarding property has given way among modernist Muslims to the view that in *zakāt* Islam has an institution that can eliminate poverty and support all other essential governmental functions.

Ṣadaqa (also used for *zakāt*) is the common term for voluntary A., and the giving of such A., in an amount left to the discretion of each individual, is much encouraged. The merit of giving *ṣadaqa* can benefit not only the giver, but also others such as the sick and even the deceased. The giving of *ṣadaqa* is also a favoured means to divest oneself of ill-gotten or questionable gains. *Ṣadaqa*, unlike *zakāt*, may be given to non-Muslims. *Zakāt al-fiṭr* is an obligatory gift to the poor, commonly of food, that marks the celebration of the end of ↗Ramaḍān. It is understood to rectify shortcomings in one's observance of the fast.

Due to the present scantiness of the documentation at our disposal, we are not able to ascertain the amounts of goods actually given as *zakāt* by Ethiopian Muslims in different regions and in different periods. It is reasonable to presume that in Ethiopia as elsewhere, the distribution of *zakāt* to the extent that the government neglected this task, continued in the hands of individuals and private organizations.

Governmental collection of *zakāt* took place under the rule of Saʿdaddīn II (d. 817 H. [1415 A.D.]), the pious *sulṭān* of Ifat, and continued under his successors in Barr Saʿdaddīn (ʿAdal), although these rarely distributed it according to law, and the attempt of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī to see that *zakāt* reached its intended recipients provoked *sulṭān* ↗ʿUmardīn's unsuccessful plot to take power (al-Maqrīzī 1790; BassHist). Collection by the Harär emirate of *zakāt* on crops (millet), more or less according to *Šāfiʿī* law, can be documented for the 19th cent. The crop was assessed by the *zakāt* collector (*zakkamarī*) on the threshing floor, and the *zakāt* collected was then stored in special granaries (*ḫufrat zakāt*, s. Yusuf Ahmed 1960:32; Abdurahman Garad 1990:32, 216f., 225f.).

In contemporary Ethiopia, as current Islamic publications in Amharic underline (*Al-Fätawa* … 84–91; *Mälʿəktä əslam* … 77–85), the Muslim faithful must accomplish the religious duty of paying *zakāt*, even if state taxes have to be paid following the national Ethiopian law. Taxation must not be considered as a substitute for *zakāt* and absolutely does not exempt Muslims from fulfilling the religious obligation of *zakāt*.

In the calculation of the amount to be given as *zakāt*, however, the amount paid to the state as taxes has to be deducted, for *zakāt* is levied on net (Amh. *yätäṭarra*) income or property.

Src.: AḤMAD IBN ᶜALĪ AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Kitāb al-Ilmām bi-aḫbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabaša min mulūk al-Islām. Historia regum islamiticorum in Abyssinia*, ed. by FRIEDRICH THEODOR RINCK, Leiden 1790, 21, 32 (text) = 23, 32 (tr.); BassHist 77f. (text) = 147f. (tr.).

Lit.: EI², s. index; THEODOOR WILLEM JUYNBOLL, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, Leiden 1910, 94—112; NICOLAS PRODROMOU AGHNIDES, *Mohammedan Theories of Finance*, New York 1916, 203–347, 439–64; YŪSUF AL-QARAḌĀWĪ, *Fiqh al-zakāt*, Beirut 1969, 2 vols. [tr. London 1999]; **አልፈታዋ፡ ጥያቄዎቻችሁና፡ መልሶቻችው** (*Al-fätawa ṭayaqəwoččačəhunna mäləsoččačäw*, '*Al-Fätawa*, Your Questions and the Answers'), Addis Abäba 1988 A.M./1416 H. [1995/96 A.D.]; **መልዕክተ፡ እስላም፡ አንዋር፡ መስጊድ** (*Mälᵊəktä əslam anwar mäsgid*, 'The Message of Islam. The Anwar Mosque'), Addis Abäba *Mäskäräm* 1981 A.M./1409 H. [1988 A.D.]; ABDURAHMAN GARAD, *Harar: Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines Emirats im Horn von Afrika (1825–75)*, Frankfurt am Main 1990 (Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe 3, 426), 32, 216f., 225f.; YUSUF AHMED, "An Inquiry into the Household Economy of the Amirs of Harar 1825–1875", *Ethnological Society Bulletin* (University College Addis Abäba), 10, 1960, 7–62, here 32.

Aron Zysow – Alessandro Gori

Alṭaš Iyasu

Wäyzäro A.I. (**አልጣሽ፡ ኢያሱ**) was the youngest daughter of *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) and *grazmač* Iyasu. Her sisters were ↗Wälättä Ɜsraᵓel and ↗Aster. Like her sisters, A. was a prominent member of the Gondärine aristocracy. She was a holder of lands attached to the Qaha Iyäsus and Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase churches in Gondär. In August 1755 she married Wäldä Ḥawaryat, son of *ras* Mikaᵓel Saḥul of Təgray, in a ceremony in Gondär. This marriage was richly endowed. One of the children of this marriage, Yäwəbdar, was later married to *däğğazmač* ↗Wänd Bäwässän. The dates of her birth and death are unknown.

Src.: BruNile II, 613; III, 241f.; GuiIyas 10, 11, 204 (tr.).

Donald Crummey

Alṭaš Tewodros

Wäyzäro A.T. (**አልጣሽ፡ ቴዎድሮስ**, b. ca. 1848, d. ca. 1893) was perhaps the most prominent of the three daughters of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. Hardly anything is known about her mother or about her early life, though she presumably received some church education, including reading and writing. This was common among the nobility; her royal father was also known to have entertained a positive attitude towards education.

She was married to *abeto* (later Emperor) ↗Mənilək, who left her behind in Mäqdäla when he escaped to Šäwa in June 1865. Mənilək's departure without A.T. was said to have disturbed *aṣe* Tewodros more than the fact of his escape.

Soon thereafter A.T. was given in marriage to *ras* Baryaᵓu Qawlos (Ṭawlos) of Šire, who governed Təgray, 1863–68. She had at least two sons by him, Gäbrä Mädḫən and Bäzzabəh, neither of whom seems to have attained a high political office. Her grandson, Mängäša Bäzzabəh, was implicated in a treasonable act and spent many years in prison during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

After the death of her husband in the 1880s, A.T. lived in Yäğğu, where Mənilək was said to have met her in 1892. She became pregnant and died soon thereafter, an event which gave rise to a sinister rumour implicating *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu in the incident.

Src.: HORMUZD RASSAM, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia*, London 1869, vol. 2, 335; CARLO ZAGHI, "L'Italia e l'Etiopia alla vigilia di Adua nei dispacci segreti di Luigi Capucci", *Gli annali dell'Africa Italiana* 4, 2, 1941, 517–45.

Lit.: ZEWDE GABRE-SELLASSIE, *Yohannes IV of Ethiopia: a Political Biography*, Oxford 1975, 274; TÄKLÄ ṢADƏQ MÄKᵂƏRIYA, **ዐፄ፡ ቴዎድሮስና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ አንድነት** (*ᶜAṣe Tewodrosənna yäᵓityopya andənnät*, '*Aṣe* Tewodros and Ethiopian Unity'), Addis Abäba 1981 A.M. [1988/89 A.D.], 505; ḪAYLÄ ZÄLLÄQA, **የደጃዝማች፡ ገርማሜ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yädäğğazmač Gämame tarik*, 'The History of *Däğğazmač* Gärmame'), ms. IES, n.d.

Bairu Tafla

Alula Ɜngəda

Considered by many as Ethiopia's national hero, *ras* A.Ɜ. (**አሉላ፡ እንግዳ**, "horse name" Abba Nägga, nickname *wäddi* Qubbi, b. ca. 1847, Tamben, d. 15 February 1897, Aksum) was born to a poor peasant family in the small village of Männawe, near ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi in Tämben, Təgray.

First he served as an *aškär* in the court of *ras* ↗Arᵓaya Śəllase Dəmṣu and was transferred to the service of *däğğazmač* Kaśa Mərča after Arᵓaya was imprisoned by *aṣe* Tewodros. By the time Kaśa captured power as *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, A.Ɜ. had become his favourite administrator and chief soldier. He then started making his name as a brilliant military tactician in the battles of

Ras Alula (centre right) as a follower of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs on a contemporary Ethiopian painting, detail, from *EthObs* 10, 1, 1966, private possession of Reginald Wingate

↗Gundät (November 1875) and ↗Guraᶜ (March 1876) against the invading Egyptian expeditions. Having masterminded these victories he was promoted to *ras* and was also given the title of *turk bašša*, namely the functionary in charge of firearms, the commander of the imperial elite core. For the next 20 years he played a major role in Ethiopia's history, his career, from social obscurity to political prominence, attesting also to Ethiopia's culture of sociopolitical mobility.

After Guraᶜ (when he defeated and killed *ras* Baryaʾu) Yoḥannəs appointed A.Ǝ. over the province of Märäb Mällaš, the highlands of the future Eritrea, its lowlands and western parts being still occupied by the Egyptians. During 1877–78 A.Ǝ. established Ethiopian imperial control in the Eritrean highlands. He terminated the local autonomy of leading families in Säraye and Akkälä Guzay and especially Ḥamasen, where he arrested and saw to the imprisoning of *ras* ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel Solomon, the latter having co-operated with the Egyptians. He then, in 1884, moved his headquarters to the little village of ↗Asmära at the border of the highlands, establishing it as his capital. He went on administering the Märäb Mällaš, centralizing its economy and developing its commerce, also with the help of local Muslims.

A.Ǝ.'s cold war with the Egyptians in the Märäb Mällaš ended with the June 1884 Hewett Treaty, in the formulation of which he was actively involved. The treaty proposed by the British was intended to finish Egyptian presence in the region, but it complicated the Ethiopians' relationship with the Mahdīya State in the Sudan and it facilitated the Italian capture of Massawa in February 1885. As the guardian of Ethiopia's north A.Ǝ. had to fight them both. In September 1885 he defeated the ↗Mahdist invading force of *amīr* ↗ᶜUṯmān Diqna in ↗Kufit, halfway between Kärän and Kassala. Then on 25 January 1887 at ↗Dogᶜali, nearby Massawa, he ambushed and massacred an Italian force penetrating inland. These victories sealed his reputation as an invincible general.

It was further cemented following his participation in the two other major Ethiopian battles, against the Mahdists in Mätämma, March 1889, and the Italians at ↗ᶜAdwa, March 1896. In both battles he acted as a close adviser to *aṣe* Yoḥannəs (who was killed in Mätämma), and *aṣe* Mənilək II. His legendary image in the eyes of Ethiopians, Egyptians, Sudanese and Europeans was summarized by a British contemporary historian: "The greatest leader Abyssinia has produced since the death of Emperor Theodore" (Berkeley 1902:13).

Somewhat less dramatic but no less significant was A.Ǝ.'s role in Ethiopia's home affairs throughout this formative period. As a "king's man" of little personal power base in Təgray proper, he remained fully loyal to Yoḥannəs.

He frequented his court and helped his master twice, in 1878 and 1882, to force Mənilək of Šäwa into submission. But his contribution to Təgrayan hegemony in Ethiopia helped him little in facing Təgray's leading families. Though he married into the nobility – his second wife, Amläsu, was the daughter of the abovementioned *ras* Arᵓaya – he was never accepted. Chief of his Təgrayan rivals was Amläsu's brother, *fitäwrari* ↗Däbbäb Arᵓaya. The latter, frustrated with Yoḥannəs favouring A.Ǝ., became a *šəfta* in the area between Massawa and Asmära and co-operated first with the Egyptians and later with the Italians. In February 1888, after the Italians sent a strong army to avenge Dogᶜali and entrenched themselves in the Eritrean coast, Däbbäb persuaded Yoḥannəs it was all due to A.Ǝ.'s over-ambition. Yoḥannəs could not face the entrenched Italians and in July forced A.Ǝ. to leave Asmära and accompany him to face the Mahdists in the battle of Mätämma. With the Märäb Mällaš thus exposed, Däbbäb in February 1889 entered Asmära and killed A.Ǝ.'s deputy, *däğğazmač* Ḫaylä Śəllase. After Yoḥannəs's death in Mätämma, Däbbäb tried to capture ᶜAdwa but was captured by A.Ǝ. Meanwhile, in August 1889 the Italians could help themselves to the deserted Asmära and then proceeded uninterrupted to the river ↗Märäb. Thus the Italians occupied their new colony of ↗Eritrea (proclaimed 1ˢᵗ January 1890) without having to fire a single shot.

After the death of Yoḥannəs in 1889 and the rise of Mənilək, A.Ǝ. tried for the next five years to maintain Təgray's independence. He intimidated Yoḥannəs's heir, *ras* ↗Mängäša, preventing him time and again from submitting to the Emperor. At one stage, in December 1891, he went as far as making a short-lived anti-Šäwan treaty with the Italian occupiers of Eritrea. But Təgrayan inter-rivalries, and perhaps the nobility's resistance to his leadership (in September 1891 A.Ǝ. killed Däbbäb), went on impoverishing the province. In June 1894 A.Ǝ. finally accompanied *ras* Mängäša, *ras* ↗Ḫagos Täfäri and the now released *ras* Wäldä Mikaᵓel, to Addis Abäba. The Təgrayan submission paved the way for the ᶜAdwa victory.

Appointed by Mənilək over the northern part of Təgray, A.Ǝ.'s rivalry with its leading nobles intensified. In January 1897 he collided with *ras* Ḫagos in the battle of ᶜAddi Čumay and killed him, but was wounded in his leg and died of gangrene short time afterwards.

A.Ǝ.'s role was quite marginalized by "Šäwan" historiography during Ḫaylä Śəllase's time. His myth, however, was revived following the 1974 Revolution and the escalation of the Eritrean war. Mängəśtu erected a monument in Dogᶜali and tried to spread the notion of A.Ǝ. as an Ethiopian ruler of Eritrea and a victor over enemies on Eritrean soil. The Eritrean People's Liberation Front kept the notion of A.Ǝ. as an Ethiopian occupier, the jailer of Eritrea's leading figures, notably *ras* Wäldä Mikaᵓel. When the Eritrean People's Liberation Front captured the Dogᶜali area in 1988, they blasted A.Ǝ.'s monument. But the Tigray People's Liberation Front cherished the legacy of A.Ǝ. Their elite unit, which entered Addis Abäba in May 1991 and heralded the establishment of a new regime in Ethiopia, was named the "Ras Alula Division".

Src.: HAGGAI ERLICH, "A Contemporary Biography of Ras Alula: a Ge'ez Manuscript from Mänäwe, Tämben", *BSOAS* 1, 1976, 1–46, 287–327.

Lit.: HAGGAI ERLICH, *A Political Biography of Ras Alula*, Michigan 1983 [= *Ras Alula and the Scramble for Africa, Ethiopia and Eritrea 1875–1897*, New Jersey—Asmara ²1996] (Lit.); ZEWDE GABRE-SELLASSIE, *Yohannes IV of Ethiopia: a Political Biography*, Oxford 1975; TADDESSE BEYENE – TADDESSE TAMRAT – RICHARD PANKHURST (eds.), *The Centenary of Dogali*, Addis Ababa 1988; AUGUSTUS BLANDY WYLDE, *'83 to '87 in the Soudan, with an Account of Sir William Hewett's Mission to King John of Abyssinia*, London 1888, New York ²1969; BTafA 878; GEORGE FITZ-HARDINGE BERKELEY, *The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik*, London 1902, 13.

Haggai Erlich

Alvares, Francisco

A. (also: Alvarez), a priest serving as a chaplain at the Portuguese royal court, was a member of the mission sent by king ↗Manoel I to Ethiopia in 1515. This was done in response to the embassy of ↗Mateus "the Armenian", who, as an envoy of *ətege* ↗Əleni, had reached Lisbon in 1514. A.'s special significance lies in the fact that he wrote a lengthy account of his eventual six-year stay (1520–26) in highland Ethiopia, the first comprehensive eye-witness description of the country by a European. Of A.'s comprehensive original work, which contemporary sources report to have comprised five "books" (BeckHuntAlvar 6; Uhlig – Bühring 1994:210, footnote 312), only those extracts survive which appeared as a separate publication under the title

Cover page of the 1540 edition of *Verdadera informaçam*

of *Ho Preste Joam das indias. Verdadera informaçam das terras do Preste Joam* ('The Prester John of the Indies. A True Narration about the Lands of the Prester John'). The first verifiable edition of this book was printed in Lisbon in 1540, but the remark "agora nouamẽte impresso" ('now printed anew/again') on its title page (cf. the reproduction above) could be an indication of an earlier, otherwise unattested edition of the *Verdadera informaçam*. At any rate, those extracts from A.'s original comprehensive account which constitute the *Verdadera informaçam* – and which perhaps were not made by A. himself (cp. BeckHuntAlvar 7) – are still full and varied enough to constitute a first-rate source on the highland Ethiopia of the times. The *Verdadera informaçam* is all the more valuable because it gives a picture of the medieval Solomonic kingdom (then ruled by *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl) still in its full splendour: in the years immediately before the onslaught of the Muslim armies under ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, which, together with the ensuing Oromo migrations, was to change the face of the Christian highland polity forever. Still in the 16th cent., the *Verdadera informaçam* saw translations into Italian (1550), Spanish (1557) and German (1566). The best as well as the most easily accessible modern edition of A.'s work is BeckHuntAlvar, with copious notes and an extensive bibliography.

In 1517, the first attempt of the Portuguese mission to land in Ethiopia was unsuccessful and its head, Duarte Galvão, even died on Kamaran island. After a three-year interim in Portuguese India, a second attempt to land in Ethiopia was made, this time with better success. On 9 April 1520, a small Portuguese fleet reached ↗Massawa, and on 30 April a group of 17 Portuguese (under the new ambassador Dom Rodrigo de ↗Lima) and Mateus began their inland journey to the royal camp of Ləbnä Dəngəl, which they reached at ↗Tägulät (Šäwa) on 19 October. After some initial reservations, the Portuguese delegation was warmly received by the Emperor, and over time A. especially seems to have won Ləbnä Dəngəl's sympathy and esteem. In February 1521, the embassy made its first attempt at their return journey, but on the Eritrean coast missed the Portuguese ship that had come from India to pick them up. In later years, several other attempts equally failed and it took till 1526 until A. and his companions succeeded in leaving Ethiopia. Travelling via Portuguese India, A. arrived back in Lisbon in July 1527. With him he brought letters from Ləbnä Dəngəl to King ↗João III and to the Pope (then ↗Clement VII), as well as a new Ethiopian ambassador, ↗Ṣägga Zä'ab. Since the latter was, for unclear reasons, retained at the Portuguese court until 1539, it was A. who delivered Ləbnä Dəngəl's letter to the Pope in 1533. Two contemporary Italian sources indicate that from Italy A. never returned to his native Portugal, but remained in Rome where he ultimately died (before November 1542 at the latest, but probably considerably earlier).

Apart from his priestly office and his role in the Ethiopian embassy of Manoel I, hardly anything is known about his life. A.'s death between 1533 and 1542 and the fact that ↗Góis calls him "an old man" (*senex*) already in 1515 (Uhlig – Bühring 1994:73), when the embassy was dispatched, could suggest a date of birth in the 1460s. Even about A.'s birthplace there is no unanimity, with Coimbra, Sintra (west of Lisbon) and an unidentifiable Franchosa (possibly Francos, near Sintra) all being mentioned.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar; FRANCISCO ALVAREZ, *Ho Preste Joam das Indias. Verdadera informaçam das terras do Preste Joam, segundo vio & escreueo ho padre Francisco Aluarez capellã del Rey nosso senhor*, Lisbon 1540; ID., *Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste João das Índias*, annot. by AUGUSTO REIS MACHADO, Lisbon 1943; SIEGBERT UHLIG – GERNOT BÜHRING (eds.), *Damian de Góis' Schrift über Glaube und Sitten der Äthiopier*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 39), s. index.

Lit.: CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM, "Notes on an unpublished Manuscript of Francisco Alvares: Verdadera informaçam das terras do Preste Joam das Indias", *AE* 4, 1961, 139–54; JEAN AUBIN, "Le prêtre Jean devant la censure portugaise", in: ID., *Le latin et l'astrolabe: recherches sur les Portugal de la Renaissance, son expansion en Asie et les relations internationales*, Lisbonne – Paris 1996, 183-210.

Michael Kleiner

Amaaro

The term A. (Amaro, Amarro) appears in different southern Ethiopian regions as a name of social or ethnic groups and places. The A. mountains area, inhabited by the ↗Koorete (in the past often called A.), is the most prominent region associated with this name. The missionary Léon des Avanchers, active in different south Ethiopian regions, reported in 1857 that the term "Amara" was the name of a district south of Goğğam, and of an ethnic group near the Konso (he is thus the first European to report on the Koorete). In that time the term had also been widely used to denominate "Christians" (as A. is considered to derive from "Amhara", s. d'Abbadie 1890:211, 250f.; Bieber 1920:127, 159).

The name A. can be found as a founding ancestor in several southern genealogies and descent legends. To some extent its appearance is certainly a reflection of ancient, even if minor, population movements from the north. It did not necessarily mean Amhara in an ethnic sense, but settlers from the Christian kingdom in general. For example, d'Abbadie recorded in the 1830s/40s the founding legend of the "Christian" Gobo (or Konta, ↗Dawro) in the east of Käfa, who called themselves descendants of the "Amharo" (1890:260, 118).

Also, diverse groups in Käfa were called A. Local tradition calls the A. one of 34 noble clans (*tiboo*) of the Käfiččo; a clan of the Hinnaro was also called A., said to have migrated to Käfa during the reign of king Minğoo (↗Minğoo-Bušašo). More generally, all Käfiččo descent groups who regarded themselves as Christians (*kriitinoo*) were part of the A., one of six major subgroups of Käfa. They are said to have migrated from Ǝnnarya, which was tributary to the Christian Amhara kingdom (Bieber 1920:152). These A. intermarried with the other subgroups who followed the local *eqo* cult, but not with the "Muslim" Nagaadoo, or with the despised Mančoo (cp. ↗Fuga; Bieber 1920:121, 127, 160f.).

Finally, two modern small settlements southeast of Käfa are also called A.

Lit.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Géographie de l'Éthiopie: ce que j'ai entendu, faisant suite à ce que j'ai vu*, Paris 1890, 118, 211, 250f., 260; FRIEDRICH BIEBER, *Kaffa: ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, Münster 1920, 121, 127, 145f., 150, 152, 159, 160f.; ID., "Die geistige Kultur der Kaffitscho. Glaube – Sage – Wissen – Heilkunde – Kunst – Spiel und Tanz – Feste – Kalender", *Revue des études ethnographiques et sociologiques*, janvier–mars 1909, 1-27, esp. 9ff.; VSAe III.

Wolbert Smidt

Amäde Bäšir

A.B. (አመዴ፡ በሺር) was a *balabbat* of ↗Wärrä Himäno, probably the same as the son of the queen of Wällo ↗Wärqitu, mentioned in the chronide of *däbtära* Zännäb as Amäde Ali (1902:30). A member of the Wällo ↗Mammädoččdynasty, he was among the strongest rebels against *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II throughout the first half of his reign.

The first revolt took place as early as 1857 under the leadership of A.B. and his co-rebel *däğğazmač* Libän, who were both in charge of Mäqdäla. It was, however, suppressed by Tewodros "without firing a shot" (Zännäb 1902:30f.). A.B. escaped and hid in Wällo, until in summer 1858 he raised a new rebellion. This time Tewodros chased him for almost a full year, till October 1859. He did not manage to catch the rebel, but at least a thousand Wällo men were mutilated for being suspected of supporting A.B. Many others were killed (s. Moreno 1942:179).

In 1860 A.B. had a new army and was hoping for more success, as by this time Tewodros was surrounded by rebels from all sides, including ↗Tädla Gʷalu in Goğğam and ↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaʾel and his brother ↗Täsämma Wäldä Mikaʾel in Təgray, but in January 1861 Tewodros managed to defeat the latter two. About the same time he must have at last captured A.B. A tradition claims that A.B. was not killed, but was baptized by the Emperor.

↗Šəfta

Src.: *Däbtära* ZÄNNÄB, *The Chronicle of King Theodore of Abyssinia*, ed. by ENNO LITTMANN, Princeton, NJ 1902, 30–45; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, "La cronaca di Re Teodoro attributa al Dabtara Zaneb", *RSE* 2, 1942, 143–80, here 168–79; SVEN RUBENSON (ed.), *Tewodros and his Contemporaries 1855–1868*, Addis Abeba – Lund 1994 (Acta Aethiopica 2), nos. 38, 41, 72.
Lit.: BTafA 879; SVEN RUBENSON, *King of Kings Tewodros of Ethiopia*, Addis Abeba – Nairobi 1966 (Haile Sellassie I University Department of History, Historical Studies no. 2), 75–78.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Aman Mikaʾel Andom

A. (**አማን፡ ሚካኤል፡ አንዶም**, b. 1924, Ṣäʿazzäga, d. 23 November 1974, Addis Abäba) was born of Christian parents in the historic village of ↗Ṣäʿazzäga, north of Asmära, in 1924. He was sent to Khartoum for secondary education and returned to Ethiopia with the British Commonwealth forces who defeated the Italians in 1941. Choosing a military career, he rose rapidly in rank, had assignments with Ethiopian troops sent to Korea and the Congo and subsequently, as Commander of the Third Army based in Harär, played a key role in the undeclared war between Ethiopia and Somalia in the early 1960s (↗Ogaden). Energetic and popular with his troops, he became known as the "Lion of the Ogaden" but was relieved of his command by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in late 1964 when he urged marching on to Mogadishu. Ḫaylä Śəllase appointed him to the Senate in 1965.

A. was a strong supporter of Eritrean reunification with Ethiopia, but he was also a progressive modernizer. Though never a member of the *Därg* (which included no general officers), he is reported to have had contacts with its members as the organization took shape in the spring and early summer of 1974. At the *Därg*'s recommendation, Ḫaylä Śəllase appointed him Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces in early July. After the Emperor replaced ↗Ǝndalkačäw Mäkʷännən as Prime Minister with Mikaʾel Ǝmməru on 22 July, A. became Minister of Defense. He took a keen interest in finding a solution to the rebellion in Eritrea. He presented a 19-point plan on 9 September for settling the Eritrean insurgency, calling *inter alia* for "general reform of the administrative system, removal of all obstacles, which had impeded social progress […] amnesty of political prisoners […] return of exiles and their resettlement, promotion of foreign investments […] lifting the state of emergency, punishing officials guilty of misconduct […] and safeguarding Ethiopian unity".

When Ḫaylä Śəllase was deposed on 12 September 1974, A. was chosen as the Head of State, in addition to his previous positions. He took his new role much more seriously than the *Därg* expected, trying to solve the Eritrean problem and to continue the revolutionary cause, and soon faced opposition from all sides. Major Mängəštu Ḫaylä Maryam became A.'s strongest opponent, pressing for increased effort to defeat the Eritrean rebellion militarily. He mobilized the opposition and had a hard-line Oromo, Brigadier General ↗Täfäri Banti, appointed head of the Second Army in Asmära, who stepped up military operations against the rebels. All A.'s efforts to solve the question peacefully were in vain.

A. was denounced by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front as "an Eritrean traitor and stooge of the Ethiopian government" and was unable to make any headway with the Eritrean Liberation Front. He resigned as Head of State in mid-November, only two months after the appointment.

Aman Mikaʾel Andom, © Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa

Several days later, on 23 November 1974, he was killed by Mängəstu Ḫaylä Maryam's troops trying to arrest him. His death and the mass slaughter the same night of another 59 former high officials of the Imperial Government, marked the turn of the Ethiopian ↗Revolution to violence.

Lit.: CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia*, Cambridge 1988, 42–45; HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Struggle over Eritrea, 1962–1978*, Stanford, CA 1983, 48–53; TEFERRA HAILE SELASSIE, *The Ethiopian Revolution, 1974–1991*, London – New York 1997, 138–41.

Paul B. Henze

Amano

A. (**አማኖ**), ruler of the ↗Hadiyya in the 14th cent., was an ally of a coalition of Muslim territories headed by *sulṭān* ↗Ṣabraddīn of Ifat, who fought *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I. According to ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's Chronicle (HuntAmd) A.'s decision to go to war was stimulated by a diviner called Bäläᶜam.

In 1329 the Christian emperor invaded Hadiyya, defeated A. and took him into captivity with many of his people. This victory over A. is also mentioned in the songs of praise dedicated to ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon. Commentators on the Chronide (HuntAmd 56f.) argue that A. was presumably the title of Hadiyya rulers rather than the name of an individual person. It can indeed be proved from the oral traditions that it was also employed as a title for chiefs by other Cushitic- and Omotic-speaking peoples such as the Agäw and the Ǧanǧäro (Yäm). In a genealogy documented among the Sooro-Hadiyya in 1970 by Braukämper, A. is placed 30 generations ago. It can be assumed that the name of this famous chief was later adopted as a general title of rulers.

Src.: HuntAmd 58f., 129; ENNO LITTMANN, *Die altamharischen Kaiserlieder*, Strassburg 1914, 25, 30; KrAmdS 6f. (text) = 10f. (tr.).

Lit.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Géographie de l'Éthiopie: ce que j'ai entendu, faisant suite à ce que j'ai vu*, Paris 1890, 61; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Geschichte der Hadiya Süd-Äthiopiens: von den Anfängen bis zur Revolution 1974*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 50), 74; VSAe III, 330.

Ulrich Braukämper

Amanuʾel Gäbrä Śəllase

A. (**አማኑኤል፡ ገብረ፡ ሥላሴ**, b. 1910, Neqemte, Wälläga, d. 9 July 1997) was one of the leading figures in the Evangelical Movement in Ethiopia. His father, *qes* Gäbrä Śəllase, worked for the Evangelical Congregation in Neqemte. His family left Wälläga for Eritrea and thus A. finished elementary education in Asmära in the Italian language. From 1925–29 he attended the newly opened Täfäri Mäkʷännən School in Addis Abäba. Three years of teaching in the ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission School at Ǝnṭoṭṭo followed. In 1932–34 he studied at the Bible Training Institute in Glasgow, Scotland, and then resumed teaching at the Swedish Evangelical Mission School, Ǝnṭoṭṭo. At the time of the Italian occupation, after the "Graziani massacre" in February 1937, he was arrested and spent three years in an Italian concentration camp. From 1941–61 he worked as an interpreter at the British Legation. In 1946 A. married *wäyzäro* Abäba Kəflä Ǝgziʾ. In the 1960s he became the Advisor on Church and Government Affairs in the Lutheran Radio Station RVOG (Radio Voice of the Gospel). In 1972 he was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the Wartburg College in Iowa, USA.

In 1941 he was elected first President of the Mekane Iyesus Congregation of Addis Abäba. He worked for co-operation and fellowship among the different evangelical groups, served on the Board of the ↗Ethiopian Bible Society and was one of the founding members of the Youth Male Christian Association in Ethiopia. In 1959 he became the first President of the ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Iyesus (EECMI) and was instrumental in bringing the Lutheran Radio Station to Addis Abäba. He worked there for 16 years and retired after it was confiscated by the *Därg* regime in 1977. For many years A. worked as a Church Officer and Vice President of the EECMI, even after retirement. During his time the EECMI grew to over 3 million in membership.

Lit.: GUSTAV ARÉN, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia: in the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers 1898–1936*, Stockholm 1999; EMMANUEL ABRAHAM, *Reminiscenses of my Life*, Oslo 1995.

Johannes Launhardt

Amba

A. (**አምባ**) is the Amh., Tgn. (also: **እምባ**, *əmba*) and, by extension, Gəʿəz word for a mountain, usually difficult of access, and the site of a town, group of villages, or military camp. Such places were often commanded by a functionary with the title of **አምባ፡ ራስ** (*amba ras*; ↗*Balambaras*), a

word also applied to the mountain's summit. References to localities incorporating the designation A. are found in early sources. Mention of an unidentified A. is made in the Chronicle of *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, and of Amba Sänet, in Təgray, in the chronicle of his son Bäᵓədä Maryam (PerrZarY 20f., 129). ↗Fra Mauro's map of 1460 likewise indicates the existence of an "Ambanegst" – Amba Nägäśt, or 'mountain for coronations', perhaps the Mount Mänagäśa of later times (CrawItin 194). Zorzi cites one of his early 16th-cent. Ethiopian informants telling of Ǝmba Dərho, 'mountain of chickens' (CrawItin 58, 124).

Such places were of considerable strategic note, particularly in troubled times, and were often sites of political importance. ↗Amba Gəšän, in Wällo, was thus for several centuries a place of detention for unwanted members of the ruling family (HuntGeogr 16f., 116, 159), while ↗Ḥarr Amba, lit. 'mountain of silk', in Šäwa was the site of "a large portion" of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase's treasures (Harris 1844, vol. 2, 366). *Aṣe* Tewodros II proclaimed himself Emperor at ↗Amba Čara, northeast of Lake Ṭana (Rubenson 1966:44), while his capital, immediately prior to his final confrontation with the British in 1868, was at A. ↗Mäqdäla (Markham 1869:115–27, 286). Mənilək, in the early part of his reign, likewise made use of the fortresses of A. ↗Ǝnnäwari in Morät and Tamo in ↗Märḥabete (GueCopMen 112, 117, 138; Pankhurst 1985:159–62). Later again the mountain Alage (↗Ambalage), south of Təgray, proved of major strategic importance during the Italian invasion of 1895–96, while ↗Amba Aradom, further north, was the site of a decisive battle during that of 1935–36 (GueCopMen 406–30; Mockler 1984:99f., 102f.).

The term A., after the Ethiopian Revolution, came to be applied to a place of refuge or asylum, such as a home for orphans or wounded war veterans, and was used by extension to imply virginity (KaneDic 1127).

Src.: GuiVoc 423; BassDic 485; KaneDic 1127; LesCDic 23; PerrZarY 20f., 129; GueCopMen vol. 1, 112, 117, 138; vol. 2, 406–30; CrawItin 58, 124, 194, s. index. **Lit.**: WILLIAM CORNWALLIS HARRIS, *The Highlands of Æthiopia*, London 1844, vol. 2, 366; SVEN RUBENSON, *King of Kings Tewodros of Ethiopia*, Addis Abeba – Nairobi 1966 (Haile Sellassie I University Department of History, Historical Studies no. 2), 44; CLEMENTS ROBERT MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 115–27, 286; ANTHONY MOCKLER, *Haile Selassie's War*, Oxford 1984, 99f., 102f.; PankHist II s. index; HuntGeogr s. index: list of *ambas*.

Richard Pankhurst

Amba Aradom, battle of

The battle of A.A. (**አምባ፡ ኣራዶም**), which took place on 10 to 15 February 1936, was a key one in Italy's campaign (↗Italian war 1935–36) to conquer the northern highlands. By 4 February 1936, Italian air and ground forces, under the command of Pietro ↗Badoglio, used 280 cannons and 170 aircraft to bomb Ethiopian positions along a 250-mile front between Däse and A.A., a strategically important flat-topped mountain south-east of Mäqälä (Mockler 1984:97). *Ras* ↗Mulugeta Yəggäzu, Minister of War, Imperial Fitawrari and Commander of the Army of the Centre, had deployed 35–40,000 troops to A.A. His forces had 400 machine-guns, ten cannons and a few anti-aircraft guns. On 2 February, Pietro Badoglio launched an offensive that included three divisions (Sabauda, Pusteria and January 3rd) from the I Corps and two divisions (Sila and March 23rd) from the III Corps. The Assietta and Eritrean divisions remained in reserve. Using an encircling movement, the Italians quickly defeated the Ethiopians and occupied A.A. on 15 February. The following day, *ras* Mulugeta and 50 of his men fled from A.A. During 17–19 February, Badoglio's forces pursued the remnants of the Ethiopian army. In this operation, the Regia Aeronautica flew 546 raids, dropped 396 tons of bombs and fired 30,000 rounds of machine-gun ammunition. On 27 February Rayya-Oromo *šəfta* killed *ras* Mulugeta. Italian casualties, including dead and wounded, totaled 36 officers, 621 Italian soldiers and 145 *askaris*. The Ethiopians lost an estimated 20,000 troops.

Src.: PIETRO BADOGLIO, *The War in Abyssinia*, London 1937.
Lit.: THOMAS M. COFFEY, *Lion by the Tail*, New York 1974; ANTHONY MOCKLER, *Haile Selassie's War: the Italian-Ethiopian Campaign, 1935–1941*, London – New York 1984; PAUL GLENTZON, *La conquête de l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1936, 50ff., 54, 56, 66, 71, 205, 264.
Thomas P. Ofcansky

Amba Čara

A.Č. (**አምባ፡ ጫራ**, also Anba Čara) is a plateau situated some 30 km south-east from Gondär. During his rise to power *däğğazmač* Kaśa Ḫaylu (later *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II) used this as a base for his campaigns in and around Gondär, Dämbəya, Goğğam, Səmen and Wägära. In 1854–55, events of substantial political importance took place at A.Č. Having established an alliance with the Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Sälama, after impressive military successes, Kaśa Ḫaylu summoned a church council at A.Č., to which he brought the Metropolitan and the *əčč̣äge* Wäldä Maryam, who was at odds with the *abun*; also attending were representatives of rival theological schools. At the council on 19 August 1854 Kaśa presided over a public reconciliation among them. The doctrine of the Metropolitan was proclaimed official and compulsory. Soon, in September, at A.Č., Kaśa proclaimed himself *nəguś*, in the presence of both the Metropolitan and the *əčč̣äge*, and this proclamation was followed by Kaśa's marriage with *wäyzäro* ↗Täwabäčč, the daughter of *ras* Ali Alula, his major opponent, defeated in a fierce battle at ↗Ayšal.

In the time after Tewodros's reign A.Č. seems to have retained its importance, presumably due to the strategic position it holds vis-à-vis Gondär. Thus, *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV established his camp there in the second year after his coronation (Chaîne 1913:8f.), as did Məhidnak w he was *nəguś* of Šäwa (GueCopMen). In the 1930s A.Č. was an important market place, and a place of *vice residence* in the time of Italian occupation.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Nuovi documenti per la storia d'Abissinia nel secolo XIX", *RRALm* ser. 8, 2, 1947, 358–416, here 408f.; MARIUS CHAÎNE, *Histoire du règne de Iohannes IV roi d'Éthiopie (1868–1889)*, Paris 1913, 8f. [extract from: *Revue Semitique* 21, 1913, 178–91]; GueCopMen s. index; *Guida* 380.
Lit.: TÄKLÄ ṢADƎKA MÄKʷƎRYA, **ዐፄ፡ ቴዎድሮስና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ አንድነት** (*ʿAṣe Tewodrosənna yäʾityopya andənnät*, 'Aṣe Tewodros and Ethiopian Unity'), Addis Abäba 1981 A.M. [1988/89 A.D.], 134ff.; SVEN RUBENSON, *King of Kings Tewodros of Ethiopia*, Addis Abeba – Nairobi 1966 (Haile Sellassie I University. Department of History, Historical Studies no. 2), 44; PankHist II, 51, 73, map.
Tsegaye Tegenu; Red.

Amba Foqäda

A.F. (**አምባ፡ ፎቀዳ**, also Fäqada) is a rock shelter on the Amba Zəban in the region of ↗ʿAgamä in Təgray, close to the Eritrean border. The name of A.F. is wrongly chosen and derives from that of a village, Foqäda, on the slopes of Amba Zəban. The rock shelter is located on the gully of the stream Dähane, near some ruins at Menabet.

Schematic rock-paintings have been recorded at this site. They represent wild and domestic animals (felines and cattle), human figures armed with bows or spears, and a scene of a man pushing a ↗plough pulled by two oxen. This scene is probably the earliest representation of the use of the plough in Ethiopia. The age is uncertain, but a dating to the 1st millennium B.C. is very likely.

Foqäda could have been a centre of the most ancient Christianization, since it is recorded in the 14th-cent. Acts of *abba* ↗Libanos as one of the localities where the saint spent a part of his life. It is also the place where the wife of King ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl erected a church after Libanos's death. In fact, the ruins of Aksumite buildings, including a church, have been observed nearby the surrounding village of Dähane. Moreover, oral traditions report that in Foqäda and in Baraknaha the remains of the ↗Ṣadqan are kept, the supposed missionaries from Rome/Byzantium.

Lit.: ATTILIO MORDINI, "Un riparo sotto roccia con pitture rupestri nell'Ambà Focadà", *RSE* 1, 1, 1941, 54–60; PAOLO GRAZIOSI, "Le pitture rupestri nell'ambà Focadà, Eritrea", *ibid.*, 61–70; JEAN LECLANT – ANDRÉ MIQUEL, "Reconnaissance dans l'Agamé: Goulo-Makéda et Sabéa (octobre 1955 et avril 1956)", *AE* 3, 1959, 107–14; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Ricordi di un soggiorno in Eritrea*, Asmara 1903, 31f.; ID, "Aethiopica (II serie)", *RSO* 10, 1925, 481–520, here 484–88 [no. 29. "Le rovine di Dahané"]; ID., *Storia d'Etiopia*, Milano 1928, 157f.

Rodolfo Fattovich

Amba Gəšän

The names A.G. (**አምባ፡ ግሸን**) and Gəšän Maryam (**ግሸን፡ ማርያም**) are attributed to the same place, found in the central Ethiopian highlands, 68 km to the west of Däse in ↗Ambassäl district on the top of a massive mountain (3,249 m A.S.L.) surrounded by gorges.

During medieval times, probably since the reign of *aṣe* Yəkunno Amlak (r. 1270–85), A.G. was used as a "royal prison" where sons of monarchs, their immediate predecessors or other princes were kept in seclusion or were "shut up" (BeckHuntAlvar 237) to avoid any struggle for the crown among potential contenders. Young princes were held in custody on A.G. at the age of puberty, or during any crisis in the royal succession or upon death of a monarch to hinder them from being used in the struggle for the throne due to multitude of heirs, partly as a result of polygyny. A loyal dignitary was appointed to govern the inaccessible A.G. and manage the princes, who could move freely, attend traditional schools of the church, cultivate land or even marry, but never leave A.G. unless elected to the throne. For these reasons, A.G. was also referred to in Gəʿəz literature as Däbrä Nägäšt, 'Mount of Sovereigns' ('Mount of the Princes'). The scholar-emperor ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob was brought down from A.G. only on the eve of his accession to the throne.

The forces of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") failed twice to take over the inaccessible A.G. (1531 and 1532) but overran and looted it on the third attack in the year 1540. After it ceased to function as a "royal prison". After its destruction, many of the contending princes had been left at liberty, contributing to the dynastic instability in the time following the Aḥmad Grañ's invasion. ↗Wähni Amba near Gondär served similar functions for Gondärine kings.

During the subsequent centuries, A.G. was sometimes called Däbrä Kärbe ('Mount of Myrrh'), but in Gəʿəz sources it is generally referred to as Gəšän Maryam, after a church of Maryam that was founded during the reign of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob. Churches were built on each of the four hills on the plateau, perceived as forming the shape of a cross.

A.G. became most famous for supposedly housing a fragment of the True Cross. Because of this and the shape of the hills, A.G. is sometimes called Mäsqäl Amba ('the *amba* of the Cross') or Mänbärä Mäsqäl ('the throne of the Cross'). The *Mäṣḥafä ↗ṭefut*, found at A.G. (Caquot 1955:90) and attributed to *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, recounts that in 1456 A.M. the Emperor placed in the Ǝgziʾabaḥer Ab church at A.G. the fragment of the True Cross that the Patriarch of Alexandria had given his father, *aṣe* ↗Dawit II as a reward for his support in freeing him from imprisonment by the Egyptian authorities. *Aṣe* Dawit died before getting the cross to Ethiopia. The book tells that the cross-shaped hills on the *amba* were the reason for Zärʾa Yaʿəqob to place the fragment of the True Cross in A.G. He already knew A.G. from his years of detention as a prince. The *Mäṣḥafä ṭefut* narrates that *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob brought earth from the Holy Land loaded on 88 camels and 100 mules, spread it over A.G. and raised it to the status of the "second Jerusalem".

Subsequently, A.G. was perceived and glorified as a holy place where one can heal the body and save the soul. It was also sanctified as a place of asylum, being seen as a "paradise encirded by fire", so that no asylum-seeker would be violated.

Today A.G. is a famous centre of pilgrimage with a population of about 600 families and hundreds of priests, monks and elderly and needy people.

↗Mäsqäl

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar s. index; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *Topographic Map of Gəšän*, Addis Ababa 1996; *Mäṣḥafä ṭefut*, ms. kept at Ǝgziᵓabəḥer Ab Church, Gəšän Maryam; EIKE HABERLAND, *Untersuchungen zum äthiopischen Königtum*, Wiesbaden 1965 (SKK 18), 71–90; BassHist; ታሪክ፡ ነገሥት (*Tarikä nägäśt*, 'History of Kings'), ms., IES, Addis Abäba; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Aperçu préliminaire sur le *Maṣḥafa Ṭēfut* de Geshen Amba", *AE* 1, 1955, 89–108.

Lit.: TadTChurch s. index; TÄKLÄ ṢADƎQ MÄKᵂƎRIYA, የአሕመድ፡ ግራኝ፡ ወረራ (*Yäᵓaḥmäd Grañ wärära*, 'The Invasion of Aḥmäd Grañ'), Addis Abäba 1966 A.M. [1973/74 A.D.].

Haile Gabriel Dagne

Amba Śänayti

A.Ś. (አምባ፡ ሠናይቲ) is a district located in the province of Təgray within the region of ↗ᶜAdwa. A.Ś. has 70 sub-districts. At present, the area of A.Ś. is confined by the river Wärᵓi, bordering Haramat and ↗Gärᶜalta to the east and south, Haḫaylä, ↗Ǝntičč̣o and Awgär (renamed recently ᶜAdd Ahfärom) to the north; Ṣädya and Ṣaᵓi to the south and west. The area of A.Ś. is about 1,020 km² and the population is estimated at approximately 250,000. The principal town is Näbälät. The famous rock-hewn church of Wəqro Maryam, the ancient monasteries of Däbrä Bärbäre and Mäkanä Akəst and the church of Akofa Mikaᵓel are located in A.Ś. Although A.Ś. comprises many chains of mountains and highlands, it is dominated by lowlands, mostly fertile.

In former times A.Ś. was larger and included Haramat. During the reign of *aṣe* Tewodros II the tax revenue from A.Ś. and Haramat was 6,725 Maria Theresia thalers, while that from ᶜAgamä was 3,908 and from Ǝndärta 3,534 Maria Theresia thalers. The ruler of A.Ś. had the title of *śəyyum amba śänayti*, like *śəyyumä šire*, *šum ᶜagame* etc. (↗*Šum*).

A. is mentioned several times in the Ethiopian chronides since the time of *aṣe* ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I. One of the critical battles between the Ethiopian forces led by *əṭege* ↗Säblä Wängel, assisted by the contingent of 400 Portuguese led by Dom Christovão da ↗Gama, and the army of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, assisted by the Turks, took place at A.Ś. The strong fortress at the *amba*, a flat-topped mountain with three inaccessible entrances, with sufficient water and a church, which is described by ↗Castanhoso and Barradas, the Portuguese writers, resembles that of Amba Ǝnda Ṣəyon in Haramat, which used to be administered with A.Ś.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar vol. 1, 167ff., vol. 2, 569f.; RICHARD STEPHEN WHITEWAY, *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541–1543 as Narrated by Castanhoso, with some Contemporary Letters, the Short Account of Bermudez, and Certain Extracts from Corrêa*, London 1902, lii f., 33–39; PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA. CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), "Area and Population Density by Autonomous Administrative Regions and Awraja", *Statistical Bulletin* 76, Addis Ababa 1990, 36; THÉOPHILE LEFEBVRE, *Voyage en Abyssinie exécuté pendant les années 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843 …*, Paris 1845–51, vol. 1, 271, vol. 2–1, 28;

RICHARD PANKHURST, *Tax Records and Inventories of Emperor Tewodros of Ethiopia (1855–68)*, London 1979, 11; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa – Nairobi 1965 (Monographs in Ethiopian Land Tenure no. 1), 83f.
Lit.: TadTChurch 74, 251.

Zewde Gabre-Sellassie

Amba Šoloda ↗ ᶜAdwa, battle of

Amba Soyra

A.S. (**አምባ፡ ሶይራ**) is the highest peak in Eritrea, consisting of a table of hard, mesozoic rocks (ᶜAddigrat sandstone) laid on a crystalline basement, reaching an altitude of 3,013 m (*Guida*) or 3,018 m A.S.L. (*International Travel Maps*). It coincides with a horst thrust up between the ↗Säⁿᶜafe crystalline plateaux, interrupted by the upper ↗Märäb trench to the west and the Red Sea rift to the east. Within 40 km of the Gulf of ↗Zula, it towers more than 3,000 m above the torrid coastal plain.

While the annual rainfall is 182 mm in Massawa and 460 mm in Säⁿᶜafe, A.S. gets between 600 and 800 mm. It forms the limit between two contrasting climatic regions: to the east, the precipitations come from the Red Sea and fall from November to April, whereas the Highlands to the west have a tropical summer rainfall regime. The eastern slopes are prone to an intense gully erosion and are covered above an altitude of 1,000–1,200 m with an evergreen forest of local olive-trees (*Olea chrysophyla*) and of ↗juniper higher up. On the western side the proliferation of ↗euphorbia and ↗acacia follows the declining rainfall. To the west the Christian Təgrəññaspeaking cereal-croppers of the plateaux, who are settled in large villages of flat-roofed, rectangular houses (*ḥədmo*), have cleared the lower slopes. To the east the Sāho speaking ↗Asaorta cattle-keepers spend winter and the beginning of spring on the shores of the Gulf of Zula. From May to July they move up the mountains, where they build temporary branch huts (*dasa*).

Land-use feuds have for long sparked up between the sedentary Təgrəññaspeakers and the Asaorta nomadic pastoralists. But the recent climatic crises and the fighting for the independence of Eritrea have further aggravated the confrontation because of the flight of the Sāho and the ↗ᶜAfar to the highlands.

Src.: ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988; *Guida* 294, map 4; MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *An Atlas of Ethiopia*, revised edition, Asmera 1971.
Lit.: MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972; CHRIS KUTSCHERA, *Érythrée. Eritrea*, Paris 1994; YUSUF ABUL-HAGGAG, *A Contribution to the Physiography of Northern Ethiopia*, London 1961; *International Travel Maps. Eritrea* (*731*), scale: 1:900,000, Vancouver 1997.

Alain Gascon

View on Amba Soyra from the Qoḥayto plateau, 1998, photo courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

Ambalage

A. (**አምባላጌ**, also Amba Alage) is a strategic mountain in southern Təgray at 3,438 m A.S.L. (for exact location s. the map for Ambassäl). As a natural fortress, it became the venue of important military engagements in modern Ethiopian history. In 1895, it marked the furthest point of Italian advance from their newly established colony of Eritrea into Ethiopian territory. On 7 December of that year, the vanguard force of the Ethiopian army led by *fitawrari* ↗Gäbäyyähu stormed the Italian forces led by Major Toselli in a spectacular display of courage. The Italians were routed and Toselli was one of the casualties.

In 1935, probably because of the shock generated by the major defeat they suffered at ↗Amba Aradom, south of Mäqälä, the Ethiopians were unable to defend this natural stronghold, thereby opening for the Italians the way to central Ethiopia. Instead, an ultimately hopeless battle was fought on the plains of ↗Mayčäw to the south. In 1941, after the Fascist occupation force collapsed under the combined assault of the Ethiopian patriotic resistance and the British Expeditionary Force, the Viceroy Amedeo di ↗Savoia, Duke of Aosta, retreated to A., but was forced to surrender on 19 May.

In 1943, A. became the venue of yet another military engagement, this time between the ↗Wäyyane rebels, led by *blatta* Ḫaylä Maryam Rädda, and the Ethiopian government forces. After surrendering the capital, Mäqäle, to the rebels, a government force of some 2,000 troops and 8,000 territorials commanded by General ↗Abbäbä Damṭäw, had dug in at A. A rebel force of 20,000 peasants began its attack on the mountain stronghold on 18 September. Although it was able to inflict heavy casualties on the government troops, it was not able to dislodge them. The decisive battle was fought on 6 October, when the final rebel assault was checked by deadly mortar and artillery fire and air bombardments by the British, who had come on the side of the government. Over 400 rebels died. The rebel strategy of encirclement and attrition collapsed and the Wäyyane rebellion came to an end.

Src.: GueCopMen; *Guida* s. index.
Lit.: ROBERTO BATTAGLIA, *La prima guerra d'Africa*, Torino 1958; GIOVANNI BELTRAME, *Avanti e dopo il disastro di Amba-Alagi*, Verona 1896; GEBRU TAREKE, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest. Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge 1991; ANTHONY MOCKLER, *Haile Selassie's War. The Italian-Ethiopian Campaign, 1935-1941*, New York 1984; DAVID SHIREFF, *Barefeet & Bandoliers. Wingate, Sandford, the Patriots and the Part They Played in the Liberation of Ethiopia*, London – New York 1995; TÄKLÄ ṢADƏQ MÄKᵛƏRIYA, **ዐፄ፡ ምኒልክና ፡ የኢትዮጵያ ፡ አንድነት** (*ʿAṣe Mənilәkәnna yä'ityopya andәnnät*, '*Aṣe* Mənilәk and Ethiopia's Unity'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.]; PATRICK GILKES, *The Dying Lion. Feudalism and Modernization in Ethiopia*, London 1975.

Bahru Zewde

Last stand of the Italian Army, showing defensive positions on the hillsides of Ambalage, April/May 1941, from Sudan Archives, Durham University (Location no. SAD, 742/2/16), photo by Amedeo di Savoia, duke of Aosta

Ambäriččo

A. (**አምበሪቾ**) is a historically important massif (3,200 m A.S.L. at its top) in the Angača *wäräda* of Kambaata–Allaaba–Ṭimbaaro Zone (former Kämbata *æwrağğa* of Arsi province). It is located close to the former Kämbata capital, Angača.

A. is believed to have been one of the earliest locations of the allegedly Amhara (Christian) immigrant settlers in southern Ethiopia. According to written sources, ↗Kambaata was first

mentioned in the "royal songs" of *aṣe* Yəsḥaq (r. 1414–29), and it can be assumed that churches were erected on top of A. by that time. According to the local traditions, the first church was built immediately upon the arrival of the Christians some time in the 12th cent.

During the wars of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ğāzī, remnants of Christian settlers, who are still represented among the Kambaata clans, are described defending A. as an invincible stronghold against the Muslim invaders. Sacred church objects were hidden in caves of the massif.

The oral traditions refer to a meeting of *Ambarič' lamala* ('the seven of A.'), seven groups of different origin, said to have been among the first settlers but dispersing later to settle in different areas, which resulted in the ethnogenesis of the Kambaata. This event, which can be dated to the beginning of the 17th cent., coincided with the foundation of a dynasty by the ruling Oyeta (Oyota) clan, and the stratification of the Kambaata society. A. became the residence of Ḥamälmal, the founder of the Oyeta dynasty (Braukämper 1983:44f.).

After the Amhara conquest, the first residence of governors for the Kambaata and Hadiyya territories were established on top of A. in 1894-95, but soon transferred to other places more easily accessible. Today, only foundations of some churches are still to be seen on the peak, but presumably since around the beginning of the 20th cent. no permanent settlement has actually existed there. A. is still revered as a sacred place and is occasionally visited by pilgrims.

Src.: oral informants.

Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Die Kambata, Geschichte und Gesellschaft eines südäthiopischen Bauernvolkes*, Wiesbaden 1983 (SKK 65), 35ff., 44f., 72; STAFFAN GRENSTEDT, *Ambaricho: a Remarkable Venture in Ethiopian Solidarity*, Uppsala 1995.

Teclehaimanot Gebreselassie

Ambassäl

A. (**አምባሰል**) is a mountainous range in ↗Wällo and the area around it, between Lake Ḥayq and Yäğğu. The former A. *awrağğa* of the Wällo province (with the town of Ḥayq as its capital) has been reduced to its eastern and highland part as a *wäräda* (with the town of Wəč̣ale as its capital) of the South Wällo Zone in the contemporary administration of Federal Ethiopia. These steep mountains overhanging the upper basins of the Bäšəlo and Mille rivers were known up to the 16th cent. as one of the "doors" locking the Amhara territory (also named *Amba* Ǝsraʾel or *Amba* Wasäl in the sources). The summits of A., particularly ↗Amba Gəšän, were used by the Solomonic monarchy as royal prisons and warehouses. A. was ruled by a local dynasty of Ğan Ṭərar.

Lit.: HuntGeogr 176; DESSALEGN RAHMATO, *Famine and Survival Strategies. A Case Study for Northeast Ethiopia*, Uppsala 1991, 47–55.

Eloi Ficquet

Ambo

Located 125 km west of Addis Abäba, A. (**አምቦ**, Oromo: Amboo, 2,087m A.S.L. at the Post-Office building) is the administrative capital of West Šäwa, a division of Oromiyaa. At the heart of the flourishing region of Mäč̣č̣a (cereals, orchards, livestock-farming, *ənsät*), the city has known a rapid expansion (in the year 1938 – 600 inhabitants, 1970 – 9,791, 1984 – 17,735, 1994 – 27,636, 1998 – 31,216). While the irrigated gardens in town still provide local residents with a much needed supplementary income, the population is less engaged in trade or handicraft than in administration and education. The Secondary School caters for thousands of students from Šäwa and Wälläggа. The College of Agriculture, the third one in Ethiopia in importance, is enhanced by the Plant Protection Research Centre.

Weekend tourists are attracted by a thermal swimming-pool and by the nearby ↗Wänč̣i crater lake. The market district of Arada, overlooked by

a mosque, is separated from the main road by the Hulluka river, a tributary of the ↗Gudär river, which flows into the Abbay. Cattle are driven to various springs to take salt waters (BaetDic 559). The reputation of A. mineral water all over Ethiopia has overshadowed the Gəᶜəz name Hagärä Ḥəywät ('Country of life'), which the authorities had tried to impose in vain. The city inherited its "urban character" from the Italians, who left official buildings and a draughtboard layout. Outside the town, the A. Iyäsus Church celebrates on its frescoes the heroic deeds of *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis, Mənilək's Minister of War. This chief, who died in 1926, was born in Mäčča and succeeded the future *ras* Mäkʷännən, who was the first to subjugate this region.

A. is a new town: in 1933, when ↗Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl established the College of Agriculture, there were only a few huts around *ras* ↗Əmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase's residence (*gəbbi*). Next to a ford and a natural bridge, a hotel used to accommodate those taking the waters. Until the Revolution, the town and the surrounding region lived under the tough rule of Governor *ras* ↗Mäsfən Səleši, a protégé of the last *nəguś*.

Src.: BaetDic 559; FRANÇOIS BALSAN, *Poursuite vers le Nil Blanc*, Paris 1947; CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE (ed.), *Report on a Survey of Shoa Province*, Addis Ababa 1966; ID., *Survey of Major Towns in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1968; ID., *Ethiopia Statistical Abstract 1970*, Addis Ababa 1971; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988; *Guida* 320; MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *An Atlas of Ethiopia*, revised edition, Asmera 1971; OFFICE OF THE POPULATION AND HOUSING CENSUS COMMISSION (ed.), *Ethiopia 1984. Population & Housing Census Preliminary Report* 1, no. 1, Addis Ababa 1984; ID., *The 1994 Housing Census of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1995–96.

Lit.: ALAIN GASCON, *La Grande Éthiopie, une utopie africaine. Éthiopie ou Oromie, l'intégration des hautes terres du Sud*, Paris 1995; EIKE HABERLAND, "Bemerkungen zur Kultur und Sprache der "Galila" im Wonči-See (Mittel-Äthiopien)", *RSE* 16, 1960, 5–23; MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972.

Alain Gascon

Ambobär

A. (አምቦበር), lying east of Gondär, was one of the most important villages of the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel prior to their emigration to Israel. It was founded along with the nearby village of Uzaba by ↗Täᵓammərat Ǝmmanuᵓel and other young men, following the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. The area was chosen for its defensive potential and the land was rented from local Christian landlords. It was one of the largest villages inhabited exclusively by Betä Ǝsraᵓel. It became the site of Jewish schools as well as the primary place where pilgrims from the Gondär region gathered for the *Səgd* pilgrimage festival. Thus, although its permanent population never numbered much more than a hundred residents, it became the most important centre of Betä Ǝsraᵓel life in Ethiopia.

Lit.: SIMON DAVID MESSING, *The Story of the Falashas, "Black Jews" of Ethiopia*, Brooklyn 1982, 66; CARLO ALBERTO VITERBO – AHARON COHEN, *Ebrei di Etiopia. Due diari (1936 e 1976)*, Firenze 1993, 129–33.

Steven Kaplan

Amboro

A. (**አምቦሮ**, also Homäččo, for location s. the map for Ambo) is a market town about 20 km north-west of the town of ↗Hossäyna in Mišaa (formerly Kontäb) *wäräda*, ↗Hadiyya zone in south Ethiopia.

The town of A. was the centre of the ↗Mäsmäs people, who occupied the eastern side of the Gibe river in western Hadiyya from the middle of the 18th cent. At present, the area of A. is inhabited by a mixed population of Mäsmäs and Hadiyya of the Baadoogo and Leemo subgroups. The Mäsmäs preserve a tradition that they possessed a tabot, Gibe Mikaʾel, within a fortified compound at Lenčiččo near the present town of A.

A. was a notable market place for long-distance trade across the Omo between the Hadiyya – ↗Kambaata regions and the territories of Yama (Yäm) and beyond. A. provided two separate market-places within its fortifications, in order to avoid conflicts between the rival Leemo and Sooro Hadiyya clans, and to ensure peaceful economic interaction among the market-goers.

When new headquarters were established at Hossäyna in 1908, at the order of the then governor of Hadiyya and Kambaata *ras* ↗Abatä Bʷayaläw, A. lost much of its former economic position, but regained some regional importance after the restructuring of the districts and the construction of a motorable road in the 1980s.

Src.: oral informants.

Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Geschichte der Hadiya Süd-Äthiopiens: von den Anfängen bis zur Revolution 1974*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 50), 211f., 425.

Teclehaimanot Gebreselassie

ᶜAmdä bərhan zäʾityopya

A. (**ዓምደ፡ ብርሃን፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ**) was the name of a clandestine news-sheet produced in Italian-occupied Addis Abäba shortly after Mussolini's entry into the European war in June 1940. Literally translatable as the 'Pillar of Light of Ethiopia' – an allusion to that followed by Moses in biblical times (Ex 13:22) – the "periodical" was secretly produced by half-a-dozen friends of Ethiopian freedom, headed by two Addis Abäba Armenians, Yohannes ↗Semerjibashian, an employee of the then German Consulate, and Avedis Terzian, son of Mənilək's Armenian aide Sarkis Terzian. The work, which ran to six issues, was largely based on news reports heard on the BBC by Terzian, whose wife had persuaded the Italian authorities to allow her access to a radio "to listen to music". The text of ᶜA. was written in Amharic by a former Palace scribe and was multiplied by the old-fashioned ink-on-gelotine process. Copies were then smuggled out of the capital to the Patriots, in some instances inside shoes made by an Armenian cobbler. No copy of this publication has thus far been traced.

Src.: Interview of Nicholas Rankin with Avedis Terzian, 2001.

Lit.: RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia. A New Political History*, London 1965, 229; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Ethiopian Patriots and the Collapse of Italian Rule in East Africa", *EthObs* 12, 2, 1969, 92–127; NICHOLAS RANKIN, *Telegram from Guernica: the Extraordinary Life of George Steer, War Correspondent*, London 2003.

Richard Pankhurst

ᶜAmdä Iyäsus

The son of *aṣe* Ḥəzbä Nañ, *aṣe* ᶜA.I. (**ዓምደ፡ ኢያሱ**) took the name of Bädəl Nañ as his regnal name as soon as he came to power in 1433, when he was a young child. He succeeded his own brother, ↗Särwä Iyäsus.

The "short chronicles" assign to ᶜA.I. a reign of eight months before *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob came to power. The circumstances of this succession are unknown. The sources merely refer to a struggle for power between the family of Ḥəzbä Nañ and that of Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob.

Src.: BassÉt 102; DombrChr 106 (text) = 155 (tr.); CARLA FOTI, "La cronaca abbreviata dei re d'Abissinia in un manoscritto di Dabra Berhān di Gondar", *RSE* 1, 1941, 87–123; BégChron 12; AḤMAD IBN ᶜALĪ AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Kitāb al-Ilmām bi-aḫbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabaša min mulūk al-Islām. Historia Regum Islamiticorum in Abyssinia*, ed., tr. by FRIEDRICH THEODOR RINCK, Leiden 1790, 41.

Lit.: TadTChurch 280f.; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 511–15.

Marie-Laure Derat

ᶜAmdä Mäsqäl

ᶜA.M. (**ዓምደ፡ መስቀል**, 'Pillar of the Cross'), later nicknamed ᶜAmdä Säyṭan (lit. 'Pillar of Satan'), was a prominent mid-15th-cent. courtier. He was married to ↗Bərhan Zämäda and was thus the son-in-law of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, who had him exiled to a remote land. ᶜA.M. held the important position of ↗*bitwäddäd*. He was, however, subsequently accused of a number of unspecified

crimes, as well as of secretly marrying another woman while wedded to the princess. The latter reported this infidelity to her royal father, who had him tried by the principal courtiers of the land. They found him guilty and condemned him to death. This sentence was, however, apparently commuted by the normally implacable monarch, who instead exiled his erring son-in-law to a province known only to himself and had a heavy iron collar fixed round the neck of the condemned man. The title of *bitwäddäd* was then given to the latter's wife, *əsraʾelawit* (princess, lit. 'woman of the House of Ǝsraʾel') Bərhan Zämäda.

Src.: PerrZarY 10–13.
Lit.: TadTChurch 240.

Richard Pankhurst

Amdä Mikaʾel Dässaläññ

Ato A. (**አምደ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ደሳለኝ**, b. 1912, d. 1960) was born near Däbrä Bərhan and educated at the Ḫaylä Śəllase Lycée in Addis Abäba. He was tutor in French to the royal children before the ↗Italian war 1935–36, during which he served as director of supplies at the northern front. Surrendering to the Italians, he was employed in their propaganda section during the occupation, work that he continued after the liberation. He was appointed Ethiopian government liaison officer in Asmära in February 1952 and after the federation with Eritrea was a member of the Imperial Federal Council. In March 1954 he became ambassador to Yugoslavia and in October 1955 liaison officer in Mogadishu. He returned to Addis Abäba as President of the Chamber of Deputies in October 1957 and in December 1958 was appointed Vice-Minister of Press and Information. He was one of the hostages killed in the Gännätä Ləʿul Palace during the attempted ↗Coup d'état on 16 December 1960.

Src.: author's own data.

Christopher Clapham

ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I

ʿA.Ṣ. (**ዓምደ፡ ጽዮን**, r. 1314–44, regnal name Gäbrä Mäsqäl) is considered to be one of the most outstanding Ethiopian emperors. It is generally accepted that he was a grandson of *aṣe* Yəkunno Amlak and a son of *aṣe* ↗Wədəm Räʿad (even though a few later Ethiopian traditions cast doubt on this). It is not known how he succeeded to the throne. There are a few hints pointing to his involvement in the succession struggle against his father (s. Taddesse Tamrat, in *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 505f.). In any case, it was ʿA.Ṣ. he who stabilized the Solomonic dynasty and put an end to the struggle for power among the descendants of Yəkunno Amlak.

In the early period of his reign, in 1316/17, ʿA.Ṣ. undertook large-scale and successful military campaigns to ↗Goğğam, ↗Damot and ↗Hadiyya, the last two regions strongly influenced by Islam, and levied an occasional tribute on them. Then he turned against the rulers of northern regions, who meanwhile obtained much independence. Around 1320 ʿA.Ṣ. crashed ↗Yaʿəbikä Ǝgziʾ, the governor of Ǝntärta (Ǝndärta) and representative of the local Təgray nobility, who tried to build a coalition of the northern regions of Amba Śänayti, Bilḥat and Tämben against the Amhara dynasty (s. Taddesse Tamrat 1970:95f.; Conti Rossini 1938:419ff.). In Amba Śänayti ʿA.Ṣ. established a military colony ("Ǝmba Śänäyt", Conti Rossini 1909:30f.) and used it as a base for further campaigns to the north up to the Red Sea (*baḥrä Erətra*; s. Taddesse Tamrat 1970:95). Trying to set up the administration of the regions, ʿA.Ṣ. entrusted the appropriate offices to his followers and relatives (a practice also used by other monarchs). Ǝndärta was given to his queen, *bäʾaltä biḥat* Bälen Saba from Təgre (Təgray). Later the Emperor assigned to this position his third son Baḥrä Asgäd, who also received the title of *maʾəkälä baḥər*, and whose authority was extended to the coastal territories (Conti Rossini 1901:30f., 34ff.; TadChurch 74, esp. n. 5).

While ʿA.Ṣ. was consolidating his power in northern and south-western Ethiopia, in the south the front of Muslim principalities (the so-called *aṭ-ṭirāz al-Islāmī*, 'Muslim belt', of Arabic sources) was growing, backed by nomadic tribes and basing their power on the control over long-distance trade from the Red Sea coast to the Ethiopian Highlands. The central position was held by ↗Ifat in south-western Šäwa, ruled by ↗Walašmaʿ *sulṭāns*, which had absorbed the Šäwan sultanate of the ↗Maḫzūmī dynasty in the late years of 13th cent. The Walašmaʿ rulers of Ifat formally were the vassals of the Christian kings even before ʿA.Ṣ., but sought independence and, like other Muslim tributaries, were always ready to rebel (TadChurch

130f.). The gradual development of Christian and Muslim statehood and their competence over the control of profitable trade were inevitably to result in a major military conflict.

A.Ṣ.'s wars against Ifat and other Muslim principalities are known from the famous account of this campaign. According to this document, the pretext for the large-scale war was the arrest of ʿA.Ṣ.'s officer Təʿyəntay (who elsewhere is said to have been returning through Ifat from a mission to Egypt). It is reported that Təʿyəntay was captured on the order of the "Ḥaqaddin" (*sulṭān* ↗Ḥaqqaddīn b. Dallḥūy b. Manṣūr). In return ʿA.Ṣ. devastated Ifat and other Muslim areas and repelled an attack of Gäbäl and ↗Warğəh nomads and the (Christian?) people of Täg^{w}əlät, Zəga and Mänzəḥ, all of them under the command of Däradər, Ḥaqqaddīn's son. ʿA.Ṣ. deposed Ḥaqqaddīn and installed his brother "Säbräddin" (↗Ṣabraddīn b. Dallḥūy b. Manṣūr) as governor.

ʿA.Ṣ.'s largest campaign took place in 1332. The ruler of Hadiyya, whom the account of ʿA.Ṣ.'s war calls ↗Amano, refused to pay tribute to the Emperor, but was defeated and fled to Ifat, to Ṣabraddīn, who intended to overthrow ʿA.Ṣ. and be himself "like the king of Zion" (KrAmdS 2). Ṣabraddīn tried to mobilize allies against ʿA.Ṣ., but the Emperor, having subjugated Hadiyya, after a difficult campaign gained a total victory over Ṣabraddīn, who managed to flee. As the account of the campaign reports, ʿA.Ṣ. had to send many of his troops to fight the rebels in Səmen, Wägära, Ṣällämt and Wägäde (this might be the first reference to the people later known as Fälaša, or ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, s. KrAmdS 11f.; Marrassini 1994:69). He himself, however, went against ↗Haydära, the ruler of Däwaro, an ally of Ṣabraddīn, and imprisoned both. ↗Ğamāladdīn b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr, a brother of Ḥaqqaddīn, was installed over Ifat.

The next stage of the struggle began when ʿA.Ṣ. defeated the alliance of ↗ʿAdal, ↗Mora and some other Muslim regions. In ʿAdal he fought against the *qāḍī* ↗Ṣāliḥ, who had built a large Muslim coalition and allied himself with Ğamāladdīn. Despite a serious illness, the Emperor personally commanded a victorious battle that was crucial in the extended military rivalry between the Christian Empire and the Muslim sultanates. Finally ʿA.Ṣ. reached Talag, the residence of the king of ʿAdal. The concluding battles were fought against the ruler of Hagära. Afterwards ʿA.Ṣ. punished elsewhere those Christians who had joined his enemies and crushed the last pockets of resistance, fighting the people of Arate, Bäq^{w}əl Zär, the ↗Harla, Warğəh etc.

ʿA.Ṣ.'s military successes temporarily resolved the situation in favour of the Christian monarchy. The Emperor now held sway over an extensive territory (cp. KrAmdS 3–6) and was able to concentrate large economic and military resources in his hands. But the new empire, several times as extensive as that under the control of the previous monarchs, remained very heterogeneous in ethnic and religious terms. Most of the regions were hold together predominantly by military power, although, for sure, some rulers submitted to ʿA.Ṣ. voluntarily and joined his army, being impressed by ʿA.Ṣ.'s military talent, looking for their part in his campaigns or fearing the Emperor. An administrative apparatus was almost non-existent. ʿA.Ṣ. and his court did not have any long-term residence, although the Emperor's sanctuary could have been the monastery of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos. He spent much of his time with his most loyal troops, collecting tribute or subjugating the territories. Refusal to pay or show loyalty was immediately answered with a punitive campaign. To tighten the control in parts of the kingdom, ʿA.Ṣ. settled there entire military units, which he used to summon in case he needed a large army, or allotted land grants (↗*Gʷəlt*) to his officers.

Ethiopian tradition claims that the time of ʿA.Ṣ. was marked by the growth of a monastic movement (↗Monasticism). The extension of the territory under ʿA.Ṣ.'s sway was followed by the migration of groups of monks from the older Christian regions to the newly conquered areas. During ʿA.Ṣ.'s reign they founded a number of new monastic communities of the Pachomian order. From there missionary activities were launched among the local rulers and their subjects in the vast southern territories (where the evangelization was co-ordinated by ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa), around Lake Ṭana, in Goğğam. The impact of this movement could well have been given by the representatives of the Coptic Church in Ethiopia (*abunä* ↗Yaʿəqob).

Many Ethiopian sources also report a serious conflict between the Emperor, on one side, and some prominent monastic leaders, the Metropolitan himself and representatives of the secular clergy, on the other. They accused ʿA.Ṣ. of polygamy, his having many concubines and an incestu-

ous liaison with his mother. In his turn, ᶜA.Ṣ. persecuted such monastic leaders as ↗Bäṣälotä Mikaʾel, ↗Anorewos, ↗Aron, ↗Filəppos of Däbrä Libanos and others and then exiled them, dispersing them to different parts of the country. The real cause of the conflict, which continued in the time of ᶜA.Ṣ.'s son, *aṣe* ↗Säyfä Arᶜad, is still not quite clear (s. Kaplan 1984; TadTChurch; Chernetsov 1982). Formally it was provoked by the attempt of the ecclesiastics to force the Emperor to abandon the old marital customs and follow the norms of Christian morality, but apparently it was increasing administrative and economic independence of the Church and monastic institutions, backed by the resistance of the local nobility against ᶜA.Ṣ.'s power, that came in conflict with the Emperor's authority.

It is generally accepted that ᶜA.Ṣ.'s reign resulted, among other things, in a revival of spiritual culture and the growth of ↗Gəᶜəz literature, constituting the so-called ᶜA.Ṣ. period (e.g., Cerulli 1961:35–70). A number of important works appeared in that time, such as the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, which established the ideology of the Ethiopian Empire, the *Mäṣḥafä ↗məśtirä sämay wämədr*, the *Zena Ǝskəndər* (s. Lusini 1994; ↗Alexander the Great), the Life of Hanna, St. Mary's mother, and a collection of monastic rules attributed to St. ↗Anthony (*Śərᶜatä mənkʷəsənna*). The account of ᶜA.Ṣ.'s wars against Ifat, which is the beginning of Ethiopian ↗historiography, is thought to have been written by a contemporary of these events (s. overview in KrAmdS xxviii–xxxv; for a later period s. Dillmann 1884:1007ff.; Marrassini 1994:39–43). A rapid growth of secular and religious writing as well as translation activities (*abunä* ↗Sälama "the Translator") marked also the time after ᶜA.Ṣ.

ᶜA.Ṣ.'s reign had far-reaching consequences for Ethiopia. In general, it was he who defined the direction of the development of the Ethiopian monarchy for the next centuries, but the enormous task of state building was left to his followers. ᶜA.Ṣ.'s time was mostly one of conquests. His fame even spread beyond the limits of Ethiopia, as he became the first Ethiopian emperor to be known in Europe (via the Arab world). As early as about 1350 he appears under the name "Abdeselib" (from Ar. ᶜAbdaṣṣalīb, for Gəᶜəz Gäbrä Mäsqäl) in the Spanish *Libro del conoscimento*, and later on in Astolfo of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (s. Cerulli 1932).

Src.: BassÉt I, II; PerrAmdS; HuntAmd; KrAmdS; PAOLO MARRASSINI (ed., tr.), *Lo scettro e la croce. La campagna di 'Amda Ṣeyon I contro l'Ifat (1332)*, Napoli 1994 (StAfEt 4). **Lit.**: GuiSLett 24–34; CerLett 35–70; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, *Efiopskaya feodalnaya monarhiya v XIII–XVI vv.* ('Ethiopan Feudal Monarchy in the 13th–16th cent.'), Moscow 1982, esp. 14–64; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note di agiografia etiopica. ᶜAbīya Egziʾ, Arkalēdes e Gabra-Iyasus", *RSO* 17, 1938, 409–52, here 419ff.; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il volo di Astolfo sull'Etiopia nell' Orlando Furioso", *RRALm* ser. 6, 8, 1932, 19–38; ID., *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, Milano ²1961, 35–70; TÄKLÄ ṢADƎQ MÄKᵂƎRIYA, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ። ፪ኛ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ከዐፄ፡ ይኩኖ፡ አምላክ፡ እስከ፡ ዐፄ፡ ልብነ፡ ድንግል** (*Yäʾityopya tarik hulättäññä mäṣḥaf: käᶜaṣe Yəkʷənno Amlak əskä ᶜaṣe Ləbnä Dəngəl*, 'History of Ethiopia. Book II: from *aṣe* Yəkunno Amlak to *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]; TadTChurch 119–206; ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Geschichte Äthiopiens*, Berlin 1978, vol. 1, 36–57; AUGUST DILLMANN, *Die Kriegsthaten des Königs ᶜAmda-Sion gegen die Muslim*, Berlin 1884 (Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 42); IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di Re abissini", *RRALm* ser. 4, 5, 1889, 55–66; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Origine e significato della presenza di Alessandro Magno nella letteratura etiopica", *RSE* 38, 1994 [1997], 95–118; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Monastic Holy Man and the Christianization of Early Solomonic Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 1984 (SKK 73), s. index; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Letterature dell'Etiopia", in: [extract from:] OSCAR BOTTO (ed.), *Storia delle letterature d'Oriente*, vol. 2, Milano 1969, 801–911, here 814–24; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 501–35, here 505f.; ID., "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 95f.; LusStud s. index; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Le Gesta di 'Amda-Seyon nella cronologia e nella storia", *RSE* 27, 1978–79, 123–46; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "The Glorious Victories of Amda Seyon, King of Ethiopia", *BSOAS* 29, 1966, 600–11.

Joanna Mantel-Niećko – Denis Nosnitsin

ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon II

ᶜA.Ṣ. (**ዓምደ፡ ጽዮን**), the son of *aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər, was crowned in 1494 at the age of seven or younger. His short reign of only six or seven months was characterized by continued civil war and bloodshed, with one faction at the court favouring him and another his uncle ↗Naᶜod. After his death Naᶜod became king.

Src.: STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 98f. (text) = 89f. (tr.); BassÉt 13. **Lit.**: TadTChurch 292f.

Steven Kaplan

Amfilla

A. (ᶜAfar: Ḥaffalé), a stretch of desolate Red Sea coastline halfway between ↗Massawa to the north-west and the tiny roadstead of ↗ᶜƎdd to the

south-east. The importance of A., situated only four days' journey from ᶜAdwa, lay in the fact that it was sometimes regarded as a possible point of contact between Ethiopia and the outside world. Ruled in the early 19th cent. by a dependent of the *nāʾib* of Massawa, A. attracted the attention, in the 1830s, of the French traveller Edmond ↗Combes, and later of Théophile ↗Lefebvre. Both sought, unsuccessfully, to acquire it for France. Later, in 1861–62, A. was part of the coast seized by the Egyptians. This caused *aṣe* Tewodros II to complain that they were "encroaching him on every side". Later again, in 1875, *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, realizing the impossibility of wrenching Massawa from the Egyptians, gave A. to his English military adviser, "General" John ↗Kirkham, whom he despatched to Britain in the hope of gaining recognition of Ethiopia's right of access to the sea.

The special significance of A., however, soon afterwards came to an end. The Italian seizure of Massawa in 1885 was followed in 1890 by the establishment of the Italian colony of Eritrea, into which the bay, as well as the extensive coastline to the north and south, was incorporated.

Lit.: GEORGES MALÉCOT, *Les voyageurs français et les relations entre la France et l'Abyssinie de 1835 à 1870*, Paris 1972, 125, index; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Saint Simonians and Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 169–224; PankHist II, 113, 128, 134.

Richard Pankhurst

Amhara

The term A. (**አምሃራ**, **አምሓራ**) referred originally to a region of historic Ethiopia bounded on the west by the ↗Abbay and its tributary the ↗Bašəlo River; on the north by the regions of ↗Angot and ↗Lasta; on the east by the escarpment leading down to the Danakil Desert (↗ᶜAfar); and by the ↗Wänčət River to the south (the south-western part of Wällo province). Typical high-plateau Ethiopia, it is filled with mountainous formations that break the terrain into highlands (*däga*), good for barley and sheep; midlands (*wäyna däga*), good for wheat and oats; and lowlands (*qʷälla*), good for ↗*ṭef*, goats and vegetables.

The earliest references to the region appear in connection with the traditions narrating of the reign of a 9th-cent. Aksumite king, ↗Dəgnağan, who brought Christian missionaries to teach there (TadTChurch 35). Oral traditions of inhabitants of A. daim direct descent from ancient ↗Aksum, and folk etymologies daim that the term A. means 'a free people'. A. people are mentioned early in the 12th cent., as protagonists in armed conflict with the Warğih, a nomadic tribe to the east (Cerulli 1941:10, 18).

The region came to national prominence by the late 13th cent., when the Zagʷe Dynasty was overthrown by a king from A., ↗Yəkunno Amlak, claiming Solomonid ancestry. During the 14th cent., his successors of the ↗Solomonid dynasty became known as the "kings of A." (Gəᶜəz **ንጉሠ፡ አምሓራ**, *nəgusä amḥara*). Even so, the Solomonid rulers did not establish A. as a fixed political centre. Until they founded ↗Gondär as a permanent capital in 1632, A. monarchs moved continuously from region to region, with especial fondness for the more southerly districts of Ifat, Šäwa, Däwaro, and Fäṭägar.

The regional name became attached to the South Semitic language known as ↗Amharic, which emerged from a process of pidginization and creolization, combining Ethiopian Semitic with a large component of Cushitic vocabulary and syntax. The earliest extant Amharic text consists of songs of soldiers in praise of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon (the so-called "Royal songs"). The language began to spread into adjacent areas, including Šäwa, Lasta, Bägemdər and Goğğam, replacing Central Cushitic languages and other South Semitic languages like Gafat and Argobba. Its use as the language of the court and official documents after the 13th cent. aided its diffusion.

Within the broader territory of Amharic speakers, certain regions developed into autonomous political centres. Following the upheavals of the 16th cent., the province of Bägemdər be-

came home for the city of Gondär, royal capital for the Ethiopian polity from the 1630s to the mid-19th cent. To the south, beyond Lake Ṭana, the great province of Goǧǧam developed a dynasty of rulers that often claimed the title of ↗*nəguś*. The district of ↗Mänz became the centre for the development of a political dynasty culminating in *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase (1813–47) and Emperor Mənilək II (s. Levine 1965:30–38).

Over time the term A. came to be applied to a wider range of people, although the meanings of that appellation have varied. In some contexts it denotes a native Amharic speaker; in others, a Christian; in some instances, it has denoted a member of the ruling nobility (Chernetsov 1995). Most of those so labelled, however, have tended to identify themselves, not as ethnic A., but as denizens of local regions – *Goǧǧame*, *Gondäre*, *Mänze* and the like. Royal chronicles of the 14th–18th cent. consistently refer to A. only as a geographic region in Wällo, never as an ethnic name, and the same is true of Christian and Muslim annals up through the 19th cent. (Chernetsov 1995:20f.). Only in the last quarter of the 20th cent. has the term A. come to be a common ethnic appellation, comparable to the way in which Oromo has become generalized to cover peoples who long knew themselves primarily as Boorana (Boräna), Guǧǧi, Mäčča and the like. Even so, Amharic-speaking Säwans still feel themselves closer to non-Amharic-speaking Säwans than to Amharic-speakers from distant regions like Gondär and there are few members of the Säwan nobility who do not have Oromo genealogical links (Clapham 1969:81). Indeed, despite the recent ethnicization of political discourse, many if not most people considered "A." continue to identify themselves primarily as "Ethiopians", beyond being residents of some local area (**አገር**, *agär*).

Traditional A. social structure took the form of a peasant society. Agriculturalists subsist on the ox-drawn plough-cultivation (↗Plough) of cereal grains and herding of livestock. Their diet consists mainly of a "pancake" made of a fermented batter of oats, wheat or, preferably, *ṭef* on which they place highly-spiced meat or vegetable sauces (s. ↗Bread). They live in households that function as a unit of political economy, an *oikos*, rather than a kinship unit. Its members each carry out specific tasks assigned according to gender and other status markers, all under the authority of a single senior male. Each household lives in a compound containing a small number of round buildings built of wattle or stone, capped with conical thatched roofs. Homesteads usually are located on land worked by the peasant, though often a number of them group into hamlets (**መንደር**, *mändär*; Levine 1965:56ff.).

Beyond that, A. households have been linked to one another along three separate axes. Economically, they are linked through weekly markets. Politically, they were linked traditionally by obligations to lords over seigniories who held rights to tribute referred to as ↗*gʷəlt* (Crummey 2000), such that traditional A. society may be classed usefully as feudal (Hoben 1970:221). Since the bureaucratization of public administration following World War II, households have been subordinated to subdistrict, district and provincial governors. Ecclesiastically, they have been linked through parishes (↗*Aṭbiya*), named after the sacred ark (↗*Tabot*) of its church, often coterminous with one or more local seigniories. Traditionally, A. churches have been supported through *gʷəlt* rights to usufruct and labour.

With respect to kinship, A. persons are linked through an ambilineal descent system. The A. rule of exogamy, prescribed in the ↗*Fəṯḥa nägäśt*, requires that marriage-partners not be closer than "seven houses" (**ሰባት፡ ቤት**, *säbatbet*); that is, not have a common great-great-great-grandparent. Kinship ties figure to some extent in connection with avenging murders, but primarily through determining the distribution of rights to the use of land (↗*Rəst*; Hoben 1973). Other forms of A. social relations include the daily coffee klatch (**ጥርጉ-ብ**, *ṭərtəb*); monthly religious feasting associations (↗*Maḥbär*) in honour of a particular saint or angel; arrangements for reciprocal help in connection with farming, housebuilding and feasting; and voluntary dyadic personal relations including godparent-child, guarantor-guarantee and, pervasively, patron-client ties.

Most Ethiopians who consider themselves A. subscribe to the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo faith, though Amharic-speakers in some regions are Muslim. The primary representative of this faith is the parish priest (**ካህን**, *kahən*), who has exclusive access to the *tabot* – central devotional object of every church – and who celebrates the Mass. Usually a ↗*qes*, essentially an "ordained farmer" (Weissleder 1974:70) whose marriage has been consecrated through the taking of communion (**ቍርባን**, *qʷərbən*), the priest is assisted in church services by one or more aco-

lytes (↗*Diyaqon*). In some instances, the ritual functions are performed by monks (መነኮሴ, *mänäkʷəse*), who renounce all worldly possessions to live a life of prayer and ecclesiastical service. Other religious functions are performed by men called ↗*däbtära*, who serve as choristers and religious poets, but also perform secular services as herbologists, scribes and healers.

Many Orthodox religious centres are in A. regions. These include the island monastery of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos at Lake Ḥayq, the first monastic centre in the historic A. region; ↗Däbrä Libanos, the great monastery established in the 13th cent. by *abunä* Täklä Haymanot, at Sälale in western Šäwa; and Wašära Maryam and Gonǧ, important centres for the teaching of the religious verse known as ↗*qəne*, in Goǧǧam. Gondär came to flourish as a major centre for Ethiopian religious chant (↗*zema*) and dance (↗*maḫlet*), as well as the exegesis of the sacred texts. Monastic traditions linked with such centres preserved Ethiopic texts through the centuries and created a remarkable corpus of illuminated manuscripts.

Within A. aesthetic culture, perhaps the most distinctive genre is a poetic form known as "wax and gold" (↗*Sämənna wärq*). Although this poetic figure refers primarily to religious constructions in Gəᶜəz, it is widely used by the A. in secular poesy as well as everyday conversation. "Wax and gold" verses are characteristically improvised by the ↗*azmari* as they play one-stringed violins called ↗*mäsinqo*; their hidden meanings are usually political or erotic. Other forms of Amharic oral literature include ↗*šəlläla*, a genre of boastful war chants that are partly intoned and partly shouted; and short rhymed proverbs (ተረት, *tärät*) that express a wealth of folk wisdom.

Other traditional musical instruments include the ↗*bägäna*, a box lyre with six strings plucked to create a deep-toned, slightly buzzing sound and played to accompany the Psalms of David or plaintive verses; wooden shepherd's flutes that pipe out brisk pentatonic melodies; trumpets associated with courtly and martial situations; and drums of many kinds.

Through their control of the political centre of Ethiopian society and through migrations, conquests, trading networks and intermarriages, the A. have extended their language and many of their customs far beyond the borders of their primary home territory. This expansion has provided a glue to hold together the far-flung elements of the larger Ethiopian polity. This enabled the Ethiopian state to enter the process of modern nation-building in the 19th cent. and thereby maintain its independence against threats from Egypt and European colonial powers. It also aided such modernizing developments as ending the slave trade, installing new systems of communication and transportation, establishing schools and hospitals and forming rationalized government institutions. At the same time, although the process of Amharization took place spontaneously for centuries and has become a marker of full inclusion in the Ethiopian nation just as learning English has in the United States, it has led to resentments among members of some other ethnic groups – especially since World War II, when the government included Amharic as a requirement in the school curriculum. How these dynamics work out will do much to determine the future shape of the Ethiopian nation.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII", *RSE* 1, 1, 1941, 5–42; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "On the Problem of Ethnogenesis of the Amhara", in: ROLF GUNDLACH – MANFRED KROPP – ANNALIS LEIBUNDGUT (eds.), *Der Sudan in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, New York 1996 (Nordostafrikanisch-Westasiatische Studien 1), 17–35; CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Haile Selassie's Government*, New York 1969; DONALD CRUMMEY, *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia: from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*, Urbana, IL – Oxford – Addis Ababa 2000 (Lit.); GETATCHEW HAILE, "Amharic Speakers and the Question of Nationalities", *Ethiopian Review*, May 1992, 20–23; ALLAN HOBEN, *Land Tenure among the Amhara of Ethiopia*, Chicago 1973; DONALD N. LEVINE, *Wax and Gold*, Chicago 1965 (Lit.); ID., "Ethiopia: Identity, Authority, and Realism", in: LUCIAN PYE – SIDNEY VERBA (eds), *Political Culture and Political Development*, Princeton 1965, 245–81; ID., *Greater Ethiopia: the Evolution of a Multiethnic Society*, Chicago 2000; SIMON DAVID MESSING, *Highland-Plateau Amhara of Ethiopia*, University of Pennsylvania 1957 [repr. and ed. by MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, New Haven 1985]; TadTChurch; WOLFGANG WEISSLEDER, "Amhara Marriage", *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 11, 1, 1974, 67–85.

Donald N. Levine

Amharic

History and dialectology of Amharic

A. (አማርኛ, *amarəñña*, earlier አምሐርኛ, *amḥarəñña*) is the main lingua franca of Ethiopia. It was the the official language of the country until recently and is now the recognized working language. As such, it forms the language of instruction of public education at primary and secondary level, including from the third grade

upwards in areas where it is not the first language. It is also the majority language of most urban dwelling Ethiopians except where ↗Təgrañña is the first language. The current status and wide distribution of A. is due especially to the "Amharization" policies of previous Ethiopian governments in the 20th cent. and in particular that of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, under whom the use of A. was promoted at all levels of public life, at the expense of other languages. Until the change in language policy after the Ethiopian revolution of 1974 A. was the only modern Ethiopian language used in state education and the official media. Additionally, A. had been the language of the royal court and the dominant political élite in Ethiopia since the rise of the ↗Solomonic dynasty at the end of the 13th cent.

The spread of A. over an ever increasing area of the Ethiopian highlands accompanied the conquests of various Ethiopian rulers, consolidated by the practice adopted first by ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I in the 14th cent. and more recently by ↗Mənilək II and Ḫaylä Śəllase I in the late 19th and first half of the 20th cent. of settling ↗Amhara colonists in the newly absorbed areas. The ensuing process of "Amharization" entailed not only the adoption of the A. language, but also the acceptance of the Ethiopian Orthodox faith such that the two became an inseparable trend.

It is difficult to be precise about the origin of A., arising as it must have done during the centuries preceding the 13th cent. and in a region on the southern fringes of the old Aksumite heartlands. As a South Ethiopic language, A. does not descend directly from Gəʿəz, showing as it does a small but significant number of both morphological and lexical features different from the latter, but from a presumed sister dialect or group of dialects. The fact that A.'s closest relatives are now spread in isolated pockets from Harär in the east to Zʷay in the south (↗Argobba and the remaining East ↗Gurage languages Səlṭi, Ǝnnäqor, Wälläne) further suggests that these represent the fragments of what was likely to have been a more continuous band of closely related Semitic languages and dialects before the ethnic upheavals following the incursions of the ↗Oromo in the 16th cent. The original home of A. is obviously to be found in the lands covered by the name Amhara, a somewhat flexible term in its application at different periods, but the earliest occurrences of the name refer to the area east of the ↗Abbay between the Bäšəlo and Wäläqa rivers. Today A. is the sole language in much of ↗Bägemdər (Gondär), western ↗Wällo and northern Šäwa and is the majority language in Goğğam.

The earliest surviving examples of A. are the praise poems, the so-called "Royal Songs", celebrating the deeds of ʿAmdä Ṣəyon and Yəsḥaq composed in the 14th and early 15th cent., the language of which shows many of the features of other Old A. texts and clearly forms part of the Old A. corpus. These date from the 17th and especially the 18th cent. and consist of such varied materials as religious commentaries, e.g. the 17th cent. ↗*Məśtirä ṣəggeyat* ('Mystery of the Rosary'), **ትምህርተ፡ ሃይማኖት** (*Təmhərtä haymanot*, 'Teaching of the Faith') and Ludolf's (1698:59) *Fragmentum Piquesii* (or "Story of the Woman of the Unguent"), the grammar and lexicon of Ludolf of 1698, various magical and medical treatises and some 18th-cent. religious poetry (↗*Qəne*). A special mention should also be made of the archaising language of ↗*andəmta* commentaries, written versions of an essentially oral tradition that appear to preserve features of 18th-cent. A. Also important for the study of Old A. are the Gəʿəz–A. ↗*säwasəw* (manuals of grammar, lexicon and rhetoric), which contain important lexical data, and which also date from the 17th and especially the 18th cent. Also a valuable, if at times indirect source for the study of Old A. are the royal chronicles from that of ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob onwards whose Amharicized Gəʿəz language, the so-called **ልሳነ፡ ታሪክ** (*ləssanä tarik*, 'language of history'), contains not only some A. vocabulary, typically technical terms to do with court etiquette, social organization and costume, but also A.-like grammatical constructions (s. Strelcyn 1964 for a discussion of the sources for Old A.).

Modern A. shows some dialectal variation, though perhaps less than might be expected for a language with such a wide distribution. This may in fact be due to the way in which the language has spread over the last 700 years, as part of a deliberate process of "Amharization" and it is notable in this connection that the dialect areas that are generally recognized are geographically defined within the regions where A. either originated or has been spoken the longest: Šäwa, Bägemdər, western Wällo with Mänz, and Goğğam. The dialect of Šäwa and, in particular, Addis Abäba has become the prestige dialect forming a de facto standard. This is the form of

A. that is used in the media as well as in the areas of administration and education. Some dialect features do, however, appear in written literature, even from the early days of A. writing. Conscious use of dialect forms and regionally restricted vocabulary occasionally also appear in novels as markers of local colour.

The differences between the dialects are mainly phonetic and phonological or lexical. The palatalization of *q* to *č* in Mänz (ጨስ, *čäs*, for ቄስ, *qes*, 'priest'), the reduction of final palatals to *y* after *a* in Wällo (ወዳይ፡ ወዲ, *wäday* : *wädağ*, 'friend', ብላይ፡ ብላኝ, *bəlay* : *bəlañ*, 'she having said to me'), or the lack of the morphophonemic palatalization of *l* to *y* in Mänz (ብሌ፡ ብዬ, *bəlle* : *bəyye*, 'I having said') are examples of the former. Perhaps the best known phonological difference between the dialects concerns the interchange of *ṣ* and *ṭ*. Whilst the dialects of Bägemdər and Goğğam make greater use of *ṣ*, rural Šäwan A. and the dialect of Wällo use only *ṭ* (ጾም፤ ጦም, *ṣom* : *ṭom*, 'fast', ፀሐይ፤ ጣይ, *ṣäḥay* : *ṭay*, 'sun') The situation is further complicated, however, in "standard" and urban A. by the perception that *ṣ* is "more educated" and to be preferred, a feeling reinforced by the increasing amount of learned vocabulary of Gəʿəz origin with this phoneme to be heard on radio and television and to be seen in the printed media.

Morphological differences between the dialects are generally small and are mostly confined to variation between forms of specific morphemes, such as in the preposition/conjunction *tä-* as against *kä-* (the former in Mänz-Wällo), or *hä-* (in Bägemdər), or the shorter form of the imperfect relative prefix *m-* (in Goğğam), *əmm-* (in Wällo) as against *yämm-* elsewhere, or the conjunctional prefix *tə-* (in Mänz-Wällo) corresponding to *sə-* elsewhere. The dialect of Goğğam, however, shows a number of more substantial morphological differences, most notably the use of the gerundive in main verb positions (በልቶ፡ ተኝቶ፤ በልቶ፡ ተኛ, *bälto täññəto* : *bälto täñña*, 'he went to sleep after eating', የተሰቆቱ፡ አልተኘንም፤ የተሰረቀው፡ አልተኘንም, *yätäsärqotu altägäññämm* : *yätäsärräqäw altägäññämm*, 'what was stolen has not been found'), or the existence of a negativized gerundive (አልበልቶም፤ አልበላም, *albältomm* : *albällamm*, 'he did not eat'), neither of which occur in the other dialects. Another notable morphological feature of Goğğami A. is the use of the preposition *yä-*, which otherwise corresponds to *lä-* 'to, for' in the other dialects, as a direct object marker where the suffix *-n* is used elsewhere (የቤት፡ ልቀባው፤ ቤቱን፡ ልቀባው, *yäbet ləqäbbaw* : *betun ləqäbbaw*, 'let me paint the house'; s. Habte Mariam Marcos 1973 and Cowley in BendLang 90–98 for more discussion on dialect differentiation in A.).

A few of the modern dialect features, such as the preposition *tä-* alongside *kä-* and the preservation of original *ṣ* distinct from *ṭ* also appear in Old A. and there is also some evidence for dialectal variation already in Old A. Other principal features of Old A. which differentiate it from the modern language may be summarized as follows:
a) a greater retention of a voiceless laryngeal, probably glottal /h/ but written variously with ሀ, ሐ, or ኀ and deriving from earlier *h*, *ḥ* and *ḫ*. Already in the oldest texts, however, this shows some alternation with zero, e.g. ሆየኩ (*hayyäku*, 'I saw') but ቢታይ (*bittayy*, 'if it is seen') both from the "Royal Songs";
b) relative prefix *y(ä)-* with negative imperfects alongside *yämm(ə)-* with the affirmative, e.g. ያያሳልፈው (*yayasalləfäw*, 'whom he will not let pass');
c) the full inflection of both parts of the compound tenses, e.g. ተዘግተዋሉ (*täzägtäwallu*, 'they have been closed', modern: *täzägtäwal*). Unlike modern A., the affirmative simple non-past (imperfect) is also found in main verb position, though whether it contrasts with the compound form is unclear;
d) 1st person plural imperfect prefix *nə-*;
e) post-pronominal copula-like or specifying suffix *-tt*, e.g. ዘመድም፡ ያሉን፡ እኛት (*zämädəmm yallun əññatt*, 'it is we who have relatives'), ለኔስ፡ የተሐኛ፡ ይኸት (*läness yätähayyäññ yəḫətt*, 'but what seems to me is this'), እኔት፡ አገዋለሁ (*ənett agäwallähu*, 'I shall let him in').

Lit.: ROGER COWLEY et al., "The Amharic Language", in: *BendLang* 77–98; HIOB LUDOLF, *Grammatica Amharica*, Frankofurti ad Moenum 1698, 59; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di Re abissini", *RRALm* ser. 4, 5, 1889, 55–66; THOMAS LEIPER KANE, *Ethiopian Literature in Amharic*, Wiesbaden 1975 (Lit.); STEFAN STRELCYN, "Matériaux pour l'étude de l'ancien amharique", *JSS* 9, 1964, 257–64; HABTE MARIAM MARCOS et al., "Regional variations in Amharic", *JES* 11, 2, 1973, 113–29.

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Grammatical sketch of Amharic

A. is the largest member of the Transversal South Ethiopic group of Ethiopian ↗Semitic languages. As such it is closely related to Harari, the so-called Eastern Gurage languages (Zʷay, Səlṭi, Ǝnnäqor and Wälläne), and in particular to

the now moribund Argobba. A. is spoken according to the most recent estimate (February 1999) by around 17,400,000 people as a first language and by many more as a second language, making it the second largest Semitic language after Arabic and the fifth largest language of Sub-Saharan Africa after Swahili, Hausa, Yoruba and Oromo.

Like all the modern Ethiopian Semitic languages, A. has been heavily influenced by the Cushitic languages alongside which it has developed, initially the ↗Agäw languages, especially the central block, out of which Bilin, Ḫamta and Kəmantnäy developed, and then, as A. spread, Highland East Cushitic and later Oromo. This influence can be seen not only in lexicon, but also in syntax and typology. As the language of the ruling élite and thus the inheritors of Ethiopian Christian culture from Aksum, A. was also open to borrowing from Gəʿəz which in more recent times has provided a rich source for the expansion of the A. lexicon to satisfy the need for technical, political and other vocabulary.

A. is a Subject–Object–Verb language and has many of the typological features associated with verb-final sentence structure: qualifiers, including possessive noun phrases and adjectival (relative) clauses, preceding their heads, a preference for postpositions (though A. still has a small number of primary prepositions, which also combine with the postpositions, e.g. *kä-… bäfit*, 'in front of', *bä-… wəst*, 'inside', etc.), subordinate adverbial clauses preceding the main clause, etc. Within the clause, typically the subject is placed first, though topicalization of an object or prepositional phrase can postpone the subject. Topicalized and definite objects or prepositional phrases usually also require a resumptive pronoun added to the verb, e.g. **በመጥረጊያው፡ ቤቱን፡ ጠረገችበት** (*bämäṭrägiyaw betun ṭärrägäčč-əbbät*, 'she swept the house with the broom', lit. 'she swept with it'). Focalization is a common feature of sentence structure, employing the cleft sentence construction which uses a nominalized relative clause and the copula, e.g. **የመጡት፡ እነማን፡ ናቸው** (*yämäṭṭut ənnäman naččäw*, 'who are they who came?'), and in such sentences an exception to the main verb-final order is common, where the copula is in medial position and the nominalized relative clause last, e.g **ነገ፡ ነው፡ የሚመጣው** (*nägä näw yämmimäṭaw*, 'it is tomorrow that he is coming'). Another interesting syntactic feature of A. is the prevalence of direct speech over indirect, where the reported words precede and are dependent on a following verb of saying. When this is not actually the verb **አለ** (*alä*, 'say') itself a subordinate form of that verb is usually used, e.g. **ሰዎቹ፡ የት፡ ሄዱ፡ ብላ፡ ጠየቀችኝ** (*säwočču yät hedu bəla ṭäyyäqäčč-añ-ñ*, 'she asked me where the people went', lit. '… saying, where did the people go?').

Rather than coordinate clauses directly, A. usually makes use of subordination, often by means of the gerundive, establishing a sequential or logical hierarchy of events, e.g. **ልጁ፡ ገብቶ፡ ወሬውን፡ ነግሮዋችው፡ ወጣ** (*ləǧǧu gäbto wärewun nägrowačč-äw wäṭṭa*, 'the boy came in, told them the news and left'). Coordination by means of *-nna* may be used, but this often implies simultaneous rather than consecutive events, e.g. **በሉና፡ ጠጡ** (*bällunna ṭäṭṭu*, 'they ate and drank').

A. morphology has been generally less affected by the non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia and preserves much of the inherited Semitic structure, especially in the case of the morphology of the verb.

Nouns have a simple inflectional morphology. The plural is marked by means of the suffix *-očč*. A. has only a handful of traces of internal plural patterns, all involving reduplication, e.g. **ሹም፡ ሹማምንት፡ ሹማምንቶች** (*šum* : *šumaməntočč*, 'chiefs'). With the incorporation of Gəʿəz vocabulary an increasing number of Gəʿəz plural forms have also entered the language, not only internal plurals like **መጽሐፍ ፤ መጻሕፍት** (*mäṣḥaf* : *mäṣaḥəft*, 'books'), but also external plurals such as **ቃል ፤ ቃላት** (*qal* : *qalat*, 'words'), **ቅዱስ ፤ ቅዱሳን** (*qəddus* : *qəddusan*, 'saints'). The category of case in nouns is marked by prepositions, including the genitive prefix *yä-*, or in the instance of the direct object by the suffix *-n*, which is usually only applied to definite or topicalized objects, though it may be found occasionally on indefinite objects. Definiteness is indicated by the suffixes *-u*/*-w* (masculine or plural) and *-wa* or *-itu* (feminine), e.g. **ቤቱ** (*bet-u*, 'the house'), **ውሻው** (*wəšša-w*, 'the dog'), **ድመትዋ** (*dəmmät-wa*, 'the cat'). The category of definiteness adheres to the whole noun phrase and the marker is placed forward in the phrase on to a preceding modifier unless that modifier is a demonstrative or a possessive pronoun, both of which are inherently definite, e.g. **ትልቁ፡ ቤት** (*təlləq-u bet*, 'the big house'), **የልጁ፡ ውሻ** (*yäləǧǧ-u wəšša*, 'the boy's dog').

The personal pronouns, in addition to marking

number and gender (in the 2nd and 3rd person), also have a category "polite" in both the 2nd and the 3rd person. The 3rd person polite forms are not further marked for gender or number and the actual forms are in origin 3rd person plurals, sharing the same suffix element *-aččäw* with the latter and showing subject concord with 3rd person plural verbs. The 2nd polite pronoun (independent *ərswo*, suffix *-wo*[*t*]) is also in origin a 3rd person plural (*-wo* = *-äw*, cf. Gəᶜəz *-omu*) and has 3rd person plural subject concord with verbs. Some dialects (Wällo, Bägemdər) also have a 2nd polite singular independent pronoun *antu* (continuing the old 2nd person plural, cf. Gəᶜəz *antəmu*), suffix *-hʷ*, *-hu*, whilst in Wällo, at least, the suffix *-wot* has 3rd polite reference. As the formally plural counterparts of the 2nd and 3rd person singular pronouns are now used with polite reference, "new" plurals have been formed from the singular pronouns by means of the pluralizing prefix *ənnä-*.

There are two demonstratives, *yəh*, etc. for near deixis and *ya*, etc., for far deixis. The demonstratives are marked both for gender and number: *yəh*, *yəčč*[*i*], *ənnäzzih* and *ya*, *yačč*[*i*], *ənnäzziya*, each with a number of variants (note the same pluralizing prefix *ənnä-* as in the personal pronouns). An interesting feature of the singular demonstratives is the special bound forms occuring after prepositions: *-zzih*, *-zziya*, etc. The interrogative pronouns are *man* (human; optional pl. *ənnäman*) and *mən* or in certain positions *məndən*.

The verb is the most complex part of A. inflectional morphology. Finite verbs are marked for valence (voice), tense-mood-aspect, person and affirmative-negative. There is also a number of regularly generatable non-finite verbal nouns. Verbs further show slightly different inflectional patterns according to the nature of the verbal root and the number of root consonants, which is most frequently three. There are also root structures with two and four consonants. The two-consonant (biradical) roots all developed from the loss of an original "weak" consonant (a laryngeal or semivowel) in original second or third position, giving rise to five different subtypes. The first two of these, together with three-consonant (triradical) roots further distinguish two inflectional classes each, conventionally called "A-type" and "B-type" which contrast in some vocalization patterns and in the occurrence or not of consonant gemination. These two classes are lexically defined and do not have any semantic function. In certain parts of the verbal paradigm (gerundive, action and instrument verbal nouns) biradical verbs of the first two types (i.e. those which have lost a final radical) add a stem-forming *-t* as a substitute radical, cf. from **ሰማ** (*sämma*, 'he heard'), **ሰምቶ** (*sämt-o*, 'he having heard') and **መስማት** (*mä-sma-t*, 'to hear') as against triradical **ከፍሎ** (*käfl-o* 'he having paid') and **መክፈል** (*mä-kfäl* 'to pay') from **ከፈለ** (*käffälä*, 'he paid').

Derived verbs, formed variously by the addition of prefixes to the root and different vocalization patterns from the underived, base stems, mark such categories as causative-transitive, causative-factitive, passive, etc. Reduplication of root radicals is also used, usually in combination with derivational prefixes, to mark such categories as reciprocal, frequentative-iterative, etc. Thus, from the base stem **በላ** (*bälla*, 'he ate') are derived **አበላ** (*abälla*, 'he fed'), **ተበላ** (*täbälla*, 'it was eaten'), **አባላ** (*abballa*, 'he helped to eat'), **ተባላ** (*täballa*, 'he suffered distress'), **አበላላ** (*abälalla*, 'he fed in small amounts to several people or to one person several times'), etc.

The A. tense-mood-aspect system comprises three fundamental terms, past (or perfect), non-past (imperfect) and jussive-imperative, which are differentiated by stem vocalization and, in the instance of past, by a different set of suffixed person markers from the essentially prefixed person markers of the non-past and the jussive-imperative. An additional term within the tense-mood-aspect system is provided by the gerundive, which again has a specific stem vocalization and different (again suffixed) person markers. The gerundive in Standard A. is used only as a subordinate verb or in compound tense formations. In the A. of Goğğam, however, it may also function as a main verb past tense. Gerundive-like constructs occur in many Ethiopian-Eritrean languages, both Semitic and Cushitic, and seem to be one of the typological features of the Ethiopian language area. It is typically used to express an event that is sequentially or logically antecedent or subordinate to the event of the main verb, e.g. **በልተን፡ እንሄዳለን** (*bältän ənnəhedallän*, 'after we have eaten, we will go'), **ሮጦ፡ ገባ** (*roṭo gäbba*, 'he came in running').

An interesting aspect of the A. tense system, which has parallels in Cushitic languages, especially, is the restriction of certain tense-forms to main or subordinate clause position. The dichot-

omy is not, however, as clearly cut in A. as it is in some Cushitic languages, Agäw for instance. Thus, in A. the simple non-past, e.g. **ይሄድ** (*yəhed*, 'he goes'), occurs in the affirmative only in subordinate clauses, whilst the negative may occur in both main and subordinate clauses, though in the latter without the suffix *-mm* of the main clause negative marker *al- … -mm*, etc. The simple past, e.g. **ሄደ** (*hedä*, 'he went'), on the other hand, may occur in both main and subordinate clauses. However, there are two tense-forms, the compound non-past and the compound gerundive, which are only used in affirmative main clauses. In the negative only the simple past and non-past are used of the indicative tenses. These two compound tenses are formed by the addition of the verb **አለ** (*allä*, 'he is') to the non-past and the gerundive, respectively. In Old A. both parts of the compound may show full inflection for person, but in the modern language the two have fused together and variously the base or the "auxiliary" has lost some or all of its person marking in parts of the paradigm. The situation is further complicated by the addition of object pronoun suffixes, which attach to the base and thus come between it and the auxiliary element, in one instance reverse the placement of subject person marking, cf. **ይሰብራሉ** (*yəsäbrallu*, 'they break') from *yəsäbru + allu*, but **ይሰብሩታል** (*yəsäbrutall*, 'they break it') from *yəsäbru + t + allu*. Comparison with similar compounds in Təgrəññə, e.g. *əsäbbər alloḳu*: A. *əsäbrallähu*, suggests that the original function of these compounds was aspectual and that the syntactic function is secondary. Indeed, there is still an occasional aspectual contrast between the simple past, e.g. **ሰበርኩ** (*säbbärku*, 'I broke') and the compound gerundive **ሰብሬያለሁ** (*säbrreyallähu*), where the latter can have the implication of present relevance not unlike the English present perfect 'I have broken', or meaning a recent past. This contrast is, however, neutralized in the negative where just one form exists, formally the negative of the simple past, e.g. **አልሰበርኩም** (*alsäbbärkumm*, 'I did not break, have not broken').

Negative verbs are marked by the prefix *al-* which fuses with the erstwhile affirmative base, in the non-past the resultant assimilations forming a new set of personal prefixes. Indicative (non-jussive) main verb negatives add a further suffix *-mm*, which is absent from subordinate forms. So, for example, **አትሰብርም** (*attəsäbrəmm*, 'she does not break') from *al- + təsäbr + -mm* corresponding to **ትሰብራለች** (*təsäbralläčč*, 'she breaks') from *təsäbr + alläčč*, but in subordinate position **ባትሰብር** (*b-attəsäbər*, 'if she does not break').

As in almost all the modern Ethiopian Semitic languages (↗Təgre is the exception), the copula in A. is formed of a fixed base, here *nä-*, followed by a set of pronominal endings which are mostly identical with the object suffix pronouns, e.g. **ነኝ** (*näñña*, 'I am'), **ነን** (*nän*, 'we are'), **ነው** (*näw*, 'he is'), **ናት** (*nat*, 'she is'), etc. The negative copula is built on a different base, *aydällä-*, followed by the endings of the past and the additional negative suffix *-mm*, e.g. **አይደለሁም** (*aydälläḥumm*, 'I am not'), **አይደለንም** (*aydällänəmm*, 'we are not'), etc. Interestingly, in Old A. the personal suffixes were those of the object, as in the affirmative. The paradigm of the verb "to be" is also completely suppletive in A., as in other Ethiopian Semitic languages, using the regular triradical base *näbbär-* with past endings to form the past tense and the regular biradical verb **ሆነ** (*ḥonä*) to supply all other forms. A. also has a verb of existence, **አለ** (*allä*), which has non-past reference but takes the regular past endings, e.g. **አለሁ** (*alläḥu*, 'I am'), **አለች** (*alläčč*, 'she is'), etc. This verb also has an irregular negative base, *yällä-*, e.g. **የለሁም** (*yälläḥumm*, 'I am not'), which in turn has a special subordinate form, *-lellä-*, e.g. **ከሌለ** (*kä-lellä*, 'since there is not'). The verb of existence is additionally used in expressions of possession combined with the object suffix pronouns referring to the possessor, e.g. **ብዙ፡ ገንዘብ፡ አለኝ** (*bəzu gänzəb alläñña*, 'I have a lot of money', lit. 'much money is to me').

A final notable point about verbs in A. is the existence of a class of verbs comprising a fixed particle, either occurring only in this construction and underived from any other lexeme, or derived by a regular process from an existing verb root, and the verb **አለ** (*alä*, 'he said'). These composite verbs, parallels to which occur in many Ethiopian languages, both Semitic and Cushitic, typically have meanings that can not only be described as onomatopoeic but also express various types of movement, sound, light and emotions, e.g. **ብቅ፡ አለ** (*bəqq alä*, 'he appeared suddenly'), **ቁጭ፡ አልኩ** (*qučč alku*, 'I sat down'), **ጨለም፡ ይላል** (*čällämm yəlal*, 'it will get dark'), the last derived from the regular verb **ጨለመ** (*čällämä*).

The A. vocabulary is illustrated by the stan-

dard ten-word list:

'one'	*and*	'tongue'	*məlas*
'two'	*hulätt*	'tooth'	*ṭərs*
'three'	*sost*	'sun'	*ṣähay*
'fire'	*əsat*	'moon'	*č̣äräqa*
'water'	*wəha*	'blood'	*däm*

A. is without doubt the most studied of the Ethiopian languages and is now well provided with reference grammars in Western languages (most recently Leslau 1995) and dictionaries (Kane 1990), as well as numerous studies on specific topics of grammar and lexicon. A useful and accessible summary of A. for the non-specialist is Hudson (1997). There is also a considerable scholarship of A. in A. (s. especially Baye Yimam 1986). The main desideratum now for the description of A. is a thorough survey of spoken A. dialects, as no serious work has been published on A. dialectology since the 1970s.

Lit.: DAVID APPLEYARD, *Colloquial Amharic*, London – New York 1995; BAYE YIMAM, **የአማርኛ፡ ሰዋስው** (*Yäʾamarəñña säwasəw*, 'Amharic Grammar'), Addis Abäba 1986; JOSEF HARTMANN, *Amharische Grammatik*, Wiesbaden 1980 (AeF 3); GROVER HUDSON, "Amharic and Argobba", in: ROBERT HETZRON (ed.), *The Semitic Languages*, London – New York 1997, 457–85; THOMAS LEIPER KANE, *Amharic–English Dictionary*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1990; WOLF LESLAU, *Reference Grammar of Amharic*, Wiesbaden 1995; ID., *Introductory Grammar of Amharic*, Wiesbaden 1980 (Porta linguarum orientalium, N.S., Bd. 21).

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Amharic literature

Beginnings of Amharic written tradition

Even though modern Amharic literary activity is not much more than a century and a half old, its beginning was preceded by the existence of an Amharic written tradition, a large heritage of which was long neglected and has been just recently begun to be studied.

For many centuries the Ethiopian literary tradition was based on ↗Gəᶜəz, the sacred language of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, which was the exclusive preserve of the ecclesiastics. Being a "secular" language, Amharic was normally used as a medium of spoken communication. Due to this dichotomy the role of Amharic as a written language was marginalized. But it acquired authority as the language spoken inside the royal court (*ləssanä nəgus̄*), as the medium of preaching and teaching in the ecclesiastical milieu and as the lingua franca of the large part of the Ethiopian highlands. Thus, it is natural that Amharic was taken for those needs and purposes for which a written language had to be used, a widely spoken and understood one, rather than the extinct language (Gəᶜəz).

Amharic written compositions for the period before the 17th cent. are rare and present valuable material for the historical study of the older stages of the Amharic language (s. Getatchew Haile in *PICES* 3; *PICES* 5b; 1980). Thus, originally oral poems in praise of the deeds of the Emperors ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, Yəsḥaq and Gälawdewos ("Royal Songs", s. Guidi 1889, Littmann 1914, 1944, 1947; also Strelcyn 1964:257) could have been composed starting from the 14th cent., but were written down later (cp. Conti Rossini 1923; cp. verses in Old Amharic praising heroic deeds in EMML 1943, fol. 3a, s. Getatchew Haile 1979).

The development of Amharic written tradition was encouraged especially by several historical events and intercultural encounters (Ricci 1969:851). Thus, in the 16th cent. the ↗Portuguese are reported to have written some texts in Amharic in order to promote the Catholic faith. The religious confrontation caused by their attempts gave an impetus to native counter-activity in creating Amharic writings. A number of religious works were translated from Gəᶜəz into Amharic (e.g., ↗*Anqäṣä amin*, ↗*Ṭäbibä ṭäbiban*, ↗*Śənä fəṭrät*, ↗*Məśṭirä ṣəggeyat*) to make them accessible to the common ecclesiastics and useful in the public anti-Catholic polemics and to promote the Orthodox faith. In some such texts both Gəᶜəz and Amharic were used, e.g. in the ↗*Ammənstu aᶜəmadä məśṭir*, **ትምህርተ፡ ሃይማኖት** (*Təmhərtä haymanot*, 'Teaching of the Faith'), probably a 16th-cent. composition; s. Cowley 1974, Getatchew Haile 1980). Cp. also an Old Amharic text about Mary Magdalene (**ዜና፡ ብዕሲት፡ ዘዕፍራት**; *Zena bəʾəsit zäᶜəfrät*), which may have its sources in a chapter of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gənzät* (there is another, more modern Amharic version of this text, s. Cowley 1983:3). In addition, original Amharic texts were composed, such as the polemical ↗*Nägärä haymanot*. Later, the developing internal religious strife greatly encouraged this kind of literature in Amharic. In the early 19th cent. some of the European missionaries even

undertook to write compositions in Amharic, which were then printed in the Mission Press of ↗St. Chrischona in Switzerland or in London (e.g., **የዓለም፡ ታሪክ፡ ከፍጥረት፡ ጀምሮ፡ እስከ፡ ዘመናችን፡ ድረስ**, *Yäʿaläm tarik käfəṭrät ğämmäro əskä zämänaccən dəräs*, 'History of the World from the Creation to Our Times', written by ↗Isenberg, published in London in 1842).

Having started in the second part of the 16th cent., the infiltration of the ↗Oromo into the Ethiopian highlands caused the creation of special Amharic "Oromo descriptions", with strong "polemical" overtones. In such writings (s. Lusini in PICES 11), affiliating to *abba* ↗Baḥrəy's *Zenahu lägalla* written in Gəʿəz, Ethiopian learned men tried to study what constituted the power of the Oromo and to find an explanation for the inability of the Christian empire to repel the Oromo invasions. Among the latest of such works, an impressive and valuable document called **የጋላ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yägalla tarik*, 'The History of the Galla') was written around 1900 by *aläqa* ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis (BTafA). One can also compare more recent genealogies of the ↗Boorana (Rome, ANLin, mss. Conti Rossini 81 and 48).

The development of the Amharic written tradition was greatly promoted in the 17th–18th cent. in Gondär, where about that time the entire writing culture enjoyed perhaps the most favourable conditions which ever existed in Ethiopia. The city became a major centre of learning and literary activities. An important role in creating Amharic writings was played by ecclesiastics, especially by the ↗*däbtära*, who were actively engaged in composing texts not only for church usage, but also for other purposes, mostly for magic and medicine. Amharic pieces (e.g., magic prayers and incantations) were often included in Gəʿəz magic texts, e.g., in these of ↗magic scrolls, or formed independent texts, such as the **ምስጢረ፡ ዳዊት** (*Məṣtirä Dawit*, 'Mystery of the Psalter', s. Strelcyn 1981), or numerous "medical" or "magico-medical" treatises (some of which have also Gəʿəz counterparts). The oldest of these, written between the years 1682–1706, bearing the title **ይህ፡ መጻፍ፡ የሚጠቅም፡ መድኃኒት፡ የሚነገር፡ ነው** (*Yəh mäṣaf yämmiṭäqqəm mädḫanit yämminägər näw*, 'This Book Tells of Useful Medicine'), contains a number of rather empirical, not magical, dietetic recipes. Even though they demonstrate connections to Arabic medical treatises (in which the ancient heritage of Greek therapeutic science has been preserved), these texts are to be seen as original products of the Ethiopian tradition (s. Strelcyn 1965: 82–103; Strelcyn 1968; Griaule 1930).

The use of Amharic in traditional Ethiopian lexicography must have begun in early times (cp. Getatchew Haile in *PICES* 3; e.g. EMML 2087 fol. 181b–83a). As the means of education in Gəʿəz language and *qəne*-poetry, Gəʿəz-Amharic dictionaries (↗*Säwasəw*) must have influenced the "standardization" of Amharic and promoted its use as a written language.

Another direction in the development of Amharic written tradition around this time, or even earlier, may have been the writing down of portions of the originally oral ↗*andəmta*-commentary corpus, in the form of marginal notes (s. Cowley 1972). One can also compare old mss. EMML 2117 of the 15th cent. (a commentary on Jas 2:25 on fol. 22b, of the same period?), or EMML 2080 (a commentary on Jeremiah in a later hand, fol. 83a–91a), also EMML 2468 (commentaries on Ps 72[73], the Nicene Creed, the Song of Songs, fol. 51a, 147a); EMML 3001 (with many marginal commentaries on the ↗*Haymanotä abäw* and other works contained in the ms.). The manuscript traditions of Amharic interpretations of other biblical books are still to be studied.

Correspondence in Amharic appeared as the local Ethiopian potentates started regularly to contact foreigners. Numerous Amharic messages and diplomatic documents have been preserved, starting approximately from the time of ↗Śahlä Śəllase (s. Rubenson 1987, 1994, 2000; e.g., Anglo-Šäwan treaty, s. Rubenson 1976: 159–65). As the language of the court and the main lingua franca of the country, Amharic has long been used as the administrative language of the Ethiopian Christian highlands. Not until ↗Mənilək II became emperor in 1889, however, was Amharic regularly employed for administrative purposes. A selection of administrative decrees, statutes etc. is to be found in Eadie 1924, Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.].

Src.: BTafA; EMML vol. 5, 451, no. 1943; vol. 6, 148, no. 2080; 158, no. 2087; 225, no. 2117; 517, no. 2468; vol. 8, 1, no. 3001; JOHN INGLIS EADIE, *An Amharic Reader*, Cambridge 1924; repr. Addis Abäba 2000; *blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **ዝክረ፡ ነገር** (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba ²1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.]; SVEN RUBENSON, *Correspondence and Treaties 1800–1854*, Evanston – Addis Ababa 1987 (Acta Aethiopica 1); ID., *Tewodros and his Contemporaries 1855–1868*, Lund – Addis Ababa 1994 (Acta Aethiopica 2); ID., *Internal Rivalries and Foreign Threats*, Addis Ababa 2000 (Acta Aethiopica 3); ID., *The Survival of Ethiopian Inde-*

pendence, London 1976 (Lund Studies in International History 7), 159–65; StrANL 144ff., no. 48; 207ff., no. 81.
Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* 8, 1899, here 636f.; ROGER COWLEY, "The Beginnings of the Andemta Commentary Tradition", *JES* 10, 2, 1972, 1–16; ID., "A Text in Old Amharic", *BSOAS* 37, 3, 1974, 597–607; ID., "Ludolf's Fragmentum Piquesii: an Old Amharic Tract about Mary who Anointed Jesus' Feet", *JSS* 28, 1, 1983, 1–47; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Aethiopica", *RSO* 9, 1923, 462f. [no. 21, "Canti amarici per Grāñ, Lebna Dengel e Galawdewos"]; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di re abissini", *RRALm*, ser. 4, 5, 1889, 55–66; THOMAS LEIPER KANE, *Ethiopian Literature in Amharic*, Wiesbaden 1975; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Archaic Amharic Forms", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 61–80; ID., "Some Notes on 'A Text in Old Amharic' of Roger Cowley", *BSOAS* 43, 1980, 578–80; ID., "Panegyrics in Old Amharic, EMML 1943, f. 3v", *Israel Oriental Studies* 9, 1979, 228–36; ID., "Some Archaic Features of Amharic", in: *PICES* 5b, 111–24; MARCEL GRIAULE, *Le livre de recettes d'un dabtara abyssin*, Paris 1930 (Université de Paris. Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'éthnologie 12); ENNO LITTMANN, *Die altamharischen Kaiserlieder*, Strassburg 1914; ID., "Altamharisches Glossar. Der Wortschatz in den 'Canzoni Geez-Amariña'", *RSO* 20, 1943, 473–505; *ibid.*, 22, 47, 1947, 46–59; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Documents on the History of the Oromo", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 641–47; STEFAN STRELCYN, "Matériaux pour l'étude de l'ancien amharique", *JSS* 9, 1964, 257–64 (Lit.); ID., "Les écrits médicaux éthiopiens", *JES* 3, 1, 1965, 82–107; ID., *Médicine et plantes d'Éthiopie. Les traités médicaux éthiopiens*, Warszawa 1968 (Lit.); ID., "Les mystères des Psaumes', traité éthiopien sur l'emploi des Psaumes (amharic ancien)", *BSOAS* 44, 1, 1981, 54–84; LANFRANCO RICCI, *Letterature dell'Etiopia*, Milano 1969 (Storia delle letterature d'Oriente), 851–54.

Denis Nosnitsin

Traditional historical writing in Amharic

The genre of historical writing was one of the first to appear in A.l. and is till today one of its most representative layers.

Amharic historical writing seems to have come into existence along with the decline of the genre of the major Royal Chronides, as well as with the creation of Gəᶜəz "short chronicles" and extensive historical treatises of mixed character, containing historical annals, "world histories", chronological or computus texts etc. Many such works include also Amharic pieces, interpolated into the main narration, so that Guidi called them "interpolated chronides" (1926:358). The content of at least some such interpolations seems to be quite peculiar: they are *profetia ex eventu* about the fate of Ethiopian kings of the Gondärine and Šäwan branches of the ↗Solomonic dynasty, the former being consistently compromised for the benefit of the latter. Perhaps it was this polemical message that needed Amharic for propaganda purposes. Like Gəᶜəz historiography, they were thought to explain the history of Ethiopia from a traditional (religious) point of view, looking in the past for the explanation of contemporary events. Thus, among historical events which provided the impetus for Amharic historical writing were the decline of the Ethiopian kingdom in the time of ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, the feuds of the local rulers and the tragic times of ↗Tewodros II and ↗Yoḥannəs IV, but the most decisive was obviously the growth of the Šäwan dynasty.

Among the materials elaborated in Amharic historical writing are mostly subjects known from Gəᶜəz hagiography, chronicles, chronology, genealogies, "king lists", historical legends, like those developed on the basis of the ↗Mənilək I and ↗Makəbba saga, stories about ↗Alexander the Great, ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī etc., skillfully adapted for the actual topics. An example would be the ms. EMML 2114 (18th–19th cent.), in which a Gəᶜəz-Amharic history of Ethiopia from the establishment of the Solomonic dynasty to *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis is preceded by the ↗*Baḥrä ḥassab*, **ስነ፡ ፍጥረት** (*Sənä fəṭrät*), excerpts from writings of ↗Giyorgis Wäldä ᶜAmid and the "genealogy" of Jesus Christ, and is followed by an account of Grañ's invasion (cp. also ms. EMML 1234). A recent chronide of Šäwa written in Däbrä Libanos starts from exodus of ↗Mənilək I from Jerusalem and proceeds to the history of the Solomonic dynasty through the genealogy of the Aksumite kings (Rome, ANL, ms. Conti Rossini 91); another (ms. Conti Rossini 96) begins from Adam. A history of Gondär (ms. Conti Rossini 125, fol. 1r–13v) is inserted between lists of Aksumite and Ethiopian kings.; cp., finally, ms. IES, B–36, "The Book of the History", presenting one of the most comprehensive ranges of the subjects used in Amharic historiography (s. Platonov 1976).

Since the 19th cent. the tradition of Amharic chronide prevails. The Amharic language of the official chronicles of *aṣe* Tewodros by *däbtära* ↗Zännäb (**የቴዎድሮስ፡ ታሪክ**, *Yätewodros tarik*), covering the years from 1789 to 1859, could perhaps be explained by the fact that the author was a Protestant-convert, or by the fact that Tewodros was actually a usurper and his relations with the Church had greatly deteriorated. But the appearance around the same time of two other Amharic chronides of Tewodros's reign, one anonymous (ed. Fusella 1959; 1957–59) and

the other by *alläqa* ↗Wäldä Maryam (ed. Mondon-Vidailhet 1904), proves that it was a general tendency in contemporary Amharic historiography. Having some formal similarities to Gəʿəz historiographies, these chronicles present an independent point of view on *aṣe* Tewodros and his politics: their intention was not to glorify and justify every deed of the monarch, but present an objective account without searching the past for explanations for current events.

Even though *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV tried to revive the older habit of the writing of Gəʿəz chronicles (s. Bairu Tafla 1977), the account of his reign is also found in two Amharic texts (Chaîne 1913; Ricci 1947). The one by *alläqa* ↗Lämläm is unusual in that it also contains a detailed account of the brief reign of *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis II (r. 1869–71).

Aṣe ↗Mənilək II's reign is covered by the **ታሪክ፡ ዘመን፡ ዘዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ** (*Tarikä zämän zädagmawi Mənilək nəgusä nägäśt zäʾityopya*, 'History of the Reign of Mənilək II, King of Kings of Ethiopia'), written in Amharic in the traditional style by *śəḥafe təʾəzaz* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase (GueCopMen; Gäbrä Śəllase 1966/67; for different versions of the Chronicle s. Hussein Ahmed 1983). Another account of his reign, called ↗*Dagmawi Mənilək*, was written as a memoir by ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus, who is considered to be the "father" of Amharic fiction.

A kind of "regional chronicle" is known to exist: **የጎጃም፡ ታሪክ** (*Yägoğğam tarik*, 'The History of Goğğam'), a chronicle of *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goğğam, cp. also EMML 1411, in which the traditional account of the entire Ethiopian history has a special emphasis on the local dynasty of Goğğam. A similar literal tendency in ↗Təgrəñña tradition was marked by **ታሪክ፡ ኢትዮጵያ** (*Tarik Ityopya*, 'The History of Ethiopia', written by Fəssəḥa Giyorgis), cp. EMML 1472, a history of Ethiopia in Təgrəñña written down perhaps by ↗Gäbrä Mikaʾel Gərmu.

Some of the later compilers are known by name, e.g., Gäbrä Mikaʾel Gərmu (cp. his "notes on history" in EMML 1470 and other writings), ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis, who wrote between 1910 and 1914 **የጋላ፡ ታሪክ፡ የሸዋ፡ መንግሥት** (*Yägalla tarik yäšäwa mängəśt*, 'History of the Galla and the Kingdom of Šäwa') and *alläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam who compiled **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾityopya ḥəzb tarik*, 'A History of the Ethiopian People'; Asmära 1922).

Modern historical writing

With the birth of the A.l. and the introduction of printing, the tradition of historical writing left room for a new Amharic creative literature. However, the historical genre did not disappear completely, as many renowned Ethiopian authors, in addition to writing fiction, produced works to which one could apply the designation "historical writing". These works have retained little of the old historiography tradition and present a separate new trend in A.l. The authors received inspiration and material from the history of their country, as well as from the experience of their own lives and that of their contemporaries.

The historical works of one of the most important early Amharic writers, ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase, include a historical treatise **ኢትዮጵያና፡ መተማ፤ የአጼ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ታሪክ፡ በአጭሩ** (*Ityopyanna Mätämma, yäʾaṣe Yoḥannəs tarik bäʾaṭṭ̣ər*, 'Ethiopia and Mätämma, *aṣe* Yoḥannəs's History in Brief'), written in 1917/18 A.D., about the battle in which Yoḥannəs IV was killed; **የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ፡ በኋላ፡ ዘመን፡ ለሚነሱ፡ ልጆች፡ ማስታወቂያ** (*Yäḥəywät tarik bäḫʷala zämän lämminäsu ləğočč mastawäqiya*, 'History of Life, a Means for Informing Posterity who will Arise in Later Times'), written in 1922/23, a biographical dictionary which may be considered the first biography in Amharic, and **የኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäḫaylä Śəllase aṭṭ̣ər tarik*, 'A Short History of Ḫaylä Śəllase'). His **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ነገሥት፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾityopya nägäśt tarik*, 'History of Ethiopian Sovereigns'; printed in 1935/36 A.D.), and **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ንግሥታት፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾityopya nəgəśtat tarik*, 'History of Ethiopian Queens'; 1935/36) are widely used as sources on Ethiopian history to this day.

The period of the Italian occupation is recorded in anumber of memoirs. Since the authors of these memoirs are not writers, these accounts lack polish and are more concerned with recording every engagement and the guerrillas who participated in them and to provide memorials the fallen. The first was **የማይ፡ ጨው፡ ዘመቻና፡ የጉዞው፡ ታሪክ** (*Yämay č̣äw zämäčanna yäguzow tarik*, 'The Mayč̣äw Campaign and the History of Its Journey') by ↗Gäbrä Wäld Ənggda Wärq (1948/49), about the decisive 1936 battle in which the Italian forces routed *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase's army. Two of the largest are Taddäsä Zäwälde's **ቀሪን፡ ገረመው** (*Qärin gärrämäw*, 'It Astonished the Survivor'; 1967/68), which covers Ethiopian guerrilla activ-

ity in the centre of the country, while Gärima Taffärä's **ጎንደሬ፡ በጋሻው** (*Gondäre bägaššäw*, 'The Gondare with his Shield'; 1956/57) is concerned with Bägemdər Province. A work of some interest is **ጠቅልና፡ ሰራዊቱ** (*Ṭäqqələnna särawitu*, 'Täqqəl [Ḫaylä Śəllase's "horse-name"] and His Army') by Damṭe Assämähäññ (1957/58), which attempts to give a history of the Imperial Bodyguard (*kəbər zäb*) along with contemporary photographs and brief biographies of notable members of that institution who served in the resistance against the Italian occupation such as *ras* ↗Abbäbä Arägay and ↗Mäsfən Səläši. Another work of interest for this period is Taddäsä Meča's **ጥቁር፡ አንበሳ** (*Ṭəqur ənbäsa*, 'Black Lion'; 1950/51), recounting the unsuccessful effort of the Holäta Military Academy officers to retreat to western Ethiopia to continue Ethiopian resistance to the Italian invasion.

After the occupation, a new phase, in which the genre flourished, began. Here the development of modern school ↗education, which included such subjects as Ethiopian history and literature, served as a powerful spur. Some authors creatively united the features of historiography and fiction. E.g., the works of ↗Mäkʷännən Ǝndalkačč̌äw reflect a new turn in the genre's development – he created a few plays of a historical nature: **የደም፡ ድምጽ** (*Yädäm dəmṣ*, 'The Voice of Blood', concerning the martyrdom of *abunä* ↗Peṭros at the hands of the Italians, written in 1954/55) and **ጣይቱ፡ ብጡል** (*Ṭaytu Bəṭul*; 1957/58), in which *aṣe* Tewodros is portrayed as a heartless tyrant. This is the only unfavorable characterization this emperor has received, for most Ethiopian writers idealize him as a reformer, a unifier and a modernizer (cp. Taye Assefa 1983). A little-noted work is his **መልካም፡ ቤተሰቦች** (*Mälkam betäsäbočč*, 'The Good Family', 1956/57), which contains some interesting historical and biographical information from the reigns of Mənilək II and Ḫaylä Śəllase I. He was also the first to write a literary biography, **የሕልም፡ ሩጫ** (*Yäḫəlm ručča*, 'The Course of Dreams'; 1956/57), apparently a reference to dreams in which one runs but makes no progress.

The composition of half-historical, half-fictional plays was also taken up by ↗Käbbädä Mikaʾel. **የትንቢት፡ ቀጠሮ** (*Yätənbit qäṭäro*, 'Appointment with Prophecy'; 1945/46) is an allegorical verse-play loosely based on the eunuch Philip – Queen Candake legend of the Christianization of Ethiopia and which allegedly refers to the Restoration. His play *Kaleb* (1965/66) was about the Aksumite Emperor ↗Kaleb.

In addition to the biographical works of Ḫəruy and Käbbädä Mikaʾel mentioned above, two interesting works of this type were produced in the years before the Revolution. The **መጽሐፈ፡ ትዝታ** (*Mäṣḥafä təzzəta*, 'Book of Remembrances'; 1966/67) by ↗Mängəštu Lämma is a biography of the author's father, *aläqa* ↗Lämma Ḫäylu, based on taped conversations with him. It may be noted that while the subject's early years are treated in loving detail, information on the later years spent in Addis Abäba and Harär during the turbulent years of *ləǧ* Iyasu's reign and Ḫaylä Śəllase's coming to power is rather scanty. In *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase's autobiography **ሕይወቴና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ እርምጃ** (*Ḫəywätənna yäʾityopya ərməǧǧa*, 'My Life and Ethiopia's Progress'; not published until 1972–73), the Emperor was helped by Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase with the first volume and by ↗Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkʷəriya with the second (Molvaer 1997:75).

A more professional writing of history was marked by the appearance of Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkʷəriya's four-volume work **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yaʾityopya tarik*, 'History of Ethiopia'; 1956/57–59/60), which covers Ethiopian history from Aksumite times to *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase, drawing on both Western and indigenous sources. Täklä Ṣadəq was the first professional historian to write his research findings in Amharic, making an academically written history of Ethiopia accessible to a large audience inside the country.

Although not a proper history, *blatten geta* ↗Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl's **ዝክረ፡ ነገር** (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'; 1969/70) is an important source for the reign of Mənilək II and the early years of Ḫaylä Śəllase. *Däǧǧazmač* ↗Käbbädä Täsämma's **የታሪክ፡ ማስታወሻ** (*Yätarik mastawäša*, 'Historical Memoir'; 1969/70 A.D.) covers the period from the years of Empress ↗Zäwditu reign to the late 1960's.

The genre of historical writing in Amharic remains extremely popular today and continues to develop fast.

Src.: EMML vol. 4, 220, no. 1234; 578ff., no. 1470; vol. 6, 213, no. 2114; StrANL 238f., no. 91; 247, no. 96; 299, no. 125; MARIUS CHAÎNE, "Histoire de règne de Iohannes IV roi des rois d'Éthiopie (1868–1889)", *RevSem* 21, 1913, 178–92; BAIRU TAFLA (ed.), *A Chronicle of Emperor Yoḥannes IV (1872–89)*, Wiesbaden 1977 (AeF 1); LUIGI FUSELLA, "La cronaca dell'Imperatore Teodoro II di Etiopia in un manoscritto amarico", *Annali IUO* n. ser. 6, 1957, 61–121; *ibid.* 7, 1958, 67–94; *ibid.* 8, 1959, 63–89; ID.

(ed.), **ያጤ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yaṭe Tewodros tarik*, 'The History of Emperor Tewodros'), Roma 1959; *ṣäḥafe tə'əzaz* GÄBRÄ ƎLLASE, **ታሪክ፡ ዘመን፡ ዘዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ** (*Tarikä zämän zädagmawi Mənilək nəguśä nägäśt zä'ityopya*, 'Chronicle of Mənilək II, King of Kings of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.]; GueCopMen; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Due nuovi manoscritti della 'Cronaca abbreviata'", *RRALm* ser. 2, 2, 1926, 357–421; *däbtära* ZÄNNÄB, *The Chronicle of King Theodore of Abyssinia*, ed., tr. by ENNO LITTMANN, Princeton, NJ 1902, 30f., 43ff.; VYACHESLAV M. PLATONOV, "'Maṣḥafa Tarik' po rukopisi Natsionalnoy biblioteki v Addis Abebe – 'B–36, The Book of History'" ('*Maṣḥafa Tarik* after the ms. of the National Library, Addis Abäba – B–36, The Book of History'), *Uchenye zapiski Tartusskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta, Trudy po Vostokovedeniyu* 392–III, 1976, 25–41; MARTINO MARIO MORENO (ed., tr.), "La cronaca di re Teodoro attribuita al dabtara 'Zaneb'", *RSE* 2, 1942, 143–80; FRANÇOIS MARIE CASIMIR MONDON-VIDAILHET (ed., tr.), *Chronique de Theodoros II, roi des rois d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1904, repr. Westmead ²1971; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Una cronaca breve in amarico sul regno di Yoḥanněs IV, re d'Etiopia", *RSO* 22, 1947, 47–59.

Lit.: HUSSEIN AHMED, "The Chronicle of Menilek II of Ethiopia: a Brief Assessment of its Versions", *JES* 16, 1983, 75–86; REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, *Black Lions, the Creative Lives of Modern Ethiopia's Literary Giants and Pioneers,* Lawrenceville 1997; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Letteratura in lingua amarica", in: OSCAR BOTTO (ed.), *Letterature dell'Etiopia,* Como 1969; THOMAS LEIPER KANE, *Ethiopian Literature in Amharic,* Wiesbaden 1975; ALAIN ROUAUD, *Afä-Wärq: 1868–1947. Un intellectuel éthiopien témoin de son temps*, Paris 1991; TAYE ASSEFA, "Téwodros in Ethiopian Historical Fiction", *JES* 16, 1983, 115–28.

Thomas Leiper Kane – Denis Nosnitsin

Amharic drama

Literary drama came into being in Ethiopia as late as the 1920–30s, a period of time marked with social modernization and the formation of a national state. The developing contacts between Ethiopia and the European countries, a close acquaintance with the different areas of European culture being strong especially in this period of time, had a great influence on Ethiopia's social life.

At this earliest stage of the development of dramatic art, Ethiopian writers cared little about formal demands of the genre – a play was not be divided into acts and scenes, stage directions were neglected, the list of characters was often missing. On the whole a play hardly differed in its structure from the epic genres. A typical example of the very first Ethiopian play is **ፋቡላ፡ የአውሬዎች፡ ኮሜዲያ** (*Fabula yä'awrewočč komediya*, 'Fable. The Comedy of Animals') by *bäğərond* ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat Täklä Maryam. He wrote it in 1904 A.M. [1911/12 A.D.] approximately, but it was staged only in 1913 A.M. [1920/21 A.D.]. The play was based on motifs of La Fontaine's fables. In terms of structure this play bears little resemblance to the classical European theatre, rather it is constituted of a series of fables and parables, not connected by their subject-matter but stylized in a traditional Ethiopian manner. In spite of a relatively low artistic level, the play was very popular. Allegorically the author criticized *ləğ* ↗Iyasu's corrupt administration and officials, Iyasu himself and the lack of education and backwardness of the feudal authorities quite harshly. However, later the satirical play met with discontent among the strong feudal bureaucracy and was banned, as in fact were all its theatrical performances. Therefore, the development of the dramatic arts in Ethiopia came to a standstill until late 1920s.

By the early of 1930s the power struggle in the country ended with the victory of the young Ethiopian reformist movement. At this time the development of national theatre, interrupted earlier, was renewed. With the establishment of a theatre at the court of Ḥaylä Śəllase in the 1930s a new page was opened in the history of Ethiopian culture. In spite of the fact of its being a court theatre, it undoubtedly influenced the development of the Ethiopian social consciousness of the 1930s as well as the Ethiopian theatre itself.

Plays by one of the major dramatists of the 1930s, ↗Yoftahe Nəguśe, **ጥቅም፡ ያለበት፡ ጨዋታ** (*Ṭəqəm yallabbät č̣äwata*, 'Play Containing Something Useful', staged at the coronation of Ḥaylä Śəllase in 1930 A.D.) and **የሆድ፡ አምላኩ፡ ቅጣት** (*Yähod amlaku qəṭat*, 'The Punishment of Belly-is-his-god', staged at the Princess ↗Zännäbä Wärq's postnuptial visit to the home of her parents in 1932 A.D.) concerned the topical problems of the time, including a eulogy of the Emperor and his court. *Ṭəqəm yallabbät č̣äwata*, for example, deals with the marriage between Faith and Deeds, whose union is blessed by the wise King Solomon. At the end of the play the re-crowned Emperor is identified as the bridegroom, who rewards the prudent virgins. His third play, **አፋጀሽኝ** (*Affağäšəñ*, 'You [fem.] Helped Ruin Me'), written before the Italian occupation, was not circulated until 1965 and was a reflection on the official concept of the prominent role of Ḥaylä Śəllase in the ↗Italian War 1935–36.

Those early plays are comedies for the most part; they are allegorical, have political content – eulogistic or satirical – yet are naive in plot but full of local humour. Their authors were probably inspired by the amateur theatricals that were popular beginning in the latter years of the 19th cent., and continued as part of the British-American school curriculum for long thereafter. This may account for the presence of the Armenian Nalbandian, who wrote **የጎንደሬ፡ ገብረ፡ ማርያም፡ አጥቶ፡ ማግኘት** (*Yägondäre Gäbrä Maryam aṭəto magñät*, 'Gäbrä Maryam of Gondär's Loss and Gain') in 1926.

This court theatre inspired the appearance of so-called "School Theatre" established at the Mənilək II Secondary School in 1934. One of the first school-teachers and simultaneously the author of the most popular plays was ↗Mälᵊaku Bäggosäw. Although he wrote quite a large number of plays, they were not published and only two of them have been performed. His historical drama **ትልቁ፡ ዳኛ** (*Təlləqu daññа*, 'Great Judge'), dealing with the biblical story of Solomon, was staged successfully for four months in 1934 A.M. [1941/42 A.D.]). His second play **ዘነበች** *Zänäbäč* [proper name], dealing with the experiences of a young girl through many marriages and divorces, was staged in 1935/36 A.M. [1942/43 A.D.] and was not as successful. Both of them had a didactic-moralistic character.

The level of the dramatic technique was still low: there was a lack of dynamic action, the characters were rather static symbols personifying either a social type or an ethnic category than living beings (as in Yoftahe Nəguśe's *Ṭəqəm yallәbbät čäwata*).

After the Italian war of 1936–41, new genres of literature came into being – especially minor prosaic genres connected with the further development of artistic culture in literature. Dramatic arts also continued to develop. One of the first plays created after the war came from Mäkʷännən Ǝndalkačč̣äw. At the base of his heroic patriotic drama **የደም፡ ድምጽ** (*Yädäm dəmṣ*, 'The Voice of Blood', 1947 A.M. [1954/55 A.D.]) is a story of a patriotic bishop, *abunä* Ṗetros, who refused to collaborate with the invaders and perished at the hands of Fascist executioners. In the historical drama **ጣይቱ፡ ብጡል** (*Ṭaytu Bəṭul*, 1950 A.M. [1957/58 A.D.]), *aṣe* ↗Tewodros is portrayed as a heartless tyrant. He wrote also some works of a half-dramatic, half-prosaic nature, e.g. **ሣልሳዊ፡ ዳዊት** (*Śalsawi Dawit*, 'David III'), **የድሆች፡ ከተማ** (*Yädəḳoč̣č̣ kätäma*, 'The City of the Poor') and others, many of which were published in 1947 A.M. [1954/55 A.D.] in a collection entitled **አርሙኝ** (*Arrəmuññ*, 'Correct me').

↗Käbbädа Mikaᵓel became the classic of the genre and deserved to be considered Ethiopia's most famous playwright in the two decades following the liberation. Käbbädа Mikaᵓel revived drama with his allegorical verse-plays **የትንቢት፡ ቀጠሮ** (*Yätənbit qäṭäro*, 'Appointment with Prophecy', 1938 A.M. [1945/46 A.D.]), based on the eunuch ↗Philip – Queen Candace legend of the Christianization of Ethiopia, and **የቅጣት፡ ማዕበል** (*Yäqəṭat maᶜbäl*, 'The Storm of Punishment', 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]), dealing with an early Christian legend about a man who sold his soul to the Devil. Käbbädа Mikaᵓel plays the main role in creating a series of historical tragedies written within the traditions of French Classicism, such as, among others, **አኒባል** (*Anibal*, 'Hannibal', 1956 A.M. [1954/55 A. D.]) and **ካሌብ** (*Kaleb*, 'Kaleb' [the Aksumite Emperor], 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.]). He also adopted Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* into Amharic, under the title **ሮሜዎና፡ ጁልየት** (*Romewonna Žulyät*, 'Romeo and Juliet', 1946 A.M. [1953/54 A.D.]).

↗Gərmaččäw Täklä Ḥawaryat was the only writer of the forties who continued the modernization trend that had been so characteristic of ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus, ↗Ḥəruy Wäldä Śəllase and his father Täklä Ḥawaryat. His only play **ቴዎድሮስ** (*Tewodros*, 1950 A.M. [1957/58 A.D.]) deals with ↗Tewodros II. Unlike Mäkʷännən Ǝndalkačč̣äw, Gərmaččäw describes Tewodros as a modern monarch, the precursor of Mənilək II and Ḥaylä Śəllase I.

In 1955 for the first time in the cultural history of Ethiopia a professional theatre was established. The theatre produced plays not only inside the country but also abroad.

Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən was one of the first professional playwrights to dash with the traditional and modern ideas beginning to deal with social themes. His early plays give examples of such a new trend: **በልግ** (*Bälg*, 'Season of the Small Rains', 1952 A.M. [1959/60 A.D.]); **የሾህ፡ አክሊል** (*Yäšoḳ aklil*, 'Crown of Thorns', 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.]), dealing mostly with an Ethiopian family in transition from the rural Ethiopian of the past to modern life in the big city; **የከርሞ፡ ሰው** (*Yäkärmo säw*, 'Man of the

Future', 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.]), influenced by Harold Pinter's *The Caretaker*. In the first heavy days of the ↗Revolution of 1974 Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən wrote **ሀ ሁ በስድስት፡ ወር** (*Ha hu bäsəddəst wär*, 'Learning to Read in Six Months'), dedicated to the drought and famine in the Wällo province. The play was published together with **እናት፡ ዓለም፡ ጠኑ** (*Ǝnnat ʿaläm ṭännu*, 'Mother World is Strong'), an adaptation of Berthold Brecht's *Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder*, in 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.]. Ṣäggaye (Tsegaye Gebremedhin) also wrote a few plays in English. The most popular of them are his historical drama *Teodros*, a verse tragedy *Oda-Oak Orade* (London 1965) and a heroic patriotic drama *Petros' Hour* (1969).

Another topical theme of the 1960s–70s was the struggle for national liberation in other countries. Under pressure of hard censorship in the period before the Revolution, this theme allowed the authors to cover up the expression of their attitude towards their own country's problems and to show the necessity of social changes. Among the prominent authors of this period are Täsfayä Gässäsä, ↗Abbe Gubäññä and ↗Mängəśtu Lämma.

Täsfaye Gässäsä became a professional playwright and a producer after graduating from the Northwestern University in Chicago. He was already successful with his first plays, **የሺ** (*Yäši* [proper name], 1955 A.M. [1962/63 A.D.]), dedicated to the problems of prostitution, and **አባትና፡ ልጆች** (*Abbatənna ləǧǧočč*, 'Father and Children', 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.]), dealing with the conflict of generations. But it was his political drama **እቃው** (*Ǝqəw*, 'The Thing', 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.]) which brought him real popularity. It was aimed against racism, apartheid and totalitarism – where man was treated like a "thing". Though this play deals with South African justice for blacks, the ambience is dearly Ethiopian.

Political questions were also raised in Abbe Gubäññä's **የፓትሪስ፡ ሉሙምባ፡ አሳዛኝ፡ አሟሟት** (*Yäpatris Lumumba asazzañ ammʷammʷat*, 'The Saddening Death of Patrice Lumumba', 1954 A.M. [1961/62 A.D.]), a verse-drama which appears to be cobbled together from United Nations speeches delivered by the Soviet, Egyptian and Ghanaian delegates at that time.

Mängəśtu Lämma contributed to the development of the dramatic genre, first through his two comedies: **ጠልፎ፡ በኪሱ** (*Tälfo bäkise*, translated by the author as 'Snatch and Run', 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]) and **ያላቻ፡ ጋብቻ** (*Yalaččа gabbəčča*, 'Marriage of Unequals', 1957 A.M. [1964/65 A.D.]). In the former, the author criticized "the modern educated young men who only talk and who are unwilling to act radically for social change". In the latter, the "deeper" theme is the "necessity of transformation of the society as a result of the conflict between the old and the new, between tradition and innovation". Mängəśtu Lämma continued to work in the genre of drama also after the Revolution of 1974. He wrote, among other works, the political tragedy **ጸረ ኮሎኒያሊስት** (*Ṣärä koloniyalist*, 'Anti-Colonialist'), and translated into Amharic Anton Tchekhov's *The Bear* and Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm's *Just to Kill*.

The Revolution of 1974 opened a new stage, manifesting itself in having a publicist character and turning to topical problems. Ayyalnäh Mulatu was perhaps among the most prominent playwrights of that moment. He made a great contribution to the further development of the Ethiopian theatre with his revolutionary dramas. Among them, **ድርብ፡ ጭቁን** (*Dərrəb čəqqun*, 'Twice oppressed', 1971 A.M. [1978/79 A.D.]), depicted the position of women in Ethiopian Society. There were **የገጠርዋ፡ ፋና** (*Yägäṭärwa fana*, 'The Village Lantern', 1970 A.M. [1977/78 A.D.]), and especially **የመንታ፡ እናት** (*Yämäññəta ənnat*, 'The Mother of Twins', 1973 A.M. [1980/81 A.D.]), dedicated to the problems of the revolution: one son defends the revolution and the other – opposes it.

After the fall of the *Därg* regime, drama, as well as literature as a whole, began to develop actively in many different languages of Ethiopia – ↗Təgrañña, ↗Oromiffaa, ↗Gurage, to mention just a few. One example is a drama in the Oromo language (*Dukanan duba*, 'After Darkness') by Dhabaa Wanessa (staged in 1992 A.M. [1999/2000 A.D.], whose producer was Täsfaye Mäkʷännən).

Between 1995 and the year 2000 many plays, mainly of German and Norwegian authors, were translated into Amharic and staged. In recent years Ethiopian playwrights began also to create drama for children, bearing in mind the specifics of this genre. Such authors as Abbonäh Aššägräw, Därässa Bälaynäh, Asfaw Asmatu and others work actively in this field.

↗Oromo literature; ↗Təgrəñña literature; ↗Theatre

Lit.: ALBERT GÉRARD, *Four African Literatures: Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1971, 285ff., 294–97, 300–09, 321–30; THOMAS LEIPER KANE, *Ethio-*

pian Literature in Amharic, Wiesbaden 1975, passim; REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, *Black Lions, the Creative Lives of Modern Ethiopia's Literary Giants and Pioneers*, Lawrenceville 1997, 272, 277–82, 287–95, 298, 300f., 307f., 313, 321, 330–33, 344, 347, 349f., 355, 359ff., 374f., 381f.; GALINA BALASHOVA, *The Main Stages in the Development of the Ethiopian Dramatic Art*, Ph.D. thesis, Saint Petersburg 1993, 1–18; ID., "The Evolution of Poetic Language in Ethiopian Drama", *AuÜ 77*, 1994, 273–81; AKALU GETANEH, "Patriotism in Current Production of Amharic Drama", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 575-82.

Galina Balashova

Amharic fiction ↗ Ləbb wälläd

Amharic poetry ↗ Gəṭəm

Al-Amīn Idrīs

Qäññazmač A.I. (ادر الامين Al-Amin Idris, **አልአሚን፡ ኢድሪስ**, b. 15 April 1918, Aqordät, d. after 1965) was an Eritrean politician in the service of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. His father was the *qāḍī* of Aqordät, Idrīs Adem from the Təgre subgroup Marya Ṣällam (↗Marya).

When the colony of Eritrea was occupied by the British in 1941, A.I. at once joined the newly established Eritrean Police Force under the British and had already acquired the rank of an officer in 1942, actively translating the anti-*šəfta* policy of the ↗British Military Administration into deeds. First a sergeant, A.I. was successively promoted to higher ranks (sub-inspector in 1943, inspector in 1944) and was demobilized in May 1947.

As a *maʾmūr* (commissary) of the Kärän district, which after the administrative reform of 1947 also included ᶜAqordät, he now occupied a traditional administrative post and, before the beginning of the Ethio-Eritrean federation, was appointed to the post of an Eritrean staff-officer at the Commissariato (i.e. province) of Kärän on 1 May 1952.

Aṣe Ḫaylä Śəllase I later promoted him to *qäññazmač* and made him, although a Muslim, governor of the Christian province of Ḥamasen, which was meant as a political signal to encourage modernization.

Lit.: "Alemin Idris", in: *ErDiz Bio*, 10; [anonymous governmental authority], *Religious Freedom in Ethiopia*, [ca. 1965/66], 76.

Mussie Tesfagiorgis – Wolbert Smidt

Amīr

The Arabic title A. (أمير, 'commander, governor, prince'; pl. *umarāʾ*) was first used during the caliphate of Medina (632–60) to designate the provincial governors who were initially the conquering generals. Later, when the governors became practically independent, A. also became the title for the chiefs of smaller principalities. In genitive constructions it was also used for high officials with special functions: *amīr silāḥ* 'grand master of the armour', *amīr al-ḥaǧǧ* 'leader of the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca' etc. The title *amīr al-muʾminīn* 'commander of the faithful' was originally reserved for the caliph. When the Abbaside caliphate declined, however, even smaller rulers claimed the title.

In Muslim Ethiopia the title A. was introduced only much later, the semantic development being, however, almost the same. The rulers of the Maḫzūmī (896/7–1285) and the Walašmaᶜ dynasties (13th cent.–1559) bore the title ↗*sulṭān*. This is still the case in ᶜArab-faqīh's ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, where a sharp distinction is made between the secular Walašmaᶜ ruler, who is called *sulṭān*, and the religious leader ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī called Grañ (d. 1543), who is termed *imām*, a title which had already been given by ↗Yaḥyā b. Naṣrallāh to the main saint and national hero of Harär ↗Abādir ᶜUmar ar-Riḍā (13th cent.) and his followers (beside *šayḫ*). In the *Futūḥ* the title A. appears for the first time to designate — as in early Islam — junior leaders both of the *sulṭān* (*amīr min umarāʾ as-sulṭān*) and of the *imām* (*amīr min umarāʾ al-imām*).

After the death of Grañ and the disintegration of his state, the rulers of the petty principalities of Harär and Awsa were called *imām* in the local Arabic sources when the claim for relig-

Al-Amīn Idrīs in the early 1960s, from *Religious Freedom in Ethiopia*, 76

ious legitimacy was recognized. Otherwise the titles *sulṭān* or A. were used. Thus the *Storia dei re* (Cerulli 1971:151–73) grants to the famous ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid (d. 1567) even the highest title *amīr al-muʾminīn*; his successor, the ill-famed renegade ↗ᶜUṯmān (d. 1569), on the other hand, is only called A.

The rulers of the ↗ᶜAlī b. Dāʾūd dynasty (1647–1886/87) in Harär were normally called A. in the Arabic sources and later by the European travellers. In their own documents, however, they referred to themselves as *sulṭān*, or even as *amīr al-muʾminīn*, cf. the titles of ↗Abū Bakr b. *aftal garād* ᶜAbdalmannān b. Muḥammad (d. 1852): *as-sulṭān al-aᶜẓam al-ḫāqān al-afḫam mawlānā amīr al-muʾminīn* ('the most powerful *sulṭān*, the most estimated *khan*, our lord, the commander of the faithful') Abū Bakr Nāṣiraddīn b. ᶜAbdalmannān. This, of course, was copied from the Ottoman *sulṭāns*.

In Amharic the title occurs in the form of *əmer* (KaneDic 1124).

Src.: BassHist, passim; EWALD WAGNER (ed., tr., comment.), *Legende und Geschichte. Der Fatḥ Madīnat Harar von Yaḥyā Naṣrallāh*, Wiesbaden 1978 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 4, 3), passim; KaneDic 1124.
Lit.: ᶜABDALᶜAZĪZ DŪRĪ, "Amīr", in: *EI*², vol. 1, 438f.; ENRICO CERULLI, *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971, 135–243, 365–82; ABDURAHMAN GARAD, *Harar. Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines Emirats im Horn von Africa*, Frankfurt am Main 1990 (Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe 3, 426), passim; EWALD WAGNER, "Imamat und Sultanat in Harar. Ein Beitrag zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen religiösem und weltlichem Herrschaftsanspruch in islamischen Randgebieten", *Saeculum* 26, 1975, 283–92.

Ewald Wagner

Amlakawi ↗ Saints, local

Amməḫa Iyäsus

A.I. (**አምኃ፡ ኢያሱስ**) was the fourth ruler of the Šäwan dynasty founded by ↗Nägaśi Krəstos at the end of the 17th cent. Like his predecessors, Səbəste and ↗Abbəyye, he bore the title of *märᶜad azmač*. His reign is variously recorded to have lasted from 30 to 34 years (ca. 1743–75). A.I. moved his capital from Ḥarr Amba to ↗Ankobär, which he had conquered.

He subdued the rebellious district of Tärra and extended his domain to Bulga and Mənǧar (s. Asfa-Wossen Asserate 1980, maps 1, 2). He then defeated the Karrayyuu (↗Baarentuu) and partially conquered the ↗Abbiču, until he established the Čača river as the south-western boundary of his realm. The freshly conquered area was distributed among his followers as *gəndäbäl*, *mälkäñña* and *gäbbar* land. A.I. paid homage to the Gondärine king Täklä Haymanot II in 1771. He is reported to have returned with matchlocks, which might have strengthened his position and that of his successors in ↗Šäwa vis-à-vis their Amhara and Oromo rivals. He died after a long and successful reign and was buried at the Qəddus Giyorgis (St. George) church of Ankobär, which he himself had founded. He was succeeded by his son, ↗Asfa Wäsän.

Src.: BTafA s. index; GueCopMen s. index.
Lit.: ASFA-WOSSEN ASSERATE, *Die Geschichte von Šawa (Äthiopien) 1700–1865 nach dem Tārika Nagaśt des Belāttēn Gētā Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 53); KOFI DARKWAH, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire 1813–1889*, London 1975; SVEIN EGE, *Class, State, and Power in Africa. A Case Study of the Kingdom of Shäwa (Ethiopia) about 1840*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 46); ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, **የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾityopya tarik*, 'History of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1928 A.M. [1935/36 A.D.].

Bahru Zewde

Amməḫa Ṣəyon

A.Ṣ. (**አምኃ፡ ጽዮን**, or **አምኃ፡ ለጽዮን**, Amməḫa Läṣəyon; s. StrANL no. 91) served as ↗*ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos in the 15th cent. He appears for the first time in a document of 1444/45, then in another one of 1480/81 copied in the Four Gospels of Iyäsus Moʾa of Ḥayq (EMML 1832). These dates are confirmed by the chronicles of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob and *aṣe* Bäʾədä Maryam, which mention *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* A.Ṣ. during the reigns of both.

It seems that he assumed his function in a rather unusual way. Another *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* was a contemporary of A.Ṣ. According to the Gospel of Ḥayq, Gäbrä Krəstos was *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* in 1447/48, and he is mentioned in the company of A.Ṣ. The nomination of a second *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* is probably due to the major role A.Ṣ. played during the reign of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob. He settled in the royal camp which had been established since 1454 at Däbrä Barhan. The Emperor acknowledged his presence in all circumstances, making him one of his main counsellors. This is probably the reason why a second *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* was named in Ḥayq, to substitute for A.Ṣ. The trust of Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob in A.Ṣ. reached its height at the moment of his succession. The dying Emperor entrusted A.Ṣ. with the task of giving his kingdom to his son Bäʾədä Maryam.

Although A.Ṣ. retained his position under the new ruler, it seems that he left the royal camp and went back to Ḥayq, fully to assume his function.

Src.: EMML vol. 5, 298ff., no. 1832, fol. 130a, 268b, 343b; StrANL 239f., no. 91, II, 1, 3, 4; PerrZarY 7, 60, 109, 167f.
Lit.: TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Dabra Hayq", *JES* 8, 1970, 87–118, here 108f.

Marie-Laure Derat

Amməstu aᶜəmadä məśṭir

A. (**አምስቱ፡ አዕማደ፡ ምሥጢር**, 'Five Pillars of Mystery') is a generic title for works that comprise the fundamental mysteries of the Christian faith. It contains the basic doctrines of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church in the form of a theological tract. In its content the work is latent in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed itself, and more evident in the "twelve commands given to Constantine, son of Constantine" by ↗Athanasius. But as a catechism the A. is an original Ethiopian doctrinal work and fundamental to Ethiopian Orthodox systematic theology. The text is divided into five chapters, each chapter representing one "pillar". The "Five pillars of Mystery" are the doctrines of: 1) the Trinity (**ሥላሴ**, *śəllase*), 2) the Incarnation (**ሥጋዌ**, *śəggawe*), 3) Baptism (**ጥምቀት**, *təmqät*), 4) the Eucharist (**ቍርባን**, *qʷərban*), and (5) the resurrection of the dead (**ትንሣኤ፡ ሙታን**, *tənśaᵓe mutan*). In the mystery of the resurrection, the story of the false Messiah (from the tribe of Dan and Esau) is told. Some manuscripts also include the creation (**ፍጥረት**, *fəṭrät*). The numerous texts in the manuscripts differ from each other. The main reason for these variations is the fact that the theological controversies and debates within the Ethiopian Church, such as the theological doctrines of the Unctionists (↗*Qəbat*), Unionists (↗*Karra*) and Adoptionists (↗*Yäṣägga ləǧǧ*), are expressed in the texts. All three schools used the A. to present their standpoint. Further research has to be done to assign each text to a school, but it is already certain that each has its own version (s. EMML 1710, 4003). There are some hints that the text was developed in answer to doctrinal controversies with the ↗Jesuits in the 16th cent.

The A. is a very important work for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. It is one of the most frequently recited texts regarding the Trinity. Its structure is that of questions and answers, but in a schematic way. The method is the same as in the Amharic commentaries, the ↗*andəmta* exegesis. For example in the first doctrine (the Trinity) we read:

Question: *Śəllase sənt naccäw*, 'How many are the Trinity?'

Answer: *Andəm sostəm naccäw*, 'They [the Trinity] are one and three'.

Other works following the same system as the A. include *Qalä haymanot*, *Haymanotä abäw ḥawaryat*, *Təmhərtä haymanot*, ↗*Haymanot rətəᶜət* and ↗*Nägärä haymanot*. Parallels are also found with the ↗*Śənä fəṭrät* (in the mss. both texts often occur together; for other theological tracts s. also ↗*Təmhərtä ḫabuᵓat*).

The A. exists in Gəᶜəz and Amharic, but was composed originally in Gəᶜəz. All printed versions are in Amharic, with quotations in Gəᶜəz. The Amharic translation includes a commentary.

Src.: **አምስቱ፡ አዕማደ፡ ምሥጢር** (*Amməstu aᶜəmadä məśṭir*, 'Five Pillars of Mystery'), Addis Abäba 1952 A.M. [1959/60 A.D.], Addis Abäba ²1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.]; MOGÄS ƎQUBÄ GIYORGIS, **መጽሐፈ፡ ሥነ፡ ፍጥረት፡ ምስለ፡ አምስቱ፡ አዕማደ፡ ምሥጢር** (*Mäṣḥafä śənä fəṭrät məslä amməstu aᶜəmadä məśṭir*, 'The Book of the Beauty of Creation with the Five Pillars of Mystery'), Aśmära 1957 A.M. [1964/65 A.D.]; ḤAYLÄ MÄSQÄL GÄBRÄMÄDḪƎN, **ስርወ፡ ሃይማኖት** (*Sərwä haymanot*, 'The Base of the Faith'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; EMML vol. 5, 172–76, no. 1710; **ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው** (*Haymanotä abäw*, 'The Faith of the Fathers'), Addis Abäba n.d.
Lit.: *liqä śəlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƎNÄH, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስትያን፡ እምነትና፡ ትምህርት** (*Yäᵓityopya ortodoks täwaḥədo betä krəstəyan əmnätənna təmhərt*, 'The Faith and the Teaching of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; ID., **ጥንታዊ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ትምህርት** (*Ṭəntawi yäᵓityopya śərᶜatä təmhərt*, 'The Ancient Ethiopian Order of Teaching'), Addis Abäba 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.]; ROGER WENMAN COWLEY, "An Ethiopian Orthodox Catechism on the 'Five Pillars of Mystery'", *Sobornost* 7, 4, 1977, 298–306; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Materials on the Theology of Qəb'at or Unction", in: *PICES* 6, 205–50.

Verena Böll

Ammonius, Canons of

↗ Canon tables

Amole

A. (**አሞሌ**) was the name given to bars of rock-↗salt, open mined in the ↗ᶜAfar Depression (the great Ṭəlṭal plain) and traditionally used, throughout much of Ethiopia, as "primitive money", i.e. as a medium of exchange to complement barter. Its use in the region was first mentioned, in the early 6th cent. A.D., by Cosmas Indicopleustes; and was reported, a millennium later, by the Portuguese traveller Francisco Alvares. He, and subsequent observers, indicate that the value of an A., because of transport costs,

as well as heavy taxes and damage in transit, varied greatly from one part of the country to another; it was thus, as he says, "very cheap where it was obtained, and very dear at Court" (Alvares 1881:98). A dram of gold could thus purchase 120 to 130 bars near the salt-mines, but only around five at the capital, in Šäwa. Salt-bars were likewise cheaper in the dry season, when transport was relatively easy, and much more expensive during the rains, when roads were virtually impassable. An A. also required careful attention if its value was to be preserved, especially during the rainy season, though people often endeavoured to protect their currency by burying it in the wood-ashes of their hearths or suspending it above the fire from the roof.

Such variations in the value of salt, as well as the A.'s fragile and deliquescent character, made its usage as "primitive money" quite problematic. Numerous donkeys, mules, human porters and, in the lowlands, camels were, however, engaged every year in transporting salt-bars all over the country. Taxation in A. was likewise, throughout the centuries, a major source of revenue for rulers on the salt-routes.

Despite its obvious inconvenience the A. met the two principal requirements of "primitive money": (1) it was in restricted supply (having to be transported, with considerable difficulty, from salt-mines far outside central Ethiopia); and (2) was in extensive demand (being an essential article of consumption). Other commodities in restricted supply and extensive demand, which fulfilled a similar role as "primitive money", induded pieces of cloth, i.e. a much required item of dress; bars of iron, widely used in making ploughshares; beads, a popular article of adornment; and, after the coming of numerous firearms, bullets, which were coveted by a large section of the Ethiopian population.

The A. was, however, the country's most important and widely employed type of "primitive money". The travellers of the late 19th cent. mentioned the usage of salt-bars as currency not only within the traditional Ethiopian borders, but also much farther to the South, including such regions as Ǧimma and Käfa. Their use continued well into the 20th cent., when their monetary role was eventually usurped by small silver or copper coins, divisions of the thaler, dollar, or *birr*.

↗Currency

Src.: FRANCISCO ALVARES, *Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia During the Years 1520–1527*, ed., tr. by Lord STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, London 1881 (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society 64), 98; FELIX ROSEN, *Eine deutsche Gesandtschaft in Abessinien*, Leipzig 1907, 234.
Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "'Primitive Money' in Ethiopia", *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* 32, 2 1962, 213–48 (Lit.); MORDECHAI ABIR, "Salt, Trade and Politics in Ethiopia in the 'Zämänä Mäsafent'", *JES* 4, 2, 1966, 1–10; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Trade of Northern Ethiopia in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", *JES* 2, 1, 1964, 49–159.

Richard Pankhurst

Trading in *amole*, early 20th cent., © Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (4028–359)

Amonewos

A. (**አሞኔዎስ**, also called Amonyos), was a favourite officer of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I. His homeland was in the south of the kingdom, probably Goǧǧam. A. was active in the 1680s as a *grazmač* in the royal army and in the later 1690s as *blatten geta* at court; in 1700 he was appointed *bäǧərond* of the *zufan bet* ('throne hall'). His death by poisoning in *Mäskäräm* 1703 was a consequence of the struggle between the two dominant political coalitions during the last years of Iyasu's reign.

Src.: BassEt 161, 164; BégCron 75, 78; GuiIohan 118, 134, 177, 179, 230, 241.

LaVerle B. Berry

Amsale

A. (**አምሳሉ**, d. 25 October 1710) was a dignitary at *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I's court, mentioned throughout the official historiographic sources during nearly 15 years (1696–1710).

In 1696 he was an ↗*aggafari* of Səmen. We do not know much about this title in the 17th cent. However, two kings' sons bore it, among others: Fasilädas (r. 1632–67), *aṣe* Susnəyos's son, according to the chronicle of Iyasu I (GuiIohan 151); Yosṭos, *aṣe* Yoḥannəs I's son, died before

his time and was appointed *səmen aggafari* in 1671 according to Yoḥannəs's history (GuiIohan 15).

In 1704, A. bears the title of *däğğazmač* and it seems that starting from this period and up to his death, he held a most important position at the king's court. According to the royal chronicle of Iyasu, he was in May 1704 responsible for the royal camp and the crown security. It is beyond doubt that he was considered as *aṣe* Iyasu's confidential agent.

He was buried at Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase church in Gondär. His son, *däğğazmač* Aṣme, died on 14 April 1720 in Yəbaba and was buried in Dəngˇ (BassÉt 187).

Another *däğğazmač* A. is mentioned in the chronicle edited by Dombrowski as having died in 1702–03 (DombrChr 233).

Src.: GuiIohan 193, 204, 240, 244, 261, 270, 275; BassÉt 156, 158, 164, 165, 177, 178, 187; DombrChr 233.

Dimitri Toubkis

Amšo rim

A.r. (**አምሾ ሪም**) was a fiscal system established in the regions of north central Ethiopia during the beginning of the 17th cent. The system developed as a result of a new form of financing the needs of the church after the wars of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī.

The system began with quartering of the clergy during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl, followed by *aṣe* Fasilädäs and later by *aṣe* Iyasu I. The system expanded so long as the Gondär kings were able to confiscate land and could impose imperial authority. The confiscated lands were transferred for the maintenance of the church service under the name of *däbtära* land, *qʷərban*, *qəddase*, *zəker* (commemoration) and *ᶜəqa* (sacristan possession) lands. These forms of beneficial titles allocated to the church were commonly known as ↗*rim*, and they constituted the larger part of the aristocratic patrimony.

Src.: KaneDic 373, 1127.

Lit.: TSEGAYE TEGENU, *The Evolution of Ethiopian Absolutism. The Genesis and the Making of the Fiscal Military State, 1696–1913*, Uppsala 1996, 79ff., 98f. (Lit.).

Tsegaye Tegenu

Amulets ↗ Magic; ↗ Magic scrolls

Amuma

A., a ↗Mäčča leader of the early 17th cent., was the de-facto ruler of a large range of Oromo groups between the Bale and Hadiyya regions. His power was based on the control and protection of trade routes at key posts and passes. *Aṣe* ↗Susənyos's encouragement of trade in gold, ivory and slaves made A. an important regional ally to the Muslim ruler of Hadiyya, *garād* ↗Sidi Moḥammad, the Christian governor of Goğğam and the Emperor himself.

As a member of a newly emerging ruling class, A. used his personal wealth to manipulate the traditional collective Oromo political organs such as the ↗*čaffee* assembly to his own political aims; members of the Oromo elites such as A. gave up pastoralist traditions, started to settle permanently on their land and made their rights of duty hereditary. A. seems to have been involved in the 1615 dismissal of Aleeko (Aliko *ḥäğğī* ᶜAli[ye]), the Muslim leader of ↗Allaaba (possibly A.'s father-in-law; cf. MHasOr 61), in a struggle for extension of territory and economic influence. He was replaced by a leader more amenable to A.'s interests.

Lit.: BeckHuntAlm 170; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *Southern Ethiopia and the Christian Kingdom, 1508–1708, with Special Reference to the Galla Migration and their Consequences*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1971, 427, 525; MHasOr 60ff.

Wolbert Smidt

Ananya of Däbrä Ṣärabi

The monk A. (**አናንያ**) of ↗Däbrä Ṣärabi (Təgray) lived in the 15th or 16th cent. and was a member of the monastic movement known as ↗Ewosṭateans. He is still venerated as a saint in eastern Təgray. According to his ↗*Gädl*, A. came from the Märagʷəz district of the province Säraye and was initiated into the monastic life by Ṗawlos, abbot of Däbrä Ṣärabi. This monastery was established around 1300 by Ewosṭatewos in the Ṣəraᶜ province of eastern Təgray. A. succeded Ṗawlos after his death. Two journeys of A. are recorded: the first to Däbrä Bizän and the second to the "town of the king", across the Täkkäze river, probably Gondär.

His death is attributed to a group of Oromo who attacked and murdered the saint in Zaʾəta, in the Gämbäla district of the province ↗Ǝndärta. The body of the martyr was then transferred to Qata, the center of one of the 22 districts (*əmba*) of Ǝndärta province. This information lets one date his *Gädl* to the second half of 16th cent. Yet, A. could have lived earlier, since the same *Gädl* records only five monastic

generations between Ewosṭatewos and Iyosäyas, the successor of A. and the last abbot remembered in written traditions.

Gädlä Ananya was published in 1990 from the 20th-cent. ms. ANLin, Fonds Conti Rossini no. 90 (StrANL 236).

Src.: KinBibl no.15; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Il Gadla Ananya", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 13, 1990, 149–91; ID., "Miracoli di Ananya", *ibid.* 14, 1991–92, 171–74; StrANL 236, no. 90; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Atti di Anania, santo monaco etiopico del XVI secolo", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 104, 1990, 65–91; ID., "Il testo etiopico dell'«Effigie di Anania»", *Quaderni Utinensi* 7, 13/14, 1989 [print. 1993], 165f.
Lit.: LusStud 94ff.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Anaphoras

The Ethiopian Church is one of those which have the greatest number of eucharistic A., normally called **አኩቴተ፡ ቊርባን** (*akkʷätetä qʷərban*, 'thanksgiving of the offering', which is an adequate translation of **εὐχαριστία**, 'eucharist', cf. Hammerschmidt 1987:37ff.). Not all are recognized by the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. Liturgists identify the A. by their title (which attributes them to one or another famous person), but Ethiopians designate them also by their *incipit* (which quite often is found distant enough from the title of the A.). That is why we give both titles here.

I. Fourteen A. in the order found in Ethiopian Orthodox missals, as well as in Daoud's (1959) translation ([H…] = number in Hammerschmidt 1987):

1 The Apostles: **ነአኩተከ፡ እግዚኦ፡** [**በፍቁር፡ ወልድከ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢያሱስ፡**] **ዘበደኃሪ፡ መዋዕል** (*Näʾakʷätäkä əgziʾo* [*bäfəqur wäldəkä əgziʾənä Iyäsus*] *zäbädäḫari mäwaʿəl*, 'We give Thee thanks, O Lord [through Thy beloved Son our Lord Jesus], whom in the last days [you sent to us]') [H 1];

2 Our Lord Jesus Christ: **ነአኩተከ፡ አምላክ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ፈጻሜ፡ ነፍስነ** (*Näʾakʷätäkä amlak qəddus, fäṣṣame näfsənä*, 'We give Thee thanks, Holy God, the perfecter of our souls') [H 2];

3 St. John, Son of Thunder (the Evangelist): **ኀቤከ፡ እግዚኦ፡ አንቃዕዶን፡ አዕይንቲነ** (*Ḫabekä əgziʾo anqaʿadonä aʿayyəntänä*, 'To Thee, o Lord, we have raised our eyes') [H 6];

4 Our Lady by Cyriacus of Behnesa: **ጐሥዓ፡ ልብየ፡ ቃለ፡ ሠናየ** (*Gʷäśśaʿ labbəyä qalä śənnayä*, 'My heart is uttering a good matter') [H 3];

5 The Three Hundred (the 318 Fathers of Nicea): **ግሩም፡ በውስተ፡ ደመናት፡ ወልዑል፡ እምሰማያት፡ እግዚአብሔር** (*Gərum bäwəstä dämänat wälʿul əmsämayat əgziʾabəḥer*, 'Awesome in the clouds and higher than heaven [is] the Lord') [H 12];

6 St. Athanasius of Alexandria: **አሰምዕ፡ ለክሙ፡ ሰማያት፡ አሰምዕ፡ ለክሙ፡ ምድረ** (*Asämaʿ läkəmu sämayatä asämaʿ läkəmu mədrä*, 'I call heaven to witness for you, I call earth to witness for you') [H 14];

7 St. Basil of Caesarea: **እግዚኦ፡ መሐረነ፡ ክርስቶስ** (*Əgziʾo mäḥaränä Krəstos*, 'O Lord, have mercy upon us, Christ') [H 13];

8 St. Gregory of Nyssa ("Hosanna-liturgy of St. Gregory"): **ነአኩቶ፡ ለገባሬ፡ ሠናያት፡ ላዕለነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ መሐሪ** (*Näʾakʷəto lägäbare śənayat laʿalenä, əgziʾabəḥer mäḥari*, 'We give thanks to our Benefactor, God the merciful') [H 8];

9 St. Epiphanius of Cyprus: **ዓቢይ፡ ውእቱ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በዕበዩ፡ ቅዱስ፡ በቅዳሴሁ** (*ʿAbiyy wəʾətu əgziʾabəḥer bäʿəbäyu qəddus bäqəddasehu*, 'Great is God in His greatness, holy in His holiness') [H 15];

10 St. John Chrysostom: **ናሁ፡ ንዜኑ፡ ህላዌሁ፡ ለአብ፡ ዘሀሎ፡ እምቅድመ፡ ይትፈጠር፡ ዓለም** (*Nahu nəzenu həllawehu läʾab zähallo əmqədmä yətfäṭärʿaläm*, 'Behold, we proclaim the essence of the Father who was before the world was created') [H 5];

11 St. Cyril of Alexandria: **ኀቤከ፡ እግዚኦ፡ አምላከ፡ አማልክት፡ ወእግዚኦ፡ አጋእዝት** (*Ḫabekä əgziʾo amlakä amalәkt wäʾəgziʾa agaʾəzt*, '[We lift our hearts] unto You, o Lord, God of gods and Lord of lords') [H 16];

12 St. Jacob of Serugh: **ተንሥኡ፡ በፍርሃተ፡ እግዚአብሔር** (*Tänśəʾu bäfərhatä əgziʾabəḥer*, 'Stand up in the fear of the Lord') [H 18];

13 St. Dioscorus of Alexandria: **እምቅድመ፡ ዓለም፡ ወእስከ፡ ለዓለም፡ ሀሎ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በትሥልስቱ** (*Əmqədmä ʿaläm wäʾəskä läʿaläm hallo əgziʾabəḥer bätəśləstu*, 'Before the world [was] and forever after is God [in His Kingdom, Lord] in His Trinity' 9 [H 4];

14 The second A. of St. Gregory ("Christmas-liturgy of St. Gregory"): **ነአኩተከ፡ እግዚኦ፡ ወንሴብሐከ፡ ወንዌድሰከ** (*Näʾakʷätäkä əgziʾo wänəsebbəḥakä wänəwəddəsäkä*, 'We give Thee thanks, O Lord, we glorify Thee and praise Thee') [H 9].

II. Three additional A. are printed in the Gəʿəz Missal, *Maṣḥafä qəddase* [MQ], printed in Rome in 1945 A.D. [1938 A.M.]:

15 Our Lady Mary by Giyorgis: **መዐዛ፡ ቅዳሴ፡ ውኩፍ፡ ዘምስለ፡ ስብሐት፡ ወግናይ፡ ናቄርብ፡ ለስምኪ፡ ማርያም** (*Mäʿazä qəddase wəkuf zäməslä səbḥat wägənay naqerrəb läsəmki Maryam*, 'A pleasant perfume of sanctity, with praise and thanksgiving, we offer to your name, o Mary'), s. MQ 1938 A.M.:87, no. 4; recently accepted by some Orthodox, cf. Dəmeṭros, Ṭəbäbu 1959 A.M.:51–73 and MQ 1967 A.M.:296 [H 20];

16 St. James the Brother of the Lord: **ርቱዕ፡ ወጽድቅ፡ ይደሉ፡ ኪያከ፡ ንሴብሕ፡ ኪያከ፡ ንባርክ** (*Rətuʿ wäṣədəq yədällu kiyakä nəsäbbəḥ kiyakä nəbarək*, '[It is] right and fitting that we praise you, that we bless you'), s. MQ 1938 A. M.: 107, no. 6 [H 7];

17 St. Mark the Evangelist: **እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክነ፡ አብ፡ አኃዜ፡ ኵሉ፡ ለከ፡ ንሴብሐከ፡ ለከ፡ ንዌድሰከ** (*Əgziʾabəḥer amlakənä ab aḥaze kʷəllu läkä nəsebbəḥakä läkä nəweddəsäkä*, 'Lord our God, Father almighty, Thee we glorify, thee we praise'), s. MQ 1938 A.M.:117, no. 7 [H 19];

III. Three A. are found only in scholarly editions or in mss.:

18 Our Lady Mary by Gregory: **ነአኩተከ፡ አምላክ፡ በወልድከ፡ ዋሕድ፡ ወመንፈስከ፡ ቅዱስ፡ እንበለ፡ ተፈልጦ፡ ዘትሜልስ** (*Näʾakʷətäkä amlak bäwaldəkä waḥəd wämänfäsəkä qəddus ənbälä täfälṭo zätəśellәs*, 'We give Thee thanks, O God, by Thy only-begotten Son and Thy Holy Spirit without separation, who are triune', unpublished [H 10], cf. Hammerschmidt 1987:170, note 49, [b];

19 Our Lady Mary by Gregory (or by Nathanael?): **ነአኩተከ፡ እግዚኦ፡ በፍቁር፡ ወልድከ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ቊርባን፡ ንጹሕ፡ ዘይሠምሮ፡ ለጎናትከ** (*Näʾakʷətäkä əgziʾo bäfəqur wäldəkä Iyäsus Krəstos qʷərban nəṣuḥ zäyəśämәro läḥirutəkä*, 'We give Thee thanks, O Lord, through Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, the pure oblation which is pleasing to your goodness'), unpublished [H 11], cf. Hammerschmidt 1987:170, note 49, [c], and LöfUpp 48, G-13;

20 The second A. of St. Cyril: **ነአኩተከ፡ ወናሌዕለከ፡ ንባርከከ፡ ወንሴብሐከ** (*Näʾakʷətäkä wänaleʿäläkä nəbarkäkä wänəsebbəḥakä*, 'We give Thee thanks, and we exalt Thee, we bless Thee and we glorify Thee' [H 17], Löfgren – Euringer 1932:213–17).

The A. provide, in a special way, a reflection on the history of the Ethiopian liturgy (↗*Qəddase*). In effect, if it is certain that the central nucleus of the Ethiopian Mass comes from the Coptic Church, it has been enriched throughout the course of the centuries through the contribution of other traditions, and that a comparative study indicates a similarity rather than an identity, due to the fact that each of the two Churches has, from a common framework, developed its own liturgy in an autonomous way. It is thus that one can find in the structure of the Mass, as much in the "pre-A." (commonly referred to as **ሥርዓተ፡ ቅዳሴ**, *śərʿatä qəddase*), as in the A. themselves, traces not only of the Alexandrian influence, but also of the Greek and Syriac liturgies. These traces can be expressed in a model which is reasonably faithful, but can also be found underlying authentic Ethiopian compositions (Hammerschmidt 1987:40–49), which largely dominate; all are, in any case, largely nourished by a deep and vibrant knowledge of the Scriptures (Uhlig 1988).

One knows that since the time of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob only the A. of the Apostles and of the Lord (no. 1, 2) were officially recognized (Getatchew Haile 1981:127, note 89), that being because they were considered by the Ethiopian liturgists as the oldest, which affirms that, before the arrival of the A. of Basil (no. 7), they were the only ones used in Ethiopia. Others, on the other hand, consider that the A. of the Apostles could only have arrived in Ethiopia in the 14th cent., at the same time as the ↗*Senodos*, and that it would have supplanted the A. of Mark (no. 17), which would have been in use up until then.

In any case, it is indisputable that the A. of the Apostles (no. 1) occupies a special place, not only because of its frequent use in contemporary practice, but above all also because it served as a model for the majority of the A. of local composition. Even today, the study of the A. in the traditional ecclesiastical schools begins with it.

When one searches the sources, one can affirm that the A. of the Apostles (no. 1) is present in the Apostolic Tradition [CPG 1737] and in the *Senodos* [CPG 1732], and the A. which is attributed to the Lord (no. 2) figures in the Testamentum Domini (↗*Kidan zäʾəgziʾənä Iyäsus Krəstos*) [CPG 1743]. On the other hand, those of St. Mark (no. 17) and St. James, the brother of the Lord (no. 16), find their guarantor in Greek. Even though these latter two are not accepted by the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, one can therefore think that these four A. have some

chance of having been used from Aksumite times, when, without any doubt, the Ethiopians would not yet have dared to compose their own eucharistic prayers. Their translation into Gəᶜəz must therefore have taken place before the 13th cent.; but it has not yet been possible to prove it. The A. of Basil (no. 7) is also, on its part, the fruit of a doubtlessly later translation.

On the other hand, most of the other A. must have been written directly in Gəᶜəz (Hammerschmidt 1987:165). Thus, of the two A. of Our Lady, one is perhaps the composition of ↗Samuᵓel of Waldəbba (no. 4; Böll 1998:13), and the other (no. 15) of *abba* Giyorgis of Gasəčča (↗Giyorgis of Sägla; s. Strelcyn 1979). Those of the 318 Fathers and of Athanasius (no. 5 and no. 6), as well as those of John the Evangelist and Cyril (nos. 3 and 11), could also be compositions from the beginning of the 15th cent., because the *abunä* ↗Bärtälomewos seems to have asked *abba* Giyorgis to write new A. (Getatchew Haile 1981:128f.).

One should not be surprised that, according to the usage, the new compositions are pseudepigrapha, attributed to famous personalities; the A. "A pleasant perfume of sanctity" (no. 15) is attributed to an Ethiopian author, Giyorgis of Gasəčča. These Marian A., particular to Ethiopia, are of a high poetic quality, rich in faith and piety. It is nevertheless obvious that their structure diverges from the usage allowed by all the Christian Churches. It is thought that these local compositions are linked with the desire to combat the "heresies" of the 14th and 15th cent. (Getatchew Haile 1981:128f.), and one can find there elements of Marian theological treatises (↗*Dərsanä Maryam*) reflecting the discussions of the time. Their similar style may indicate a common source, or even a common author, but others consider that the A. of Giyorgis could have been composed as a reaction against that of Cyriacus of Behnesa (no. 4).

Let us again underline the fact that we sadly lack critical editions (those which exist are based on a small number of manuscripts), whose place the missals cannot take; it is thus that one found the essential differences in the text of *Gʷäśᶜa ləbbəyä…* (no. 4; Getatchew Haile 1981:118ff.).

Src.: *Nəburä əd* DƎMEṬROS GÄBRÄ MARYAM – *mə*[*kətəl*] *afä nəguś* ṬƎBÄBU BÄYYÄNÄ (eds.), **ቅዳሴያተ፡ ማርያም፡** [**ክሥዓ፡ መጣዕ፡ ቅዳሴ**] (*Qəddaseyatä Maryam* [*gʷäśᶜa mäᶜaza qəddase*], 'The Anaphoras of Mary [*eructavit* and *the pleasant of consecration*]'), Aśmära 1959 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Die Anaphora des hl. Jakobus des Bruders des Herrn …", *OrChr* 4, 1914, 1–23; ID., "Die Anaphora der 318 Rechtgläubigen …", *ZSem* 4, 1926, 125–44, 266–99; ID., "Die äthiopische Anaphora des hl. Epiphanius, Bischofs der Insel Cypern …", *OrChr* 23, 1926–27, 98–142; ID., "Die äthiopische Anaphora des hl. Athanasius …", *OrChr* 24, 1927, 243–98; ID., "Anaphoren des hl. Evangelisten Johannes des Donnersohnes und des hl. Jacobus von Sarug …", *Orientalia Christiana* 33/1, 90, 1934, 1–122; ID., "Die äthiopische Anaphora des hl. Basilius …", *ibid.* 36/3, 98, 1934, 137–223; ID., "Die äthiopische Anaphora unserer Herrin Maria", *Der Katholik* 95, 1, 1916, 246–66; OSCAR LÖFGREN (ed.) – SEBASTIAN EURINGER (tr.), "Die beiden äthiopischen Anaphoren 'des heiligen Cyrillus, Patriarchen von Alexandrien'", *ZSem* 8, 1932, 210–34, *ibid.* 9, 1933–34, 44–86; abbr. MQ: **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ** (*Maṣḥafä Qəddase*, 'The Book of the Liturgy'), Addis Abäba 1918 A.M. [1925/26 A.D.]; repr. as TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1975/76 A.D.]; repr. Roma 1938 A.M. [1945 A.D.]; *abba* TAKLA MARYAM SEMHARAY SELAM, "Textus aethiopicus Anaphorae S. Marci", *Ephemerides liturgicæ* 42, 1928, 507–31; ID., *Messe de notre Dame dite Agréable Parfum de sainteté*, Roma 1937; ID., *La Messe éthiopienne*, Roma 1937; LöfUpp 48.

Lit.: JOSÉ L. BANDRÉS, "The Ethiopian Anaphora of the Apostles: Historical Considerations", *Proche Orient chrétien* 36, 1986, 6–13; VERENA BÖLL, *'Unsere Herrin Maria'. Die traditionelle äthiopische Exegese der Marienanaphora des Cyriacus von Behnesa*, Wiesbaden 1998 (AeF 48); MARCOS DAOUD (ed.), *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church, Translated by the Rev. Marcos Daoud, Revised by H. E. Blatta Marsie Hazen*, Addis Ababa 1954, Cairo 1959; SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Un frammento di Midrasch di Melchisedech nella liturgia dell'Osanna etiopica", *RSE* 3, 1943, 50–60; GEORG EVERY, "Ethiopian Anaphoras", *Studia Liturgica* 2, 2, 1963, 156–60; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Studies in the Ethiopic Anaphoras*, Wiesbaden ²1987 (AeF 25), 167–74 (Lit.); GETATCHEW HAILE, "On the Identity of Silondis and the Composition of the Anaphora of Mary Ascribed to Hereyaqos of Behnesa", *OrChrP* 49, 1983, 366–89; ID., "Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", *OrChr* 65, 1981, 102–36; JOHN MASON HARDEN, *The Anaphoras of the Ethiopic Liturgy*, London 1928; OSCAR LÖFGREN, "Varianten und Bemerkungen zur äthiopischen Anaphora der 318 Orthodoxen", *Le Monde Oriental* 26/27, 1932/33, 216–26; STEFAN STRELCYN, "L'action de grâce de N.-D. Marie et l'Anaphore de N.-D. Marie dite Maᶜaza Qeddase dans la liturgie éthiopienne", *JSS* 24, 1979, 241–49; SIEGBERT UHLIG, "Die Schrifttradition in äthiopischen Anaphoren", in: SIEGBERT UHLIG – BAIRU TAFLA (eds.), *Collectanea Aethiopica*, Stuttgart 1988 (AeF 26), 173–92.

Habtemichael Kidane

Anba Musa ↗ Moses the Black

Anbäs

Abba A. (**አንበስ** or **አንበሳ**, Anbäsa, 'lion') is a saint commemorated on 3 *Mäskäräm* (cf. *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gəṣṣawe*) who lived in the 14th or 16th cent. He is known as the founder of Ḥazälo monastery (Eritrea), and is described as "the

one who was always riding a tremendous lion". *Abba* A. is not the first person to be called "Anbäsa" (cf. LusStud 12, 58, note 63). His Acts (↗*Gädl*) are still unpublished: three mss. are mentioned in KinBibl 63; another one is in the British Library (s. DillmLond no. 48, Add. 16198, fol. 24v–25v); Heyer (1998:64) mentions mss. EMML 5657 and 7013 (still undescribed). According to the latter, A., a Təgrayan, was one of the first 33 disciples of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot. He received the monastic habit from *abba* Yoḥanni and was a master in Ḥazälo monastery, which lay at that time on the border of the Muslim territory. One day Muslim soldiers took the monastery, burned it and killed all the monks, including A. The monastery was later rebuilt, but was finally destroyed by Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's armies (1525).

Abba A. is said to have met ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus and ↗Samuʾel of Waldəbba. All three saints are said to have domesticated lions. This episode is recounted in the *Sənkəssar* of Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus (ColSyn XI, 164 [= 460]), but it is not mentioned at all in Samuʾel's Acts or in the ↗*Sənkəssar*, a fact which puts this tradition into question.

Src.: BudSaint I, 12; DillmLond 51; **መጽሐፈ፡ ስንክሳር** (*Mäṣḥafä sənkəssar*, 'Synaxary'), Aśmära 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.], 9a [no. 13, with *sälam*]; ColSyn VI, 24 f(f). [= 342 f(f).]; XI, 164 [= 460]; GreSyn IV, 195 f(f). [= 737 ff.].
Lit.: EncSan I, 159; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Heiligen der äthiopischen Erde,* Erlangen 1998 (Oikonomia 37), 64; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "Saints of Mediaeval Ethiopia", *Abba Salama* 10, 1979, 328; KinBibl 63; LusStud 12, 58, note 63; PATRIARCHATE OF THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ግጻዌ። ዘይትነበብ፡ እምዓመት፡ እስከ፡ ዓመት፡ ወዘሰናብት፡ ዘየኃብር፡ ምስለ፡ መዝሙራት** (*Mäṣḥafä gəṣṣawe. Zayətnäbäb əmʿamät əskä ʿamät wäzäsänabət zäyäḥabər məslämazmurat*, 'The Book of the Exposition, which is to be Read from Year to Year, and of the Sundays, together with the *Mazmur*'), Addis Abäba 1976 A.M. [1983/84 A.D.]; repr. as TÄSFA GÄBRÄŚƎLLASE (ed.), Addis Abäba 1976 A.M. [1983/84 A.D.], 9; BORIS TURAIEV, *Issledovaniya v oblasti agiologicheskih istochnikov istorii Efiopii* ('Research in Hagiological Sources on Ethiopian History'), St. Petersburg 1902, 184–92.

Ugo Zanetti

Anbäs

A. (**አንበስ**) is mentioned in the *Sənkəssar* on 2 *Taḫśaś* as a saint 'coming from the West', who died on that day. Nothing else is said about him. It is not mentioned whether or not he was a monk or a martyr. He might simply be a double of *abba* ↗Anbäs.

Src.: BudSaint I, 313; GreSyn IV, 25 [567] (mistranslated); **መጽሐፈ፡ ስንክሳር** (*Mäṣḥafä sənkəssar*, 'Synaxary'), Aśmära 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.], 263a.

Ugo Zanetti

Ancestors

A. are the forebears who are remembered. For the Horn of Africa, especially Ethiopia, two types of such remembrance are valid: on the one hand, it is keeping memory of the dead, especially to demonstrate descent in the appropriate line, on the other hand it is the worship of A. The boundaries between the two are fluid. One can say that the first case is substantially wider spread, being also characteristic of the Christian Amhara and Təgrəñña speakers, especially of the hereditary nobility (↗Solomonic dynasty). Researchers use such lineages for historical reconstruction (s. Braukämper 1980 for Hadiyya). Pronounced traditions of A. worship are, however, only found in the non-Christian and non-Muslim regions (that is, in the first place, in south-west Ethiopia, along the border with Sudan and in the north of the Horn of Africa, as is the case with the Bilin in Eritrea). Even there the patrilineal communities (esp. clans and lineages) can trace their descent down through many generations to a common A. Unlike in the Christian-Muslim areas, here there are religious practices involved, as the A. have the power to intervene in the affairs of the living. One can find reflections of A. worship in the tradition of spirits (in the north, ↗Spirit possession) and the *zar* cult. In this connection the aspiration of the living not to be forgotten after death should be mentioned, which resulted in the ostentatious ↗graves of the Oromo "big men" or the equestrian monument to Mənilək II in Addis Abäba.

Wherever we find A. worship, it plays a more important role – especially in everyday life – than the cult of a more or less distant creator god. The peoples in the areas only weakly influenced by Christian or Muslim culture often have a deity (whom we may call "God") who did create the world, but then left his uncompleted creation largely in the hands of humankind. However, He is not entirely without influence. Even if the deity is not concerned about particular people, He does care about matters which affect all humans. The deity can send rain to a whole region, or if there is strife, He may punish the region by sending epidemics, food shortages or war. But in all of these cases the A.

act as mediators between God and the people in all religious areas. The rites and ceremonies are carried out for the A., since it is they who long ago created the existing order according to the wishes of God. A. worship is especially well pronounced among the ↗Dullay. Direct relations, such as in prayers addressed to God (*haallikko*) are limited to only a few religious dignitaries, and then only during certain communal ceremonies. In daily live nobody would think of praying directly to God, since this would be regarded as useless.

Some ethnic groups create symbolic manifestations of their distinguished A. in the form of wooden or stone monuments. The best-known among them are *waakaa*, the ↗Konso wooden figures.

The transformation of a deceased person into an A. takes place during a special feast which will normally take place at a certain time after the ↗burial. Performing this ritual frees all the soul elements of the deceased from his personal inadequacies. In this form of existence the deceased as an A. can be both re-established in the family and initiated into the community of A. Once a dead forebear has become an A., the question whether the whole life he or she committed crimes or led a model life is completely irrelevant. In his study of the Tallensi in West Africa, Meyer Fortes (1987) emphasized this phenomenon and showed it to be one of the main pillars of African A. worship. Fortes's interpretation model is in this sense also applicable to Ethiopia and Eritrea. It is these neutral A. who are in a position to judge the acts of the living and to ensure observance of the moral order and social value principles which are regarded as an ideal. Yet without the help of the descendants, who have to perform the transformation rites, they could not become A. They would be forgotten and their souls would be in danger of falling victim to final death.

Although the A. are depersonalized, they still have relations with living people. They are the guarantors of fertility. The living are in their debt and can meet their obligations by offering sacrifices to them. Sacrificial ceremonies such as these and other ritual activities are fixed points in the rules of the internal social order. Devotion to the A. is expressed through personal and communal sacrifices and invocations, ranging from imposing public festivals to barely noticeable daily gestures, and these together form a ceremonial framework covering three main areas: giving thanks, offering atonement and making petitions.

A. and the living thus build a social unity, a partnership, in which the A. occupy, however, a stronger position, being closer to the numinous powers of the other world and being thus a part of that numinous world. It is this double connection which makes them perfect mediators.

In patrilinear societies, it is in the first place the eldest son who maintains a special relationship to the A., for it is he who is responsible for the permanent sacrifices. It is dangerous if he fails to perform these. Except in the case of personal daily sacrifices, any contact with the A. is preceded by sacrifices and prayers for forgiveness for misdemeanours. Only after this ritual cleansing can the intended ceremony begin. Often vegetable offerings are sufficient, but animal sacrifices are necessary to obtain atonement for a serious offence. The most important cleansing-ceremony is the one before the beginning of a rain-ceremony. Since in many parts of the Horn of Africa there is no real security in rainfalls, the thinking and acting of the people are largely defined by their concern about the vital rain. Therefore, it is not uncommon that the expectations of the A. are respected in superficially Christianized communities as well. To obtain support from the A., the "cool" (guiltless) condition of the people and the land must be established here. In the case of social disorder or misbehaviour, the A. can punish individuals or whole societies. Such a case has to be established by seers. Seers can make contact with the A. They are, therefore, consulted particularly in cases of illness and death, in order to discover the social causes behind these events; they also interpret dreams and warnings which may be inspired by A.

Dead forebears who have not been transformed into A. through the traditional rituals often exercise a power which is extremely dangerous to the living and which can cause all kinds of evils and plagues, the most frequent being illness, infertility, failed harvests and death. The veneration of dead A. who turned into evil spirits is widespread beyond the region where A. worship forms the core of religion.

↗Genealogy

Lit.: ADHANA MENGESTE-AB, "Ancestor Veneration in Blean Culture", in: *PICES* 8, 1, 747–50; HERMANN AMBORN, "Soul and Personality as a Communal Bond", *Anthropos* 96, 2001, 41–57; ID., "Concepts in Wood and Stone. Socio-religious Monuments of the Konso of Southern Ethiopia", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 127, 2002, 77–

101; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Geschichte der Hadiya Süd-Äthiopiens: von den Anfängen bis zur Revolution 1974*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 50); MEYER FORTES, *Religion, Morality and the Person. An Essay on Tallensi Religion*, ed. by JACK GOODY, Cambridge 1987; HELMUT STRAUBE, *Die Stellung des Regenmachers und verwandter Funktionäre in akephalen Gesellschaften des Süd-Sudans: vorgetragen am 10. Juni 1984*, München 1984 (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historische Klasse 1984, 6) [More recent information on this topic can be found in most ethnographic monographies].

Hermann Amborn

Anç̌oote

A. (*Coccinia abyssinica*, in the family *Cucurbitaceae*) is an Oromo name for a vine with an edible, potato-like tuber whose leaves can also be used as a vegetable. It is said that A. was domesticated in Ethiopia, growing as a root-crop in Wällägga, Illubabor and Sidamo. It is a particularly highly valued and delicious food among the Oromo. Oromo women have years of practical experience of selecting, cultivating, harvesting and processing A. plants.

The serving of A. at ceremonies is considered to give them prestige. *Lanqataa*, a finely prepared A. dish, is today commonly served at weddings, betrothals, circumcisions, birthdays and religious celebrations, such as *Mäsqäl*, New Year and thanksgiving days for the harvest, as well as on other occasions (e.g., *saawwa ḍaabačuu*, thanksgiving to cows for giving milk, *ḍibayyuu*).

A. is a good source of vitamins, minerals and proteins. It is recommended for persons suffering from bone fractures and displaced joints, apparently because of its high calcium and protein content. Juice prepared from A. roots is said to have been used in traditional ↗medicine. The presence of an active substance, saponin, is said to treat gonorrhea, tuberculosis and cancer.

Lit.: ABERRA HORA, *Anchote: an Endemic Tuber Crop*, Jimma 1995 (Lit.).

Kebede Hordofa Janko

ᶜAndä Haymanot

Däğğač ᶜA.H. (**ዓንደ፡ ሃይማኖት**, also ᶜAmdä Haymanot, d. 15 November 1759) was an 18th-cent. ruler of Ḥamasen who had been deposed by ↗Mikaᵓel Saḥul of Təgray in the first period of his powerful regime. As the fourth son of *däğğač* ↗Gäbrä Krəstos Habśəllus, the governor of ↗Bambolo Məllaš, ᶜA.H. descended from the leading family of the ↗Däqqi Täššəm, who had established their hereditary rule in Ḥamasen and at times over large areas in Təgray. His mother Säbänä Giyorgis was the daughter of *nəguśä nägäśt* Iyasu I. His first title was ↗*baḥər nägaš* (18th-cent. inscription, Kolmodin 1914:A68).

He took over the leadership of Bambolo Məllaš along with the title from his brother *däğ–ğač* Mammo, who had included even Oromo areas into his realm, after the latter's death in October 1729. ᶜA.H. lived mainly in Təgray. Oral tradition reports that he had fixed his camp in a wild place, building the church of Ǝnda Maryam ᶜAdwa and creating a new settlement, his capital ↗ᶜAdwa. This legend, however, is not supported by primary historical sources.

His power seems to have been largely nominal only, as executive power in Təgray lay rather in the hands of Mikaᵓel already as early as 1742/43 while in Ḥamasen it was exercised by *baḥər nägaš* Solomon Täsfa Ṣəyon. Oral tradition reports that during a stay in his ancestral seat, ↗Ṣäᶜazzäga, ᶜA.H.'s powerful "representative" in ᶜAdwa, *blatten geta* or *däğğazmač* Mikaᵓel Saḥul, usurped his post and soon afterwards won the battle of Gaša Wärqe, after which ᶜA.H. was executed. Mikaᵓel is said to have also taken the title of *ras* from him. The attribution of this title to ᶜA.H., however, seems to be an invention of the 19th cent. (Kolmodin 1914:A22) in order to defend claims of Ṣäᶜazzäga against ↗Hazzäga. There is another oral tradition which even calls him *nəguś bambolo məllaš* (Yəsḥaq Yosef 2000:55ff.).

After his death the Bambolo Məllaš was split into two parts, establishing the Märäb as a provincial border, Təgray coming under Mikaᵓel and the Märäb Məllaš being taken by ᶜA.H.'s grandnephew Boḳru Sälomon. The descendants of ᶜA.H. settled mainly in Kälkälti, their main fief.

Lit.: ErDizBio 15; JOHANNES KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega*. II: *Traduction française*, Uppsala 1915 (Archives d'Études Orientales 5:2), passim; ID., "Les annales de Addi-Neamin et de Tsazzega" [of MĀḤṢANTA-MĀRYĀM et al.], in: JOHANNES KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega*. III: *Annales et Documents*, Uppsala 1914 (Archives d'Études Orientales 5:3), A9–A49; RUFFILLO PERINI [GÄBRÄ NƎGUŚ], **መረብ፡ መላሽ** (*Märäb Mällaš*), Roma – Asmära 1995 [tr. from Italian of *Di qua dal Marèb* (*Marèb-mellàsc*), Firenze 1905], 123 [genealogy]; YƎSḤAQ YOSEF, **ንግስነት፡ ሃገረ፡ ምድሪ፡ ባሕሪ፡ (ኤርትራ፡) ታሪኽ፡ ደጊያት፡ ሃይሉ፡ «አባ፡ ጋላ»** (*Nəgəsənät hagärä mədri baḥri* (*Erətra*), *tarik däggiyat Haylu "Abba Galla"*, "The Rule of the Land of Mədri Baḥəri (Eritrea), the History of *däğğač* Haylu "Abba Galla"), Asmära 2000, 55ff.

Wolbert Smidt

Andaračа

A. is a town in the ↗Käfa province (today's Käfa-Šeka zone) in the south-eastern part of Ethiopia. Located at about 7°15' N, 36°14' E, A. is about 7 km east of the current administrative capital of Käfa, ↗Bonga town.

A.'s legacy as a prominent political and commercial centre of Käfa goes back to the pre-1897 period when Käfa was a kingdom. Although the exact period has not been recorded, A.'s importance as the capital of the kingdom of Käfa may have been established in the 16th cent. The nearby town of Bonga was said to have become a capital of the kingdom of Käfa in 1565. This evidence indicates that the political centre had shifted from the eastern part of Käfa, where the former capitals of the kingdom (Käfa, Addiya and Šada) were located, towards the central part, perhaps because of the need for a centralized administrative capital to control the new territories acquired with Käfa's expansion to the west. This event may have contributed to the emergence of A. and of Bonga as the capital of the kingdom of Käfa. At the height of the kingdom, starting in early 17th cent., A., Bonga and Tifa had been the three largest market-centres in the kingdom of Käfa.

After the conquest of Käfa by Mənilək II and the destruction of Bonga by his troops, *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye, who led the Šäwan army to Käfa, made A. his seat of government for a brief period of time before moving it to Šarada, town near the northern border of Käfa. A.'s strategic location, surrounded by hills and the ridges of Gidi, Šapa and Ǧuǧa and close to the Giči River, saving an uninterrupted supply of water, explains why the kings of Käfa had chosen it as their capital.

Amanuel Karlo Gano

Andargačč̈äw Mäsay

Ras A.M. (**አንዳርጋቸው፡ መሳይ**), 20th-cent. Šäwan politician (b. ca. 1902), son of a servant of *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu, was brought up in the palace and was educated in France. He was Ethiopian consul in Djibouti during the Italian invasion, returning with *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1941, and married the widowed Princess ↗Tänaññä Wärq Ḫaylä Śəllase in 1944. He became deputy Governor-General of Harärge under Prince ↗Mäkʷännən Ḫaylä Śəllase in 1941 and Minister of Justice in 1943. In January 1946 he was appointed Governor-General of Bägemdər with the title of *bit-wäddäd*, and at Federation in September 1952 became His Imperial Majesty's Representative in Eritrea. In this position he ruthlessly promoted the centralizing agenda of the imperial government. Moved to Addis Abäba in December 1958 as Minister of the Interior with the title of *ras*, he was one of the few hostages in the Gännätä Ləʿul Palace during the attempted ↗Coup d'état of December 1960 to escape assassination. He was appointed Governor-General of Sidamo in February 1961, but effectively retired from public life

Andargačč̈äw Mäsay, from Pankhurst – Pankhurst 1953, plate XLVII

after a car accident in July 1964. In addition to his government posts, he also had extensive business interests.

Lit.: HAILE SELLASSIE I, *My Life and Ethiopia's Progress, 1892–1937*, ed. and tr. by EDWARD ULLENDORFF, vol. 2, Oxford 1976, 259; CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Haile-Selassie's Government*, Harlow 1969, 193f.; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, New York – Washington – London 1965, ²1969; E. SYLVIA PANKHURST – RICHARD KEIR PETHICK PANKHURST, *Ethiopia and Eritrea: the Last Phase of the Reunion Struggle 1941–1952*, Woodford Green 1953, 335f., pl. XLVII (ill.).

Christopher Clapham

Andəmta

The term A. (አንድምታ) designates a vast corpus which contains traditional interpretations of religious texts. It includes the exegesis of biblical, patristic, liturgical, canonical and monastic texts. The term A. is an Amharic word related to the particle *andəm*, 'or'. *Andəm* is a key technical term: it introduces an alternative meaning to a word or concept that needs more than one explanation. The text with the highest number of *andəms* is Revelation of John 6:2 where the "white horse" has nineteen different explanations. Although it is traditionally assumed that in Ethiopia the art of interpreting Sacred Scriptures made its way there at the same time as the Old Testament was brought to the country by the Queen of Sheba, the A. began to flourish during the Gondärine period, in the 17th cent. The chief objective of the A. is to get to the heart of the texts under analysis. Time and again they state that their aim is to discover the "mystery" contained, or indeed hidden, in the depths of the texts. There is ample evidence of a connection between A. interpretations and those of the Alexandrian School. There are explanations of biblical texts that are taken almost verbatim from top representatives of that School, such as Clement of Alexandria and Origen. However, the Alexandrian School is not the only matrix that shaped the A. On the contrary, the A. bears the marks of a composite body, in which the merging of different exegetical interests and orientations is easily recognizable.

Among the most visible sources of the A., works such as the ↗*Sənkəssar*, the Patericon, ↗*Täʾammərä Iyäsus*, ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* and various lives of saintly people (↗*Gädl*) play an important role. The Hexameron (↗*Aksimaros*) is also part of the material that the A. refers to. Works of ↗Giyorgis Wäldä ʿAmid and Yoḥannəs Mädäbbär (↗John of Nikiu) are among the secular historical books that the A. uses as historical sources. The A. is keen to explain uses and customs, geographical locations and concepts that are beyond the knowledge and grasp of its audience by providing local examples that, in the mind of the teachers, match with those in the texts under consideration. Historical facts and figures, such as emperors, especially from the Gondärine epoch, are often used in order to make the text as accessible as possible to the listener. The A. is notable for having skilfully integrated whatever element it has borrowed from outside into the local culture, frame of mind and language. The A. is an excellent example of inculturating texts written in foreign languages and in distant contexts into one's own *Sitz im Leben*.

For a variety of reasons, the corpus of the A. is usually transmitted orally, even though at present the practice of taking down notes is gradually being tolerated. In order to be admitted to the A. school, students need to have successfully gone through the basic training of appropriate reading, provided at the ↗*nəbab bet*. Students must have a complete command of the morphology and syntax of Gəʿəz, as well as the necessary training in ↗*qəne*, or impromptu poetic compositions. It is obvious then that the study of the A. is the apex of academic formation. The language of the A. is not readily accessible to anyone because it is an Amharic of scholars. The syntax is not easy, especially because of frequent brachylogies. The flow of the discourses is deliberately tortuous and elliptic. Sometimes one encounters words that are no longer used. These are all linguistic and stylistic factors that indicate the necessity of being familiar enough with the special language of the A. in order to understand these commentaries. There are frequent quotations from Scripture itself and from patristic and other sources, which are often introduced simply by *Ənd'il* 'as [he] says', 'the scholar interprets …'. Neither the author nor the text from which the quotation comes is indicated, which makes the task of tracing the sources extremely difficult. One needs a thorough familiarity with the whole of religious literature and a good memory. The A. contains tremendous theological richness; nevertheless it does not engage in overt theological controversies.

Among the personalities that have significantly influenced the evolution of the A., *mämhər* Esdros is one of the most prominent. He lived in the 18th cent. and is known to have introduced

some reforms in the way the sacred texts were interpreted. The initiative of *mämhər* Esdros was followed by two types of interpretations, known as "upper" and "lower houses". Among the interpreters another outstanding figure is *ʿaqqabe säʿat* Käbte, who died around 1780.

Western interest in the study of the A. began thanks to the unflagging efforts of Roger W. ↗Cowley, a British scholar who, according to Ethiopian scholars who worked with him, possessed a profound knowledge of Gəʿəz and Amharic. Cowley's work in the area of the A. is impressive, even though some of his condusions on the nature of the A. are not shared by all. He worked especially hard at collecting as much material as possible. He availed himself of the help of Ethiopian experts, and especially good copyists, who helped him put together the entire corpus of the A. The manuscripts are at present available at the British Library in London.

Src.: *abunä* TEWOFLOS (ed.), **መዝሙረ፡ ዳዊት** (*Mäzmurä Dawit*, 'Songs of David [Psalter]'), Addis Abäba 1950 A.M. [1957/58 A.D.]; MÄLʾAKÄ GÄNNÄT KƎFLE (ed.), **መጻሕፍተ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ወሲራክ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሊቃውንት፡ እንደጻፉትና፡ እንደተረጐሙት** (*Mäṣaḥəftä Sälomon wäsirak. Yäʾityopya liqäwənt əndäṣafutänna əndätärägguʷämut*, 'The [Five] Books of Solomon and Sirach, as Written and Interpreted by Ethiopian Scholars'), Addis Abäba 1917 A.M. [1924/25 A.D.]; ID., **መክብብ፡ መጻሕፍተ፡ ሳሎሞን፡ ወሲራክ** (*Mäkbəb. Mäṣaḥəftä Salomon wäsirak*, 'Ecclesiastes. The Books of Solomon and Sirach'), Addis Abäba 1917 A.M. [1924/25 A.D.]; KIDANÄ WÄLD KƎFLE (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ሀዝቅኤል** (*Mäṣḥafä Həzqəʾel*, 'The Book of Ezekiel'), Dərre Dawa 1916 A.M. [1923/24 A.D.]; *mämhər* WÄLDÄ RUFAʾEL – *aläqa* GÄBRÄ MÄDḪƎN (eds.), **ወንጌል፡ ቅዱስ** (*Wängel qəddus*, 'The Holy Gospels'), Addis Abäba 1916 A.M. [1923/24 A.D.] (²1959 A.M., ³1966 A.M.); *liqä liqäwənt* MÄHARI TƎRFE (ed.), **መጻሕፍተ፡ ሐዲሳት፡ ሶስቱ** (*Mäṣaḥəftä ḥaddisat sostu*, 'The Three New Books'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.] (Acts; The Catholic Epistles; Revelation); ID. (ed.), **የቅዱስ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ መጽሐፍ** (*Yäqəddus Pawlos mäṣḥaf*, 'Epistles of St. Paul'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.]; **ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው** (*Haymanotä abäw*, 'The Faith of the Fathers'), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M.; **ቅዳሴ፡ ማርያም** (*Qəddase Maryam*, 'Liturgy of Mary'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M.; **ውዳሴ፡ ማርያም**, (*Wəddase Maryam*, 'The Praises of Mary'), Addis Abäba 1915, 1925, 1942, 1943, 1963 A.M.; *mämhər* GÄRIMA WÄLDÄ KIDAN (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ** (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, 'Book of the Liturgy'), Addis Abäba 1918 A.M. [1925/26 A.D.]; *abba* KIDANÄ MARYAM (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ኪዳን** (*Mäṣḥafä kidan*, 'The Book of the Covenant', i.e. *andəmta* commentary on the *Təmhərtä ḫabuʾat* and *Kidan*), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; *mämhər* DÄSSƎTA [subsequently: *abunä* ABRƎHAM] (ed.), **አረጋዊ፡ መንፈሳዊ** (*Arägawi mänfäsawi*, 'The Spiritual Elder'), Addis Abäba 1922 A.M. [1929/30 A.D.]; *aläqa* GÄBRÄ AB – *aläqa* TABQE – *gra geta* WÄLDÄYAS (eds.), **ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት** (*Fətḥa nägäśt*, 'The Law of Kings'), Addis Abäba 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.]; *aläqa* DÄSSƎTA ƎŠÄTE (ed.), **ማር፡ ይስሐቅ** (*Mar Yəsḥaq*, 'Mar Isaac'), Addis Abäba 1920 A.M. [1927/28 A.D.]; *abba* GÄBRÄ KRƎSTOS (ed.), **ፍልክስዮስ** (*Fəlkəsyos*), Addis Abäba 1920 A.M. [1927/28 A.D.].

Lit.: ROGER WENMAN COWLEY, "Preliminary Notes on the Baläandem Commentaries", *JES* 9, 1971, 9–20; ID., "The Beginning of the Andem Commentary Tradition", *JES* 10, 1972, 1–16; ID., "Old Testament Introduction in the Andemta Commentary Tradition", *JES* 12, 1974, 133–75; ID., "New Testament Introduction in the Andemta Commentary Tradition", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 26, 1977, 144–92; ID., *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John in the Ethiopian Church*, Cambridge 1983; ID., *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation, a Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge 1988; WELDETENSAE ANDEBERHAN, *Commentari etiopici sul Libro del Profeta Osea*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 40); KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN PEDERSEN, *Traditional Ethiopian Exegesis of the Book of Psalms*, Wiesbaden 1995 (AeF 36); VERENA BÖLL, *'Unsere Herrin Maria'. Die traditionelle äthiopische Exegese der Marienanaphora des Cyriacus von Behnesa*, Wiesbaden 1998 (AeF 48); TEDROS ABRAHA, *La lettera ai Romani. Testo e commentari della versione Etiopica*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 57).

Kirsten Stoffregen-Pedersen – Tedros Abraha

Andrade, António de

A. (Antonius d'Andrade, b. ca. 1610) was an informant of Hiob ↗Ludolf during his stay in Rome. Born in "Takuesse" in ↗Dämbəya of a Portuguese father and an Ethiopian mother, he was educated in Təgray (Ludolf 1691:30) with Portuguese and Təgrañña as his mother-tongues. He learned only rudimentary Gəʿəz. A. left Ethiopia as a young man, probably before 1632, when ↗Fasilädäs's persecutions of the Catholics began. He was sent to ↗Goa, India, where his namesake, the famous explorer of Tibet, Pater Antonius de Andrade (d. 1634), had become the Superior of the Jesuits. A. seems to have been ordained as a priest there. In 1642 he was sent back to Ethiopia in the hope that because of his Ethiopian descent he might be allowed entry. But the *bašša* in Massawa refused him permission (ibid. 555).

In Rome A. was received by the Pope, who supported him, together with two other Abyssinians. A. had a close relationship with the Collegium Aethiopicum (↗Santo Stefano dei Mori) and in 1648, when the Mass began to be celebrated "in the Ethiopian way", he was among the participants. When Ludolf, in his search for information on Ethiopia, visited the Collegium in 1649, A. served as his first informant on the country. He was also his interpreter – using Latin and Italian – in his conversations with *abba* ↗Gorgoryos, who spoke only

Amharic and Gəᶜəz, until Ludolf had acquired enough language skills himself and Gorgoryos had learnt some Italian. After Ludolf's return to Germany A. corresponded with him and the Duke of Sachsen-Gotha (1650) in Portuguese.

In a letter to the former "Patriarch of the Abyssinians", Dom Alfonso ↗Mendes in India, sent from Rome in 1651/52, A. reports that Gorgoryos planned to return to Ethiopia, when the persecution of Catholics had reached its peak (Ludolf 1691:42).

Src.: HIOB LUDOLF, *Iobi Ludolfi aliàs Leutholf dicti ad suam Historiam Æthiopicam antehac Editam Commentarius*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 28–31, 42, 555, 599.

Wolbert Smidt

Andrade, Lázaro de

A. (b. 15th cent. in Lisbon) was a painter who joined the Portuguese embassy to Ethiopia of 1520–26 (Dom ↗Rodrigo de Lima), while still a young man. Until 1530 A.'s presence is recorded at the court of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngal, who had asked him to stay in Ethiopia due to his esteem for A.'s art (BeckHuntAlv 380). A. became blind after 1520; however, some of his paintings might already have been brought by him from Portugal (Chojnacki 1988:57).

A portrait of the Emperor, allegedly painted by A., had been reproduced by the contemporary Italian historian Paolo Giovio (1554). He had got it from the Portuguese embassy's chronicler Francisco Alvares. A similar portrait in oil of the Emperor by A. is still kept in Vienna today. It was probably through Alvares's reports that A. became known in Europe; the Portuguese chronicler Gaspar Corrêa in his work of around 1561 calls him a "good painter" (repr. 1860:587). The most famous work which had been attributed to A. (Reis Santos 1941) is an icon with Christ crowned with thorns (the ↗*Kʷərᶜatä rəʾəsu*). During centuries, until the loot of Mäqdäla in 1868, it played a central role during battles. Especially in conflicts with non-Christians it was carried with the Emperor's army to encourage the soldiers.

After World War II three additional paintings were discovered in Dima Giyorgis, Goğğam, and Tädbabä Maryam, Wällo, painted with perspectives and showing Flemish influence, subsequently attributed to A. E.g., the Pietà of Tädbabä Maryam should have been done by a painter trained in Portugal in around 1510/20 (Chojnacki 1988:56f). Still more paintings in Ethiopia might be A.'s, A. being the only Portuguese painter who came to Ethiopia in that period. However, doubts on the attributions have been raised by Merid Wolde Aregay (1989:167f.) mainly because of A.'s blindness.

Src.: PAOLO GIOVIO, *Gli elogi vite brevemente scritte d'huomini illustri di guerra, antichi et moderni. Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium*, Fiorenza 1554; BruNile 172; BeckHuntAlvar 61f., 262, 318, 325, 380; GASPAR CORRÊA, *Lendas da India*, ed. by RODRIGO JOSÉ DE LIMA FELNER, vol. 2, Lisboa 1860 (Collecção de monumentos ineditos para a historia das conquistas dos Portuguezes, em Africa, Asia & America. Ser. 1 História da Asia), 587.

Lit.: *Grande enciclopédia portuguesa e brasileira*, vol. 2, Lisboa – Rio de Janeiro [ca. 1941], 541; FERNANDO DE PAMPLONA, *Dicionário de pintores e escultores portugueses ou que trabalharam em Portugal*, vol. 1, Lisboa 1954; GUY ANNEQUIN, *Éthiopie millénaire: préhistoire et art religieux*, Paris 1974; LUIS REIS SANTOS, "On a Picture from Abyssinia", *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 69, 1941, 26–29; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "Notes on Art in Ethiopia in the 15th and Early 16th Century: an Enquiry into the Unknown", *JES* 9, 2, 1971, 21–98, here 64f.; ID., "'The Kwerʾata Reʾesu': its Iconography and Significance. An Essay in Cultural History of Ethiopia", *Annali IUO* 45, 1, 1985 (Supplemento 42), 13–14; ID., "'Flemish' Painting and its Ethiopian Copy, the Iconography of the Pietà in Ethiopia in the 17th and 18th Centuries", in: SIEGBERT UHLIG – BAIRU TAFLA (eds.), *Collectanea Aethiopica*, Stuttgart 1988 (AeF 26), 51–73 (Lit.); MERID WOLDE AREGAY, [Review of: SIEGBERT UHLIG – BAIRU TAFLA 1988], *JES* 22, 1989, 167–68; *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon, die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 3, München 1992, 467.

Wolbert Smidt

Andrzejewski, Bogumil Witalis

A. (b. 1 February 1922, Poznan, Poland, d. 1994, St. Albans, England) was an expert on Somali of the 20th cent. as well as by far the best non-native speaker of this language, whose immense competence was greatly admired by the Somalis. A. was also a remarkable Polish poet.

During World War II A. fought with the Polish Army in North Africa.

A. was a lecturer and later Professor of Cushitic languages and literatures in the ↗School of Oriental and African Studies. He did extensive fieldwork on Somali in Somalia and on Boorana in Northern Kenya. A. was also a phonetician and made a major contribution to the introduction of Latin orthography for Somali.

A. participated in the First, Third and Fourth International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies.

Src.: BOGUMIL WITALIS ANDRZEJEWSKI, *The Declensions of Somali Nouns,* London 1964; ID. – IOAN M. LEWIS, *Somali Poetry: an Introduction,* Oxford 1964; ID. –

SHEILA ANDRZEJEWSKI (tr.), *Anthology of Somali Poetry*, Bloomington 1993; HASSAN SHEKH MUMIN, *Leopard among the Women. Shabeelnaagood. A Somali Play*, tr. by BOGUMIL WITALIS ANDRZEJEWSKI, London 1974; MUUSE HAAJI ISMAA'IIL GALAAL, *Hikmad Soomaali*, ed. by BOGUMIL WITALIS ANDRZEJEWSKI, London 1956; for full bibliography s. RICHARD J. HAYWARD – IOAN M. LEWIS (eds.), *Voice and Power … Essays in Honour of B.W. Andrzejewski*, London 1996, XV–XXII.

Andrzej Zaborski

Anəsṭasyos

Däğğazmač A. (**አንስጣስዮስ**) was the son of ↗Yolyos and *aṣe* Susənyos's daughter Mälakotawit. As the son of a man who was recognized as a defender of a martyr (Yolyos was killed during an uprising in 1617 defending *abunä* Səmᶜon), A. was probably favoured by his uncle *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs. Although for some time during the reign of Yoḥannəs I he was an ↗*aggafari* of Səmen (GuiIohan 15), it was not until the reign of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I that he rose to prominence.

A., who supported the enthronement of Iyasu I in 1682, was rewarded with the title of *ras* ↗*bitwäddäd* and the governorship of Damot, where his military skill was badly needed (GuiIohan 60). A. did his best to support the young Emperor both on the battle-field and in suppressing religious dissent. For his faithful service, he was later appointed ↗*ṣäḥafe lam* of Amhara and Šäwa (GuiIohan 90).

As *bitwäddäd* he took part in the church council of 1685 and presided at the church council of 1688, where he firmly supported the *Täwaḥədo* dogma and helped much in condemning the leaders of the *Qəbat* doctrine. He died in the same year [2 August 1688 A.D.] and was vouchsafed a most laudatory epitaph by the royal chronider (GuiIohan 126). His wife Ǝmmərays followed shortly thereafter.

However, it was only by chance that the political interests of this prominent provincial ruler coincided for a time with those of the royal power. The example of his own sons (Giyorgis, Tewodros, Yolyos and Yaᶜəqob) later demonstrated irreconcilable contradictions between the regional and central powers. In October 1702 they claimed descent from *aṣe* Gälawdewos, which meant their pretensions to the throne. By royal order Tewodros was executed and the other brothers were imprisoned, to be released only in 1717. Upon his release, Giyorgis was appointed the governor of Goğğam (DombrChr 266).

Src.: BégChron 55, 57f.; GuiIohan 15, 60ff., 80–83, 90f., 110–26 (tr.); BassÉt 349 (text); DombrChr 215, 233, 266; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNGTINGFORD, *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1965, nos. 63, 64.

Lit.: LAVERLE BENNETTE BERRY, "Coalition Politics and the Royal Office in Mid-18th Century Gondar", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 219–24; TÄKLÄ ṢADƏQ MÄKᵂƏRIYA, **የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ታሪክ ። ሦስተኛ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ክፀፄ ፡ ልብነ ፡ ድንግል ፡ እስከ ፡ ፀፄ ፡ ቴዎድሮስ** (*Yäᵓityopya tarik. Śostäññä mäṣḥaf: käᶜaṣe Ləbnä Dəngəl əskä ᶜaṣe Tewodros*, 'History of Ethiopia. Book III: from *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl to *aṣe* Tewodros), Addis Abäba ⁵1965 A.M. [1972/73 A.D.]

Sevir Chernetsov – Merid Wolde Aregay

Anfillo

Anfillo language

A. is a Käfoid or ↗Gonga language of western ↗Wällägga. Formerly known as "Southern Mao", it is distantly related to the ↗Mao languages, which belong to a different family of the ↗Omotic phylum. The confusion is caused by the fact that the term Mao has been used loosely for various peoples of the area. In fact, the local name of the language is the Oromo term *afa-n mao* 'mouth-of-Mao'.

The origin of the language is rather mysterious. The history of A. is complicated by conquests by the ↗Käfa-speaking Bušašo class (Minğo-Bušašo dynasty), who subjugated local people and made them serfs, followed by later further subjugation by Oromo-speaking immigrants. According to Fleming (1976:351f.), historical documents establish that the northern (↗Šinašša) and southern parts of the Käfoid family were in place by the early 17th cent., but A. and ↗Šakačo (a dialect of Käfa) are not mentioned. Presumably A. arose as a language imposed on local peoples speaking an unknown language or languages. *Ethnologue* (1996:257) reports 500 older speakers, in an ethnic group of about 1000, younger people now being Oromo speakers. Fleming (1976) concludes on the basis of the lexicon and other isoglosses that A. is the remnant of "Central Gonga", intermediate between North and South Gonga varieties. It shares from 54% to 67% of the basic lexicon with other Gonga dialects.

A. fits the standard Omotic type: basic Subject-Object-Verb word-order (in a simple sentence, subject precedes object and verb is last) and its concomitants. The current database is inadequate for a study of areal influences on A. Fleming (1976, 1987) reports the phonemes (distinctive

sounds) of A. to be transitional between North and South Gonga:

labials:	*b, p, m, w*
denti-alveolars:	*d, t, ţ, l, r, n*
palatals:	*ʦ~č, ʂ~č̣, š ǧ, y*
velars:	*k, g, q*
glottals:	*ʾ, h*
vowels:	*i, e, a, o, u*
doubtful:	*pʰ, p, rʰ, rʾ, s, z*

No information is available on supra-segmentals except that consonants can appear geminated and it is possible that vowels might occur both long and short.

A sample of the A. lexicon which can be compared to other languages, especially Käfoid, follows. The first A. items are from Bender (1969), the second from Kebede Hordofa (1985):

'one'	*iko, ʾikko*
'two'	*guto, gutto*
'three'	*keeᶜdǧo, keeǧo*
'fire'	*tamo, tamo*
'water'	*ᶜyuuro, yooro*
'moon'	*wərro, wor(h)ó*
'sun'	*aabbo, ʾaabo*
'blood'	*ʂanʦo, čʾañčo*
'tongue'	*ɛruʦo, ʾerečo*
'tooth'	*gaaššo, gašo*

The basic self-standing pronouns are (Bender 1969): sg. (1st/2nd/3rd masc./3rd fem.) *toʾoni / noo / boo / ašem*, pl. (1st / 2nd / 3rd) *nuuši / ɯtaaš / baašm*. Kebede Hordofa (1985) agrees on phonetic detail on the 1st- and 2nd-pers. forms (he does not give 3rd pers.). Compared to other Käfoid languages, the 1st pers. sg. seems slightly anomalous (others have *ta* or *tana*), 3rd fem. sg. seems erroneous and the pl. forms all include final *–ši*, a copula meaning 'it is'.

Demonstratives are 'this' *hani* and 'that' *bəni*, both in a recognizable Käfoid pattern. Interrogatives are (Kebede Hordofa 1985) *konne* 'who?', *ʾ(a)ančǐ, ʾañčɛ* 'what?', *arhɛ* 'when?' (of which the 'who?' form fits well with other Käfoid dialects), 'when?' resembles Šinašša, and 'what?' is a bit idiosyncratic. There is no available data on copulas and connectives in A. except for Grottanelli's 'be': 3rd pers. sg./pl. *bere / bərite*.

There is no known written literature. No lengthy description of the language has been published. The best source for grammar is chapters 4 and 5 in Bender (2000) on Gimira-Yäm-Käfoid grammar, and for the lexicon is Bender 2001. Grottanelli (1940) and Kebede Hordofa (1985) contain word-lists of about 450 and 100 items respectively. Bender (1969) is a 100-item list with additional numerals and a few grammatical paradigms. Fleming (1976, 1987) and Lamberti (1992) focus on the phonology of all Gonga languages. Since the language is nearing extinction, it is urgent that an attempt be made to carry out intensive study in the field at once, including the collection of any oral traditions.

Src.: MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, *Fieldnotes on Anfillo*, 1969; ID., *Comparative Lexicon and Phonology of the Omotic Languages*, München 2001; KEBEDE HORDOFA, *Anfillo Word List*, ms. 1985; JOSEPH EVANS GRIMES – BARBARA F. GRIMES (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas [13]1996.

Lit.: MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, *The Omotic Languages of Ethiopia*, vol. 1, *Comparative Morphology*, München 1999; ID., *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*, München 2000 (Licom Studies in African Linguistics, 19); HAROLD CRANE FLEMING, "Kefa (Gonga) Languages," in: *BendNonSLang* 351–76; ID., "Proto-Gonga Consonant Phonemes: Stage 1", in: HANS MUKAROVSKY (ed.), *Leo Reinisch: Werk und Erbe*, Wien 1987, 141–60; MARCELLO LAMBERTI, "Some Phonetic Laws of the Gonga Languages", *RSE* 36, 57–76; VINIGI LORENZO GROTTANELLI, *I Mao*, Roma 1940 (Centro di studi per l'Africa Orientale Italiana: Missione Etnografica nel Vollega Occidentale 1).

M. Lionel Bender

Anfillo ethnohistory

The A. (Amfīlō, Emfīlō, in Oromo: Afillo) are today a small ethnic group in western Wälläga of around 1,000 members (cf. Grimes 1996), in the middle of Mäčča Oromo regions. Their history and way of living is scarcely documented. Like the ↗Šinašša on the Blue Nile, they are the remains of an old ↗Gonga population.

The term A. seems to have been geographical at first (it appears first in the 17th cent. as a name of a settlement, cf. GuiIohan 23, 168, seemingly the same as the still-existing A., which is an old market-place). Later it was applied to the ethnic group inhabiting the Anfillo forest, a formerly heavily forested area west of the city of ↗Dambi Doolloo, in the highlands north of ↗Gambella and east of the Sudanese border. This forest protected the A. until the 19th cent., when it was destroyed by Oromo cultivating the area. The group calls itself A., but also Mao, though speaking a language different from that of the ↗Mao north of the A. people (Cerulli 1956:13), who are subjects of the A. kingdom (Grottanelli 1940:54).

The Catholic missionary Léon des Avanchers reports in 1862 (as quoted by Cecchi 1888:486f.) that the A. were Anfillo- and Oromo-bilingual.

Their language history points to an origin from ↗Käfa, whereas oral tradition reports that the people had immigrated from Goğğam. There is also another tradition, that Käfiččo have migrated to A. in the early 18th cent. (Bieber 1920:158).

The A. originally were, it seems, a cluster of different ethnic groups who took over the language of a dominant Käfiččo group. Fr. Léon reports that the "Afillo" kingdom, also called "Fillaui", was governed by a royal family related to the kings of Käfa (Cecchi 1888:486) from the Bušašo class. The A. kingdom also controlled surrounding areas, inhabited by Nilo-Saharan peoples on the Sobat (a tributary of the White Nile) paying tribute. In the 1840s the A. king Gəmbi was allied with the Oromo ↗Abbaa Bagiboo I of Limmu (d'Abbadie 1890:105, 232). Anxious to protect their independence, the A. made trade difficult between Wälläga and Arabic merchants of the Sudan, except via a route to Fazogli. They traded with ivory and gold from the Birbir river, a tributary of the Baro, the kingdom's border to the south. As agripastoralists they produce honey, different sorts of corn, induding coffee, and breed goats, horses and oxens.

Several sources agree that formerly the A. have been Christians (BTafA 165; for the Oromo tradition s. Bieber 1920:153). Remains of this religion are the feasts (e.g. *Mäsqäl*, *Qəddus Giyorgis*) and formulas like *bəsm ab qəddus*, comparable to the Leqa ↗Qälləm in the east (Cecchi 1888:486f.). Oromo migration had separated them from other Christian areas. Like the Käfiččo, the A. followed the *bēqō* cult (↗*Eqo*; Bieber 1920:158). However, in the 19th cent. they were converted to Catholicism by Massaja (BTafA 165).

In ca. 1882/83, after the battle of Laga Gare, *däğğazmač* ↗Ğote Tullu included the A. in his growing Wälläga kingdom (Terrefe Woldetsadik 1968:74). Shortly afterwards Mənilək's general *ras* ↗Gobäna overran Ğote's lands in ca. 1886 while fighting back Dervishes from Wälläga, Ğote now becoming Šäwan governor of the whole western Wälläga. However, he faced a rebellion of the A., who – unsuccessfully – demanded to be directly under *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa (ibid. 81, 84).

The seventh wife of *läğ* Iyasu, the Muslim Momina (= Askalä Maryam), was the daughter of *däğğazmač* Iggir Ğote, governor of Leqa Qälləm, Sayyoo and A. In that period the *liğoo* Túčoo "Abbaa Sarda", traditional king of the A. in their capital A., still held some power (Bieber 1920:158). In the 1930s, after continuous resistance from their A. serfs, the ruling Bušašo, numbering ca. 500–700, agreed to replace their traditional serf system with a feudal system, their ca. 3000 A. serfs now paying tribute (Moges Yigezu 1995:76f.).

Youngsters, most of them illiterate, today all speak a western Oromo dialect. Like the Oromo of the region, the A. now follow Christianity (still in majority Catholicism) and Islam. Due to early support of militant Oromo resistance groups reprisals against villagers of today's A. *wäräda* have been reported since the 1970s.

↗Sidama

Src.: GuiIohan 160 (text) = 168 (tr.); GueCopMen 396, 533; field notes of GÜNTHER SCHLEE, *Tagebuch Äthiopien / Ethiopian Diary 2001/2002*, 34ff., 44, 51–55.

Lit.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Géographie de l'Éthiopie: ce que j'ai entendu, faisant suite à ce que j'ai vu*, Paris 1890, passim; ANTONIO CECCHI, *Fünf Jahre in Ostafrika, Reisen durch die südlichen Grenzländer Abessiniens von Zeila bis Kaffa*, Leipzig 1888, 485ff.; BTafA 164ff., 881; GUGLIELMO MASSAIA, *I miei trentacinque anni di missione nell'alta Etiopia*, Roma 1883–95, vol. 5, 20–56; FRIEDRICH BIEBER, *Kaffa, ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, Münster 1920, 69, 128, 149, 153, 158; ENRICO CERULLI, *Etiopia occidentale (dallo Scioa alla frontiera del Sudan): note del viaggio 1927–1928*, vol. 2, Roma 1933, 87–91 ["Gli Anfillo ed i Mao ed il loro ordinamento politico"]; VINIGI LORENZO GROTTANELLI, *I Mao*, Roma 1940 (Centro di studi per l'Africa Orientale Italiana: Missione Etnografica nel Uollega Occidentale 1); ID., "Gli Scinascia del Nilo Azzuro ed alcuni lessici poco noti della loro lingua", *RSE* 1, 3, 1941, 234–70; EIKE HABERLAND, *Untersuchungen zum äthiopischen Königtum*, Wiesbaden 1965 (SKK 18), 223; ERNESTA CERULLI, *Peoples of South-West Ethiopia and its Borderland*, London 1956 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa, North-Eastern Africa 3), 13; TERREFE WOLDETSADIK, "The Unification of Ethiopia (1880–1935). Wälläga", *JES*

6, 1, 1968, 73–86; DANIEL AYANA, *Land Tenure and Agriculture in Sayyoo-Afillo, Western Wallaga, Ethiopia, 1880–1974* (*Oromo*), Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign 1995; MOGES YIGEZU, "Dying Twice – The Case of Anfillo Languages", *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 43, 1995, 67–95 (Lit.).

Wolbert Smidt

Angäbo

A mythical character in certain Gəʿəz legends and king lists, A. (**አንገቦ**, also Bəʾəsi Angäbo, or Agäbos, or Gabgäbo) was the hero who terminated the 400-year reign of the dragon ↗Arwe and ruled for 200 years after him. In some "lists of kings" (Conti Rossini 1909, List C) he is separated from ↗Makəddа by several successors, in others (List E) he is her direct predecessor. In list D he follows Ǝbnä Ḥakim (↗Mənilək I). In List F he is called "Agäbos, of Atray of Särawe: 300 years", reminiscent of the successors of ↗Ityopis recorded by Conti Rossini (1917:702): "Atrayn, then Sarayn". In the story as told in the Amharic Chronicle of Mənilək II, the killer of the *zändo* ('serpent'), and its successor as king of Təgray, was the unnamed father of Makəddа, queen of Azeb ('the South'). In the Acts of *abba* ↗Afṣe, the tale is Christianized. A hermit informed the ↗Nine Saints that a serpent, Agäbos or Galabos, had been reigning over Ethiopia for 25 years. By the intercession of their prayers, the serpent was killed by Christ.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il libro delle leggende e tradizioni abissini del'ecciaghié Filpòs", *RRALm* 26, 1917, 700ff.; ID., "Les listes des rois d'Aksoum", *JA* 14, 1909, 263–320; GueCopMen I, 1f.

Lit.: ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Les Actes d'Abba Afsé de Yeha", *AE* 13, 1985, 105–18; ENNO LITTMANN, *The Legend of the Queen of Sheba in the Tradition of Aksum*, Leyden – Princeton 1904 (Bibliotheca Abessinica 1), 18.

Stuart Munro-Hay

Angäräb

Two rivers are known by the name A. (**አንገረብ**). The larger of the two (HuntGeog 142), the Great A., is a tributary of the ↗Atbara. It rises north of Gondär, near Dawa in Wägära, where the river is known as Gʷang, and flows west through ↗Armačaho, along the border between Wägära and Gondär *awraǧǧas*, to join the Atbara, which eventually flows into the Blue Nile. A small town called A. (13°15'N, 37°29'E) is situated at the river A., near the road connecting Humära and Gondär.

The second river is the Small A., which also rises a few miles north of Gondär and flows southwards to join the Megeč river, which in its turn empties into Lake ↗Ṭana. The Small A. and the Qaha river skirt the western and eastern sides of the city, respectively. The Qaha and A. are the major sources of water for the residents of Gondär, particularly during the dry season when water from nearby springs dries up. The Qaha and the A. join south of Gondär near Ǝslam Bet ('House of Muslims', also known as ↗Addis ᶜAläm), before joining the Megeč river.

Src.: HuntGeogr 142, s. index; CRHist; *Guida*, s. index.

Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia: from the 13th to the 20th Century*, Urbana 2000, 77, 148.

Mulatu Wubneh

Angels

The worship of A. is active in the Ethiopian Christian Church, as in all Christian churches. Similar to other traditions, the angelology of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church presents an unspecified multitude of "the heavenly army" in the following hierarchy: A. (Gəʿəz: **መላእክት**, *mälaʾəkt*, sg. **መልአክ**, *mälʾak*), Archangels (**ሊቀ፡ መላእክት**, *liqä mälaʾəkt*), Princedoms (**አጋእዝት**, *agaʾəzt*), Authorities (**ሥልጣናት**, *śəlṭanat*), Powers (**ኃይላት**, *ḫaylat*), Thrones (**መናብርት**, *mänabərt*), Dominions (**አርባብ**, *arbab*), Cherubim (**ኪሩቤል**, *kerubel*) and Seraphim (**ሱራፌል**, *surafel*).

Little is known about the veneration of A. in the period before the 15th cent. Most of the readings in honour of the nine archangels appear in the ↗*Sənkəssar*, which was translated into Gəʿəz about 1400. *Aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, in the course of his religious reforms, perhaps tried to establish the veneration of A. in a more regular way (Dillmann 1884:50). The formation of corpus of homilies (↗*Dərsan*) in honour of the archangels, the study of which is still in its initial stage, could have been initiated or intensified around that time as well.

Whatever the development of the official liturgical worship of A. could have been, the idea of presence of the A. and their veneration played a very important role in the life of Ethiopians. The A. and archangels, predominantly Michael and to a lesser extent Raguel, act as guardians or mediators between God and the saints in the biographies (↗*Gädl*) of almost all Ethiopian saints. The Ethiopian monastic movement shares with other monastic traditions the ideal of angelical nature, reached by means of the ascetic life. A large literature dedicated to A. includes, besides the homilies, innumerable prayers, hymns, miracles etc., and goes far beyond official worship, reflecting a wide spectrum of popular beliefs, where the veneration of A. comes close to ↗spirit possession and spirit cults.

It is believed that through ↗Baptism a child obtain two guardian A. (**ዓቃቢያን**, *ʿaqqabiyan*, sg. *ʿaqqabi*, or **ዓቃቤ፡ መልአክ**, *ʿaqqabe mälʾak*), which are supposed to guard the person throughout his entire life. Similarly, an Emperor or a local ruler could have a special guardian A. of his own. E.g., for the ruling Solomonic dynasty Archangel Michael played this role over many centuries. His veneration was continued by the kings of Šäwa in the 19th cent., e.g., the *tabot* of Michael accompanied *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəlasse during his campaigns. Later, in the time of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, special importance was attached to the cult of the Archangel Uriel.

At present Michael is one of the most venerated saints, like ↗George of Lydda or *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot, with **ሚክኤል፡ ቅዱስ፡ መንበረ፡** (*maḫbärä qəddus Mikaʾel*) being one of the most popular among *maḫbärat*. However, the other archangels are much venerated and worshipped as well. The following are the days when the Feasts of the A. are celebrated: 12 *Säne*, repeated on the same day of every month, for Michael (Mikaʾel); 1 *Mäskäräm* for Raguel (Raguʾel); 7 *Näḫase* for Gabriel (Gäbrəʾel); 3 *Taḫśaś* for Phanuel; 30 *Ḥamle* for Suriel (Suraʾel); 5 *Ḥamle* for Saquʾel; 21 *Ḥamle* for Uriel (Uraʾel); 3 *Ṗägʷəmen* for Raphael (Rufaʾel). In the many churches dedicated to A., the Miracles and a corresponding Homily are read during the celebrations, and Hymns specific for each A. are sung.

Src.: AKLILÄ BƎRHAN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **መርሐ፡ ልቡና።** (*Märḥa ləbbuna*, 'The Guide of the Consciousness'), Addis Abäba 21 *Miyazya* 1945 A.M. [29 April 1953A.D.], 70 [**ድርሳን፡ ዘአፍኒን፡ ቅዱስ። ድርሳን፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ ሳቁኤል። ድርሳን፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ ፋኑኤል። ድርሳን፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ ሱርያል** (*Dərsan zäʾafnin qəddus. Dərsan zäqəddus Saquʾel. Dərsan zäqəddus Fanuʾel. Dərsan zäqəddus Suryal*, 'The Homily of Afnin the Saint. The Homily of Saint Saquʾel. The Homily of Saint Phanuel. The Homily of Saint Suriel)]; BudSaint 761, s. index; **ድርሳን፡ ራጉኤል። ተአምረ፡ ራጉኤል፡ በግዕዝ፡ በአማርኛ። መልክአ፡ ራጉኤል፡ በልሳን፡ ግዕዝ** (*Dərsanä Raguʾel. Täʾammərä Raguʾel, bägəʿəzənna bäʾamarəñña. Mälkəʾa Raguʾel, bäləssanä gəʿəz*, 'The Homily of Raguel. Miracles of Raguel, in Gəʿəz and in Amharic. The Image of Raguel, in Gəʿəz language'), Addis Abäba 1982 A.M. [1989/90 A.D.]; **ድርሳን፡ ዑራኤል። ግዕዝ፡ አማርኛ። መልክአ፡ ዑራኤል፡ በልሳን፡ ግዕዝ** (*Dərsanä ʿUraʾel. Gəʿəzənna amarəñña. Mälkəʾa ʿUraʾel bäləssanä gəʿəz*, 'The Homily of Uriel. Gəʿəz and Amharic. The Image of Uriel, in Gəʿəz'), Addis Abäba, *Miyazya* 1985 A. M. [April–May 1993]; **ድርሳን፡ ሚካኤል። ድርሳን፡ ሩፋኤል። መልክአ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ወመልክአ፡ ሩፋኤል፡ በግዕዝ፡ በአማርኛ** (*Dərsanä Mikaʾel, dərsanä Rufaʾel, mälkəʾa Mikaʾel wamälkəʾa Rufaʾel, bägəʿəzənna bäʾamarəñña*, 'The Homily of Michael. The Homily of Raphael. The Image of Michael and the Image of Raphael, in Gəʿəz and in Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999/2000 A.D.]; **ድርሳን፡ ገብርኤል። ተአምረ፡ ገብርኤል፡ ግዕዝ፡ አማርኛ** (*Dərsanä Gäbrəʾel, täʾammərä Gäbrəʾel gəʿəzənna amarəñña*, 'The Homily of Gabriel. The Miracles of Gabriel. Gəʿəz and Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999/2000 A.D.]; LesCDic 303.

Lit.: MICHAEL A. KNIBB, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2 vols., Oxford 1978; AUGUST DILLMANN, *Über die Regierung, insbesondere die Kirchenordnung des Königs Zarʾa-Jacob*, Berlin 1884 (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 15), 50; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'arcangelo Afnin nella letteratura etiopica", in: *Mélanges Paul Peeters*, vol. 2, Bruxelles 1950 (Analecta Bollandiana 68), 424–35; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Ripristino dell'omelia etiopica sull'arcangelo Afnin", in: DELIO V. PROVERBIO (ed.), *Studi orientalistici in memoria di Emilio Teza*, Roma 1998 (Miscellanea Marciana 12), 1997 [1998], 45–51; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens. Eine Bestandsaufname*, Berlin — New York 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), 274–78.

Osvaldo Raineri

Angels in art

In general the representations of A. follow the iconographical rules worked out by Eastern and Western iconographers, but some particularities may be noted. A. are ordinarily depicted as young androgynous figures with wings and halo, dressed in long tunics and holding discs

Archangel Phanuel, painting on wood, 18th cent., Betä Maryam, Lalibäla, photo courtesy of the author

(the earliest representations) or crosses, which often recall the crosses used by Ethiopian clergy. From the middle of the 15th cent. this attribute was gradually replaced by a sword. In the works of the Italo-Ethiopian painter Nicolò ↗Brancaleone and his followers the A. with hands crossed on the chest are shown in swallow-dive flight. They wear robes draped in conch-shell form and have long hair streaming down on their shoulders. From the beginning of the 17th cent. the A. are often represented in half-figure or are reduced to mere heads with long curved wings folded crosswise (cherubs). A spectacular example of this motif is preserved in the church of Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase, Gondär, where it covers the whole ceiling.

A. play an important role in Mariological scenes. The Virgin Mary with the Child is usually flanked by two A. holding crosses or flowers. In pictures belonging to the so-called second Gondär school they support a screen or a curtain placed behind her throne. In the Coronation scene flying A. often hold the crown over the Virgin Mary, in the Dormition they are depicted with dramatic gestures of despair, in the Apparition of the Virgin Mary at Däbrä Məṭmaq (illustration of the feast of 21 *Gənbot*), playing instruments. At the Assumption the Virgin Mary is surrounded by A. who bear her in a mandorla or lean forward from the clouds. They symbolize here the twelve angelic tribes, but even then their number may vary. Sometimes the Heavenly Priests (ካህናተ፡ ሰማይ, *kahənatä sämay*) from Rev 4:4 are interpreted as A. and represented with wings.

The archangels are frequently distinguished by ornamental patterns on their wings and by decorative clothing. Among them Michael is the most often depicted. In his role as protector, with sword or cross in hand, he appears prominently in magical scrolls and monumental paintings, usually guarding the priestly area of the church or its entrance. As a military official and the chief of the heavenly hosts he is shown mounted and armed, wearing rich garments, as also is his horse. This iconographical formula has been excerpted from an extensive cycle illustrating mss. of the ↗*Dərsanä Mikaʾel*. His representations at the Last Judgement, i.e. transfixing a devil or holding scales, and also one of his best known miracles, the Jews' crossing of the Red Sea, were transferred to the main door of the ↗*mäqdäs*. An unusual representation of Michael as a mature, bearded man appears in the 19th-cent. ms. EMML 2782.

Gabrəʾel as protector is depicted with the same attributes as Michael. He appears side by side with him on the main door of the *mäqdäs*, killing a sea-monster. This formula is based on one of the Archangel's miracles (the story of the dragon which destroyed the church of St. Gabriel in Dalwah) included in the ↗*Dərsanä Gabrəʾel*. In the Flight into Egypt, the Adoration of the Magi and the Dream of Joseph, Gabriel, according to the early Christian iconography, is represented as messenger and guide. He leads the Virgin Mary's donkey in the Arrival of the Holy Family at the town of Sotina depicted in the church of Betä Maryam in ↗Lalibäla, the scene which follows the Gospel of pseudo-Matthew. In the Annunciation scenes belonging to the first Gondär school Gabriel takes on the appearance of an old bearded man with white or grey hair.

The representation which became typical for Ethiopian art shows Michael and Gabriel on both sides of the Virgin Mary's throne, armed with swords and forming with their wings a canopy over her head. They were considered as the guards of the Virgin Mary and the heavenly dignitaries, whose presence underlines her royal dignity. The earliest examples of this formula are

dated to the 13th cent. It was also transferred to the same Christological scenes: Christ on the cross and His Baptism were sometimes depicted under a canopy of angelic wings. Narrative scenes with other archangels which most often appear in Ethiopian spiritual life (Raphael, Raguel, Ramuʾel, Afnin [Ofanim], Phanuel, Uriel, Suriel, Saquʾel [↗Enoch; ↗*Qälemənṭos*]) are not common. They are depicted as isolated figures, usually on the walls of the churches or in the magical scrolls, having the same appearance and attributes as Michael and Gabriel.

In the rare ms. IES 103 of the 17th cent., containing a collection of texts devoted to Raphael, one miniature shows the Archangel with spread wings filled with rows of small heads, whose eyes seem to gaze in various directions. In the painting on cloth in Daga Əsṭifanos, dated to the middle of the 15th cent. and ascribed to Fərə Ṣəyon, eight archangels identified by an inscription flank Christ in a mandorla. Eight are also represented in the Psalter from Däbrä Wärq, Goğğam (late 15th cent.), some of them with greyish hair. An unusually long suite of 16 archangels is depicted in the folded parchment strip IES 5965, 5966, dated to the beginning of the 16th cent.

The Guardian A. (**መልኣከ፡ ዐቅቢ**, *mälʾakä ᶜuqabe*), common in the magical scrolls, has no special iconography. As the main protector against the evil forces (cf. *Qälemənṭos*) he may be represented with spread or menacingly raised wings and with intensively staring eyes. His attribute is a sword, often red as it recalls the sword of fire.

Src.: EMML vol. 7, 134, no. 2782; IES 103, 5965, 5966; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine", *ROC* 17, 1912, 248–49, 339–42; MATTHEW BLACK – JAMES VANDERKAM, *Book of Enoch or I Enoch. A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes*, Leiden 1985 (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudoepigrapha 7).

Lit.: JULES LEROY – STEPHEN GRAHAM WRIGHT – OTTO ARNOLD JÄGER, *Éthiopie, Manuscrits à peinture*, Paris 1961; JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gondar Dynasty*, London 1967; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Major Themes in Ethiopian Painting from the 13th to the 19th Century*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 10) [ill.]; ID., "Les trois hébreux dans la fournaise. Une enquête iconographique dans la peinture éthiopienne", *RSE* 35, 1991, 13–40, part. 35–39; MUSÉE NATIONALE DES ARTS D'AFRIQUE ET D'OCÉANIE (ed.), *Le roi Salomon et les maîtres du regard. Art et médicine en Ethiopie*, Paris 1992, 159–63.

Ill.: JACQUES MERCIER, *Ethiopian Magical Scrolls*, New York 1979, fig. 1, 2, 4, 8, 15, 21, 32, 33; GIRMA FISSEHA – WALTER RAUNING (eds), *Mensch und Geschichte in Äthiopiens Volksmalerei*, Innsbruck 1984, fig. 66f., 74ff.; Äthiopien, Hamburg 1966 (Merian 10/19, Oktober 1966), 35.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Three angels from the Däbrä Wärq Psalter illumination (15th/16th cent.), photo by Sven Rubenson, courtesy of the author

Angels, book of ↗ Mälaʾəkt: Mäṣḥafa mälaʾəkt

Angoläla

A. (**አንጎላ**, also Angʷäläla), 14 km east of Däbrä Bərhan, was an early-19th-cent. capital of ↗Šäwa. Captured in fighting with the Oromo by two previous rulers of the province, *märədazmač* Asfa Wäsän and *ras* Wäsän Sägäd, the town was founded by *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase and was, with Ankobär and Däbrä Bərhan, one of the three capitals used by him at different times of the year. Strategically well placed against possible attack from almost all directions, the town had a population estimated by the French envoy Rochet d'Héricourt (1846:121) at 3,000–4,000 inhabitants. They included many slaves, as well as weavers, blacksmiths and jewellers in the monarch's service. The settlement covered three hills and was supplied with water from the nearby ↗Čača river. The town's most prominent building was Śahlä Śəllase's palace, built of stone by two Greek artisans, Dəmeṭros and Yoḥannəs. The A. church of Kidanä Məhrät had the distinction of being the place where *aṣe*

↗Mənilək II was baptized. The town was subsequently destroyed in several battles at the time of Tewodros II and Mənilək.

Src.: CHARLES FRANÇOIS XAVIER ROCHET D'HERICOURT, *Second voyage sur les deux rives de la Mer Rouge, dans le pays des Adels et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1846, 121.
Lit.: PankHist II (Lit.).

Richard Pankhurst

Angot

A. (**አንጎት**) was the name of an area south of Təgray, east of Lasta and north of Lake Ḥayq, embracing more or less the present districts of ↗Qobbo, ↗Yäğğu and ↗Wəčale but exduding that of Ambassäl, which was part of the province of Amhara. A. is mentioned in such a source on the early Solomonic Ethiopia as the Chronide of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon as well as in many hagiographic works (Marrasini 1993:52, 63, 195). The inhabitants of A. were clearly Amharic speakers, like those of Amhara to its south. Clear indications of its location and extent are provided by Manoel de Almeida (BeckHuntAlm 10f., 18) and the chronicler of *aṣe* Susənyos (PerChron ch. 43).

Aläqa Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam (1914) gives the traditional explanation of how Muslims came to settle in A. and why the name changed to Yäğğu. A more likely indication for both may be found in ᶜArabfaqīh's *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, which relates, among other things, the history of the demographic movements of the 16th cent. (s. BassHist 59, note 3). The name of Yäğğu, together with Islam, was probably brought by the group called Iğğu, who followed *imām* Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ) into the highlands. Later in the same century these settlers were followed by the Märawa, the Wəčale and other groups of the Eastern Oromo. Apparently the name has not disappeared completely as the *Guida* mentions a place called A. to the north of Wäldəya and just to the east of the source of the Täkäzze river. This is probably the same as the A. *məkətəl wäräda*, mentioned within the *wäräda* of Muğğa, formerly an administrative division in northern ↗Wällo.

Src.: BassHist 59 (tr.), note 3, s. index; BeckHuntAlvar 10f., 18; PerChron ch. 43 (text), 438, s. index; PAOLO MARRASINI, *Lo scettro e la croce. La campagna di 'Amda Ṣeyon I contro l'Īfat (1332)*, Napoli 1993 (StAfEt 4), 52, 63, 195 (Lit.).
Lit.: *aläqa* TAYYÄ GÄBRÄ MARYAM, **የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yä'ityopya ḥəzb tarik*, 'History of the People of Ethiopia'), Aśmära 1914 A.M. [1921/22 A.D.]; HuntGeogr s. index; *Guida* 316.

Merid Wolde Aregay

Animals

Domestic animals

Ethiopia has the largest livestock population in Africa, with an estimated 8.02 million equines (Wilson 1990; Starkey 1997), 29 million cattle, 23 million sheep, 17 million goats, 1 million camels and 56 million chickens (Ministry of Agriculture 1983).

Cattle

The first cattle were seen in Ethiopia in the first millennium B.C. They were an original strain of humped cattle known as Sanga. They have a slender conformation, long legs, long to extremely long horns and a typical forwardly placed cervico-thoracic hump. The back is dipped and the rump is peaked. No pure Sanga breed survived the rinderpest epidemic that erupted at the end of the 19th cent., with the exception of the Danakil breed found in isolated areas of the country.

A second strain is represented by Zebu cattle. Their body size is small and they have short legs. The horns are mostly short to medium in length and the hump is usually thoracic and large. The back slopes upwards and the rump slopes downwards. The tail is long and thin. They are loose-skinned with a fairly large dewlap and a large navel fold and sheath. Most of the highland cattle are of a small non-descriptive Zebu type. They are said to have arrived as early as 2000 B.C., probably directly

Zebu used for ploughing, Baka (Aari), 1950/52, photo by Elisabeth Pauli, © Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23-Pa024-35)

from India. It is also possible that they came by way of Egypt and that some came from Arabia to the extreme northern region of Somalia. Some of these cattle proceeded westwards along with the Semitic-speaking people to West-Africa. The Zebu that remained in East-Africa spread through large portions of Ethiopia, the Sudan and almost all of Somalia, as well as the northern tip of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania and even the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar (Felius 1985).

The majority of Ethiopia's present-day cattle are intermediate non-descriptive crosses showing both Sanga and Zebu characteristics (Felius 1985). A classification of Ethiopian cattle based on evolutionary process and distinguishing traits has resulted in the establishment of the following groups and breeds:
1) Sanga: Danakil (Adal, Raya, Kereyu, Afar), Raya-Azebo (Galla-Azebo), Abigar (Nilotic),
2) Intermediate Sanga/Zebu: Horo, Fogera, Arado, Jiddu,
3) Zebu: Arsi, Barka (Begait), Boran (Borana), Arab (Aden, Berbera, Bahari), Abyssinian Zebu (Harer, Bale, Jem-Jem Zebu, Jijjiga Zebu).

In general terms, 70% of the livestock are found in the intensively cultivated agricultural zones lying between 1,500–3,700 m A.S.L. Power for farming activities is obtained from 5–6 million oxen maintained in this crop-livestock production system (Ministry of Agriculture 1983). The remaining 30%, supplemented by an additional resource base of 1 million camels, are found in the pastoral areas. A very small number of imported animals, their crosses and offsprings are present in the few urban and pre-urban areas. Certain indigenous breeds have well-defined areas of location (Alberro – Solomon Hailemariam 1982).

Research programmes focus on performance evaluation and improvement of productivity of the various breeds.

Sheep

An estimated 23 million sheep are in the crop-livestock and pastoral production systems of Ethiopia and Eritrea. Their origin can be crudely traced to their homeland in Asia. The oldest skeletal remains of domestic sheep come from Egypt around 5000 B.C. (Devendra – McLeroy 1990). Sheep with long legs, hairy coat, long and thin tail and spirally twisted horns entered the African continent through North Africa and the Horn. A second type, fat-tailed, coarse-wooled sheep, was introduced via the Isthmus of Suez about 2000 B.C. Another entry point was in East Africa via the straits of Bāb al-Mandab. In much later times, fat-rumped, hairtype sheep entered East Africa (Ethiopia and the Somali coast) from the Arabian Peninsula. The bulk of present-day native sheep breeds in Africa can be traced to these introductions.

The present-day sheep population of Ethiopia and Eritrea is classified into the following four categories, each having a number of breeds:
1) Hairy, thin-tailed: included here are the Hamele, Barka and the Horo,
2) Wooled, thin-tailed: Arrit,
3) Fat-tailed sheep: Akale Guzai, Rashedi, Tucur, Menz, Arsi,
4) Fat-rumped sheep: black-headed Somali, Adal sheep (Ministry of Agriculture 1983).

The central highlands, which include regions of over 1,500 m A.S.L. and receiving 700 mm of rainfall, account for 75% of the sheep population. The majority of the sheep are small, fat-tailed highland types, which are kept mainly for meat. Among the more distinctive variations from the highland sheep are the thin-tailed Horo and the black-headed Somali sheep from the Ogaden lowlands.

Goats

The total goat population in Ethiopia and Eritrea is about 17 million. It is likely that the first wave of goats entered Ethiopia from the north sometime between 2000 and 3000 B.C. (Devendra – McLeroy 1990). Four major families of goats are found in Ethiopia and Eritrea. They are:
1) Somali family: short-eared Somali, long-eared Somali and Harärge Highland,
2) Nubian family: Nubia and Barka,

3) Smaller rift family: Abergelle, Warre, Afar, Arsi-Bale, and Woyto-Guji,
4) Small-ear African family, West highland, Keffa, Central Highland and West Lowland (Farm Africa 1997).

In general, regions below 1,500 m A.S.L. and receiving less than 700 mm of rainfall, considered as lowlands, account for 72% of the goat population. The remaining are found in small flocks in the mixed crop-livestock highland farms. To their owners, goats are reliable sources of milk, meat, cash and security. Their meat is eaten in practically every part of the country. Goats are milked, with the exception of parts of Goğğam, Wälläggа, and Käfa.

Current research in the areas of sheep and goat production focuses on breed evaluation, performance improvement by genetic selection, crossbreeding and management studies.

Poultry

The poultry population of 56 million is made up almost entirely of indigenous breeds, which are closely related to jungle fowl. These non-descript birds are maintained under traditional methods in the backyards or rural and urban households. They have very low productivity in the range of 30 to 60 eggs per year, with an average egg-weight of 40 grams. Survival rates among the young chickens are also very low, mainly due to predators and diseases. Some cross-breeding with exotic birds has occurred over the years. White leghorns have been the base of improved modern breeds used on limited commercial farms.

Equines

Equines are important animals in Ethiopian agriculture and in the national economy. The population is comprised of 1.6 million ↗horses, 1.5 million ↗mules (FAO 1985) and 5.2 million donkeys (Starkey 1997).

The greatest number of equines of all species is found in the central highlands. Šäwa, with a total population of almost one million donkeys, horses and mules, contains about 30% on about 8% of the land area. Gondär, Goğğam and Wällo have just in excess of one million equines on about 21% of the area. The small and relatively mountainous province of Arsi has more than 300,000 equines (11%) on 2.2% of the land (Wilson 1990). About 20% of the equines are estimated to be located in the lowland areas.

The horse probably came to Ethiopia from Arabia and the Sudan, the possible routes of entry being the Blue ↗Nile and the ↗Red Sea coast (Dreyfus 1976). Years of cross breeding have resulted in the development of horse types difficult to categorize. The existence of two main types of horses is reported: the Oromo (Galla) horse and the Dongola horse (Dreyfus 1976). Horses are used equally for riding and as pack-animals. Over 25 towns in Ethiopia are served by horse-drawn cart taxis, a technology introduced during the Italian occupation.

In Ethiopia, as elsewhere in the world, the practice of crossbreeding donkey stallions with horse mares for the production of mules dates back many centuries, whereas the crossing of horse stallions with donkey mares for the production of hinnies is rare. There are two well-known types of mules: the Sennar and the Wollo mules (Dreyfus 1976). The former is characterized by fine lines and long and slender legs and is generally elegant. The Wollo mule on the other hand is more rustic, greyish or black in colour and resembles much more the donkey than the horse. The Sennar donkey is valued for producing mules for riding, but in places where it is not available, working donkeys are selected and used as breeders.

The donkey traces its ancestry to the wild ass found in Egypt, the Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia. The two recognized species are: *Equus asinus africanus* and *Equus asinus somalicus*. About 2,500 wild species are present in the ᶜAfar depression and Nogal valley of Ethiopia (Clark 1974). Among the domestic donkeys, four types are recognized in Ethiopia: the Jimma donkey, the Abyssinian donkey, the Ogaden donkey and the Sennar donkey. An additional type, designated the Eritrean donkey, is found in Eritrea (Dreyfus 1976).

The majority of the donkeys are found in the highlands, with Šäwa, Gondär, Təgray, Goğğam, Wällo and Arsi having the largest populations. Farmers in the highlands possess an average of 2–3 donkeys per family. Donkeys play an important role in the transportation of over 15 kinds of commodities, mainly from farmsteads, watering-points and agricultural-input distribution centres to homesteads and from homesteads to markets. The most important of these are grain, water, fodder, fuel-wood, animal dung, charcoal, fertilizers and construction materials. In contrast, the utility spectrum of lowland donkeys is limited.

Their main task is the transportation of water (Feseha Gebreab et al. 1997). Donkey power is both a rural and urban transport system which is cheap and viable. It provides the best alternative in places where the road network is insufficiently developed or rugged and mountainous and in cities where narrow streets prevent easy delivery of merchandise. Donkeys also do well in hot and semi-arid areas. Donkey meat is not consumed by the vast majority of communities in Ethiopia. There is however a confirmed report of a minority group in the Gamo Gofa cherishing it as a delicacy (personal and pictorial communication of Mälläsä Balča 1998).

In Ethiopia, the image of the donkey is poor, exposing it to the cruelest of treatments and neglect in its feed, water, housing, care and general welfare. At this stage research and extension-programs orientation is geared to the improvement of its image, utilization and management aspects.

Camels

Estimates of the ↗camel population of Ethiopia suggest a figure of 1.1–1.3 million (Farm Africa 1997), with major concentrations in the southern, south-eastern, eastern and north-eastern parts of the country. Some indicate that the dromedary was introduced into Egypt from Arabia and Persia (e.g. Mukasa-Mugerwa 1981). Miskell (1955) suggests that the camel spread westwards and southwards from Egypt, although Bulliet (1975) is of the view that the camels of the Horn of Africa are more likely to have come across the sea from the Arabian Peninsula and then spread southwards from Egypt and the Sudan.

Attempts have been made to dassify the camel in Ethiopia. Three major types have been established, namely the Ogaden, Afar and Borana types. These have been classified into subtypes (Wilson 1984).

The camel is a multipurpose animal. For pastoralists, it is primarily a source of milk, meat and transport. In southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya, camel's blood is consumed. For this purpose some 5 litres of blood is bled twice in a month from a single camel (Hartley 1978). According to a report cited by Farm Africa (1997), the camel produces more ↗milk than all other stock when kept in rain-fed agricultural areas. The camel is almost five times more effective in converting vegetation to milk for human use on an annual basis. Very little camel meat is consumed in Ethiopia and most of the animals slaughtered are old culls. Possibilities of exporting live camels and meat to countries of the Middle East are said to be high. The importance of the camel is growing, as evidenced by its distribution, which is on a continuous upward trend. In 1984, the southern limit of the camel in Africa was 2° S, by 1987 it grew to 3° S and in 1997 it reached 4° S, with camels having spread southwards through Kenya, becoming a common sight in Massai-land, and into Tanzania. Camels are now found outside the "traditional camel keeping areas and at various altitudes ranging from lowlands (below 500 m) to high altitude at 2000 m A.S.L., induding the highlands of Ethiopia" (Farm Africa 1997).

The prevailing opinion today is that the camel is the key to ensuring food security to many of the estimated five million pastoralists occupying 52 % of the land of Ethiopia. It is the domestic animal that is best adapted to feeding on dry land, seemingly without upsetting the ecological balance. It is also the most energy-efficient of all domestic animals. Hence it combines the qualities of being a suitable forager in ecological terms and an efficient food producer in domestic terms.

The goal of current research is to improve milk and meat yield through genetic selection, better management, which includes access to good nutrition, and the strategic application of veterinary services. The latter intervention is geared mainly to the reduction of calf mortality.

↗Agriculture

Lit.: MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE (ed.), *Livestock Subsector Review. Ruminant Livestock, First Draft, Annex* 2, Addis Ababa 1983; M. ALBERRO – SOLOMON HAILEMARIAM, "The Indigenous Cattle of Ethiopia", *World Animal Review* 41, 1982, 2–10; *ibid.* 42, 1982, 27–34; RICHARD W. BULLIET, *The Camel and the Wheel*, Cambridge, MA 1975; BILL CLARK, *Draft Proposal to Include the African Wild Ass*, Addis Ababa 1974; C. DEVENDRA – GEORGE B. MCLEROY, *Goat and Sheep Production in the Tropics. Origin and History of Domestication*, 2 parts, Essex 1990; FRANÇOIS DREYFUS, *Construction à l'étude de la zootechnie et de la pathologie des équides en Éthiopie*, Ph.D. thesis, Ecole Nationale Vétérinaire d'Alfort, Paris 1976; FARM AFRICA (ed.), *Goat Types of Ethiopia and Eritrea. Physical Description and Management Systems*, London 1996; ID., *A Proposal for a Project to Improve Food Security for Camel Herding Communities in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands of Ethiopia*, London 1997; MARLEEN FELIUS, *Genus Bos: Cattle Breeds of the World. East African Zebu Breeds, African Sanga Breeds*, Rahway 1985; FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANISATION (ed.), *Production Yearbook*, Roma 1985; BRIAN HARTLEY, "Camel Management and Some Aspects of Camel Disease", paper presented at the *Meeting of the Ethiopian Veterinary Service*, Addis

Ababa 1977; EDDIE MUKASA-MUGERWA, *The Camel (Camelus dromedarius). A bibliographic Review*, Addis Ababa 1981 (International Livestock Centre for Africa monograph no. 5); PAUL STARKEY — MALCOLM STARKEY, "Regional and World Trends in Donkey Production", in: PAUL STARKEY (ed.), *Workshop Reader*, Debrezeit 1997, 14–25; FESEHA GEBREAB — ALEMU GEBREWOLD — FRIEW KELEMU et al., "An Overview of Donkey Utilization and Management in Ethiopia", *ibid.*, 46–52; TREVOR WILSON, *The Camel*, London — New York 1984; ID., "Equines in Ethiopia", in: DENIS FIELDING — ANN PEARSON (eds.), *Donkeys, Mules and Horses in Tropical Agricultural Development*, Edinburgh 1990, 33–47.

Fisseha Gebreab

Wild animals

Because of its unique topographic features, micro-climatic conditions and geographic isolation, Ethiopia is both home to and a centre of biodiversity for many terrestrial wild animals. From the limited surveys and studies undertaken during the past four decades, the knowledge-base acquired on the Ethiopian wild fauna indicates in broad terms the existence of the following groups and number of species:

Table 1: Wild Fauna of Ethiopia: Groups and number of species

Groups	Species (total)	% of diversity	Endemic species
Terrestrial mammals	280	18	31
Birds	862	55.6	28
Reptiles	201	12.9	9
Amphibians	63	4.1	24
Freshwater fish	150	9.4	4
Butterflies	324	-	7

The habitats and ecological niches occupied by the wild fauna stretch mostly over an area of 194,000 km^2 (19 % of the country's territory) and are located in the southern, southeastern, southwestern, northeastern and northwestern parts of the country. The alpine, arid and semi-arid ecosystems are represented. Government-sponsored conservation and utilization activities are implemented via nine national ↗parks, four sanctuaries, nine reserves and 18 controlled hunting-areas.

Table 2: Dominant species found in the national parks and sanctuaries

National park (N.P.):	Species:
1. Abigata-Šala Lakes N.P.	Great white pelican, Lesser flamingo, White-necked cormorant, Grant's gazelle.
2. Awaš N.P.	Beisa oryx, Greater kudu, Lesser kudu, Swayne's hartebeest, Sommering's gazelle. Important but not dominant: lion
3. Bale Mountain N.P.	Mountain nyala, Simen jackal, Giant molerat.
4. Gambella N.P.	Roan antelope, White-eared kobe, Nile lechwe, topi, elephant. Important but not dominant: lion, leopard, hippopotamus.
5. Mago N.P.	Cheetah, elephant, giraffe, lelwel, hartebeest, topi, buffalo. Important but not dominant: lion, leopard, burchells, zebra, hippopotamus.
6. Näčč Šar N.P.	Burchell's zebra, Swayne's hartebeest. Important but not dominant: crocodile, hippopotamus.
7. Omo N.P.	Eland, Cheetah, elephant, black rhinoceros, giraffe, buffalo, de Brazza's monkey. Important but not dominant: lion, leopard, Burchell's zebra.
8. Səmen N.P.	Walia ibex, Simen jackal, Gelada baboon.
9. Yangudi Rassa N.P.	Wild ass, gerenuk, Hamadryas baboon, Sømmering's gazelle, cheetah. Important but not dominant: lion, leopard, Grevy's zebra.
10. Yabello Sanctuary	Stressman's buck crow, white-tailed swallow, Swayne's hartebeest.
11. Baabiilee Sanctuary	Elephant (*Loxodonta africana orleansi*)
12. Kumi Muktar Mountain Sanctuary	Mountain nyala
13. Šänkälle Sanctuary	Swayne's hartebeest

Game farming

Rearing of African civet cats (↗Zibeth) for musk extraction has been going on for some time in the country. Currently there are 229 farmers managing 3,790 zibeth. The Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organization (EWCO) has run a crocodile and an ostrich farm in the Rift Valley area since 1984.

The endemic highly endangered Simen fox (Ethiopian wolf) on the Gəč plateau, Səmen, observed on 14 June 1968, photo courtesy of Bernhard Nievergelt

Economic significance
Ethiopia's wild fauna has a primary role in attracting eco-tourism. Some benefit is also being obtained from trade in live animals, particularly green ↗monkeys and baboons, skins of crocodiles, as well as trophy hunting. The goal in the short and long term is conservation of the biological diversity through sound management and sustainable use.

Research
The focus of research in the short term is building-knowledge base on fauna and habitat diversity, distribution and status through exploration, characterization and documentation. Methods of conservation and utilization are also an integral part of this undertaking.

↗Birds

Lit.: BERNHARD NIEVERGELT – TATJANA GOOD – RENÉ GÜTTINGER (eds.), *A Survey of the Flora and Fauna of the Simen Mountains National Park, Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1998 (special issue of *Walia*, Journal of the Ethiopian Wildlife and Natural History Society); JESSE C. HILLMAN, *Ethiopia: a Compendium of Wildlife Conservation Information*, Addis Ababa 1993.

Fisseha Gebreab

Ankäriṭos

The Church Father ↗Epiphanius of Salamis (b. after 310, d. 403) is known to Ethiopian literature for the anaphora attributed to him, for a homily transmitted by the ↗*Dərsanä Mikaʾel* and for the *Ancoratus*, a theological work whose Latin title means 'the well anchored', i.e. the Christian who is firm in his battle against errors.

The composition of the original Greek text traces back to 374, when Epiphanius was Bishop of Constantia (Salamis Cyprus), but the Ethiopian tradition is twofold. Extracts from the *Ancoratus* are transmitted by the patristic anthology ↗*Haymanotä abäw*, deriving from the similar Arabic collection *Iʿtirāf al-abāʾ*. But, the translation of the whole book, bearing the title A. (**አንከሪሶስ**, or *Ankərəṭos*, *Ankyorotos*), is earlier, since it was made most probably upon a Greek text during the Aksumite age. The primary goals of the *Ancoratus* are to affirm the Nicene doctrine of the Trinity as well as the dogma of the Resurrection, and to fight against heresies. This means evidently that in Ethiopia, as in any other Christian community of Late Antiquity, the problem of the definition of Orthodoxy arose immediately after the evangelization of the country.

Src.: BERND MANUEL WEISCHER, *Qērellos IV 2: Traktate des Epiphanios von Zypern und des Proklos von Kyzikos*, Wiesbaden 1979 (AeF 6), 89–108 [Ankyorotos], 109–41 [extracts from the *Haymanotä abäw*] (Lit.).
Lit.: DELIO VANIA PROVERBIO, "Introduzione alle versioni orientali dell'*Ancoratus* di Epifanio. La recensione etiopica", in: ID. (ed.), *Studi orientalistici in memoria di Emilio Teza*, Roma 1998 [print. 1999] (Miscellanea Marciana 12), 67–91.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Ankobär

A. (**አንኮበር**, or **አንኰበር** *Ankʷäbär*) is located in the north-eastern part of ↗Šäwa (in the former Tägulät Bulga *awraǧǧa*) at a distance of 172 km from Addis Abäba. The local Christian tradition indicates that A. had provided its residential service for the Ethiopian rulers since the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak. The 14th-cent. ruler of Ethiopia, *aṣe* ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I, was also reported to have erected his tents at the same site. The name of the 16th-cent. Ethiopian ruler, *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl, is also mentioned in the local Christian tradition in connection with the construction of the Church of Bäʿälä Wäld there.

In fact, there are five churches which were erected at different times by the rulers of Šäwa. The first one is Ankobär Giyorgis, founded by *märʿədazmač* ↗Ammaḫa Iyäsus, the second is that of Maryam, founded by his son, *märʿədazmač* Asfa Wäsän. The Ankobär Mikaʾel and Afärbayne Täklä Haymanot churches were constructed during the reign of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase. The fifth and the last was that of the Saviour of the World (Mädḫane ʿAläm), founded by *nəguś* ↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot, although its corner-stone was

A house in Ankobär, in which the foreign visitor Audon was living, drawing by T. Taylor after a photography of Chefneux and Audon, from Audon 1889

laid down by Asfa Wäsän in the year 1780 A.D. Currently, one can also find the ruins of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's palace, above all the banqueting-hall, where he used to feast his officials and his guests, both local and foreign.

There is also another tradition which claims that the commanding height of A. was once occupied by an Oromo woman called Anko and the term A. derives from the name Anko and the word *bär* ('gate'), meaning "the gate of Anko". This view, which seems to be based on folk etymology, could still have historical roots, because it was the fourth ruler of Šäwa, *mär^{c}adazmač* Ammaḫa Iyäsus, who struck first against the Karrayyuu (↗Baarentuu) Oromo and quickly subjugated them. He launched a series of expeditions against the Karrayyuu, mainly because these were the members of this Oromo clan-group who killed his father and predecessor, ↗Abbəyye. Ammaḫa Iyäsus established military posts in the areas he conquered from the Oromo to serve as bases for his further operations. One of such military posts was A., an outpost which he made his official residence. It gradually developed and become one of the major Šäwan towns.

The foundation of A. clearly marked an important stage in the rise of Šäwa, for it brought rulers of ↗Mänz origin to the centre of leadership in the Šäwan plateau. A. was the seat of five Šäwan rulers: Ammaḫa Iyäsus, Asfa Wäsän, Śahlä Śəllase, Ḫaylä Mäläkot and Mənilək II. Its glory and prestige blossomed, however, under Šahlä Śəllase, when it was visited by foreign merchants, visitors and agents of foreign European powers, such as William Harris's mission and that of Rochet d'Héricourt in order to sign diplomatic and commercial treaties with the king.

At this time an attempt was also made to improve the quality of life of its inhabitants, for instance, by constructing a water-mill and a small gunpowder industry. In its time as the capital of Šäwa, A. had the population of 10,000 to 11,000 inhabitants and was the most densely populated town in Šäwa till as late as 1891. Later it was succeeded as a capital by other towns, such as ↗Angoläla, ↗Ləčče and ↗Ənṭoṭṭo. Until the beginning of the 20th cent. A. was regarded as one of the Ethiopian towns which inevitably played a decisive role in the long process of the creation of modern Ethiopia.

In spite of its long presence on Šäwa's historical scene, A. preserved its rural characteristics intact. The shift of political power from there and the decline of the market-town of ↗Alәyyu Amba crucially determined for its overall decline.

Src.: ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, 3 vols., Roma 1885–87, vol. 1, 292ff.; REXFORD HENRY KOH DARKWAH, *Shewa, Menelik and the Ethiopian Empire, 1813–1889*, London 1975, 12f., 31, 40, 47f., 54, 95, 148f.; CHARLES JOHNSTON, *Travels in Southern Abyssinia, through the Country of Adal to the Kingdom of Shoa, during the Years 1842–1843*, London 1844, ^{2}1972, vol. 2, 56f.; **ሰሜን፡ ሸዋ፡ የታሪክና፡ የባህል፡ እምብርት** (*Sämen Šäwa yätarikənna yäbahəl əmbərt*, 'Northern Šäwa: the Core of History and Culture'), Addis Abäba 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.], 18–21 [A documentary brochure of the North Šäwan Cultural Bureau]; HENRY AUDON, *Voyage au Choa* (*Abyssinie méridionale*), *1884–1888*, Paris 1889.

Lit.: PankHist I, 150–77, s. index (Lit.); PankHist II s. index (Lit.).

Ahmed Hassen Omer

Annales d'Éthiopie

A.É. (Amharic subtitle: **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ዓመታዊ፡ ታሪክ፡ መጽሔት**, *Yä^{ʾ}ityopya ^{c}amätawi tarik mäṣḥet*) is a Franco-Ethiopian scholarly review. The first volumes, beginning in 1955, were produced by the Archaeological Section of the Imperial Government of Ethiopia, created in 1952 with the collaboration of French scholars. The first editorial board was composed of André Caquot, Jacques Leclant and ↗Käbbädä Mika^{ʾ}el, General Director of Ministry of Public Instruction.

The aim of this review was to give access to Ethiopian and French-speaking scholars to the most recent studies in palaeontology, archaeology, philology and history. All articles were written in French, with an outline in Amharic. A large number of figures illustrated the archaeological and art-history papers. Gə^{c}əz and Amharic texts were published, translated and

analysed. The very first numbers have a very complete bibliographic review of Amharic books. Later A.É. focused on western publications only.

From one issue every two years, the regularity publication slowed down after 1974. The field of studies widened, as anthropology and linguistics found gradually their place in the review. In 1990, with volume 15, the publication ceased.

In the year 2000, the Centre Français d'Études Éthiopiennes and its director, Bertrand Hirsch, together with the Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage (ARCCH) of the Ethiopian Ministry of Information and Culture, called the A.É. back to life and published the 16th volume (now without Amharic subtitles and Amharic artides). Research fields are palaeontology, archaeology, human and social sciences. Articles are now in French and in English and there is still a large number of illustrations, some in colour. The 17th volume dates end 2001.

Src.: *AE*, issues 1–17, 1955–2001 (ISSN 0066–2127)

Anaïs Wion

Annesley, George

Lord A., ninth Viscount Valentia and second Earl of Mountnorris (b. 1771, d. 1844), was a British nobleman who opened up his country's diplomatic relations with Ethiopia in the early 19th cent. Keenly interested in eastern trade, he travelled to India and persuaded its British Governor-General, the Marquis of Wellesley, of the value of commercial contacts with Ethiopia. A. also believed that Britain's presence there would counterbalance the French in Egypt. To this end he sailed to the Red Sea port of Massawa in May 1804 to investigate the situation. In the following year he sent his secretary and draughtsman, Henry ↗Salt, inland to meet *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase, ruler of Təgray. This led to the beginning of diplomatic correspondence between the two countries.

A. meanwhile gave his name to the Bay of Zula, which he called Annesley Bay, while an island at its mouth he named Valentia Island.

On eventually returning to Britain, in 1806, he attempted, with little success, to interest the British East India Company and the British Government in his ideas. Henry Salt was, however, despatched on a second, more important, diplomatic mission to Təgray in 1808. In the following year, A. published his memorable *Voyages and Travels*, which was dedicated to Wellesley. A. maintained his interest in Ethiopia in later years. After Salt's return to Britain, he corresponded with the latter's servant, Nathaniel ↗Pearce, who remained in the country. He also supported Pearce's companion, William ↗Coffin, who came to Britain in 1827 on a mission from *däğğazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu of Təgray. A. persuaded the British East India Company to supply 1,850 firearms for the chief. These were dispatched, together with three paintings of the Virgin Mary, but did not reach Ethiopia until after Säbagadis's death, in 1831.

Src.: GEORGE ANNESLEY, *Voyages and Travels in India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt*, London 1809; DAVID APPLEYARD – ARTHUR IRVINE (tr.) – RICHARD PANKHURST (ed.), *Letters from Ethiopian Rulers: Early and Mid-Nineteenth Century: Preserved in the British Library, the Public Record Office, Lambeth Palace, the National Army Museum, India Office Library and Records*, Oxford 1985, 196, s. index; HENRY SALT, *A Voyage to Abyssinia, and Travels into the Interior of that Country, Executed under the Orders of the British Government, in the Years 1809 and 1810 …*, London 1814.

Lit.: JOHN JAMES HALLS, *The Life and Correspondence of Henry Salt*, London 1834; DEBORAH MANLEY – PETA RÉE, *Henry Salt. Artist, Traveller, Diplomat, Egyptologist*, London 2001, 314, index; SVEN RUBENSON, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, London 1976.

Richard Pankhurst

Anniyya

A. (also Annia) belonged to the ↗Baarentuu moiety or division of the ↗Oromo. They were part of three major tribal divisions that migrated from ↗Bale to ↗Harärge during the 16th cent. The other two were the Afran Qallu (s. ↗Qottu) and the ↗Ittuu. The Afran Qallu settled in the central highlands around the city of Harär. The A. settled in the vast region of ↗Gara Mulläta, while the Ittuu settled in Č̣ärč̣är (western Harärge). The A. are bordered by the Afran Qallu in the north, the Ittuu in the west, the Arsi Oromo in the south and the Somali in the east. For almost a century the A., the Afran Qallu and the Ittuu had a common ↗*č̣affee* assembly at Odaa Bultum in the heart of Ittuu land. Every eight years, the representatives of the three groups met at Odaa Bultum to discuss and pass laws that governed them for the next eight years. This means Odaa Bultum was the political nerve-centre and the sacred ground for the A., the Afran Qallu and the Ittuu. However, in the late 17th or early 18th cent., the A. broke away from the central *č̣affee* at Odaa Bultum

and formed their own *čaffee* at Burqa Tirtira in the Gara Muläta region.

The A. are divided into two major sections: Kodelle and Sadača. The Kodelle section, in turn, is divided into Bidu, Anna, Kooyyee and Maččа, while the Sadača section is divided into Molkootu, Baabbo and Bambi. During the 17th and 18th cent., while the Afran Qallu and the Ittuu mode of food production was transformed from pastoralism to sedentary agriculture the A. remained pastoralists up to the 19th cent. This was because of the environment in which they settled. The vast lowlands of the Gara Muläta region are rich in good pasturage. The region enjoys adequate rainfall and is also watered by major rivers such as Ramis and Moğğo and a number of others that join the Wabi Šäbälle river. The valleys of these rivers are rich in wild life, where young A. men traditionally hunted elephants, lions, buffalo and other game. It was only during the 19th cent. that the majority of the A. adopted sedentary agriculture. Even today small elements of the A. are pastoralists, who follow a traditional way of life and, consequently, are untouched by urbanization, modernization and industrialization. There are only a few towns in the vast region of A.

Of all the Oromo of Harärge, the A. were the last to be converted to ↗Islam and they are also the last to receive the benefits of modern education, medical facilities and a transportation and communication system. And yet, it is the same region that has had a tradition of resistance against successive Ethiopian regimes for decades. The Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) started operating in the A. region in 1976. Of all the Oromo of Harärge, it was the A. who suffered most from the Ethiopian-Somali war of 1977–78, the Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam regime's search-and-destroy policy of the 1980s.

Lit.: MOHAMMED HASSEN, "Menilik's Conquest of Harar, 1887, and its Effect on the Political Organization of the Surrounding Oromo up to 1900", in: DONALD LEWIS DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (ed.), *Working Papers on Society and History in Imperial Ethiopia: the Southern Periphery from the 1880s to 1974*, Cambridge 1980, 229–31; TASAW MERGA, *Senna Umatta Oromo Jalqaba Jarra Kudha Jahafti from a dhumti Jarra Kudha Sagalefonti* ('History of the Oromo People from the Beginning of the 16th Century to the End of the 19th Century'), ms., 1976, 72f.; BEDI KABIR MOHAMMED, *The Afran Qallo Oromo: a History*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995; BTafA 134f.

Mohammed Hassen

Anole

A. (አኖሌ) lies a few kilometres north of Ǝteya, the capital of Hetesoa district, in northern ↗Asälla. In the 19th cent. it was inhabited by ↗Arsi pastoralists of the Ǧawe clan (*gosa*) and other related groups. It had no traditional religious or ritual significance and only entered the annals of history because of the massacre and mutilations which, as part of Ethiopian conquest, took place there in 1886.

The parts of Arsi country which immediately neighboured Šäwa had been the object of Šäwan expansion in the 1840s under ↗Śahlä Śəllase, but full-scale conquest did not commence until the end of 1881. Between 1881 and 1886, *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and his lieutenants led six major campaigns, without much success. Faced by repeated failures and humiliations, the Šäwan leaders changed their tactics and introduced the large-scale mutilation of prisoners.

A., where many captured fighters and notables, as well as thousands of men and women were gathered, became the turning-point. A systematic mutilation was carefully planned. Before the victims were allowed to return home, the right hands of the men and the breasts of the women were cut off and tied around their necks. The *en-masse* mutilations were aimed at speeding up Arsi surrender and nipping uprisings against Šäwan rule in the bud. The exact number of the victims will never be known, but estimates run in thousands.

As *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase correctly foresaw, the Arsi were horrified and shocked by the A.

Annuncio Eritreo ↗ Newspapers

mutilations. Struck by fear and weakened by six years of intense fighting, they were left with no option but surrender. The mutilation marked the end of unified resistance and the beginning of imperial rule. For the Oromo, A. became the symbol of the resistance and sacrifice of a generation and the whole period was known as *harka muraa Anole* ('hand cutting of A.'). The pilgrimage of tens of thousands of Oromo from Arsi and other regions in 1992 to this place shows the importance of the A. mutilations in the collective memory of the Oromo people.

Src.: MARTIAL DE SALVIAC, *Un peuple antique au pays de Ménélik, les Galla*, Paris 1901; GueCopMen.
Lit.: ABBAS HAJI GNAMO, *Les Oromo-Arsi, continuité et évolution des institutions d'une société éthiopienne*, Ph.D. thesis, Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne 1990; ID., "La conquête impériale éthiopienne des Oromo Arsi, 1882–1892", *Africa* 54, 1, 1999, 85–115; REXFORD HENRY KOFI DARKWAH, *Shewa, Menelik and the Ethiopian Empire (1813–1889)*, London 1975; ENRICO CERULLI, *The Folk Literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia*, Cambridge, MA 1922 (Harvard African Studies 3).

Abbas Haji Gnamo

Anore

A. (**አኖሬ**, also **አኖሬዎስ** Anorewos) won fame through his loyalty to *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I in the course of the twenty-year period in which he is known to us (1685–1707).

A. was successively governor of several territories under the control of the Emperor. He was appointed *šum* of ↗Bägemdər in April–May 1685; four years later, having the same responsibility, he was given the title of ↗*azmač* of Bägemdər. In 1695 he bore the title of ↗*dägğazmač* and in May 1700 he was the "*nägaš* of G^{w}äžžam" (Goğğam, s. GuiIohan 223, 233).

A.'s career was remarkable enough, in spite of the fact that it suffered some military setbacks. However, nothing could endanger his position with the king, to whom he remained faithful, even though Iyasu's own son, Täklä Haymanot, rebelled against him so as to take hold of his position at Gondär. A. was one of those who set Iyasu free from his insular exile on Čeqla Manzo on Lake Ṭana in order to help him recover power in the capital in 1706.

After Iyasu's death, A. was imprisoned in Gondär and executed somewhere near the Abbay between December 1706 and January 1707.

James Bruce calls A. "Honorius" [=Anorewos], but there is no doubt that it is the same person.

Src.: GuiIohan 87, 132, 181, 209, 223, 230, 233; BassÉt 162, 165, 170ff., 174; BégCron 76f., 79; BruNile (ed. 1813) vol. 3, 527f.; DombrChr 243ff.

Dimitri Toubkis

Anorewos "the Elder"

A. (**አኖሬዎስ**, sometimes nicknamed "the Elder" to distinguish him from ↗Anorewos "the Younger", e.g. TadTChurch 176), according to his hagiography (*Gädlä Anorewos*), was born in Mugär into a noble family. His birth can be dated to the late 13th or early 14th cent. At a young age, he decided to become a monk and joined Däbrä ᶜAsbo, the monastic community of ↗Täklä Haymanot. Soon he distinguished himself through his piety and administrative abilities, for which he was appointed archdeacon and later ↗*mäggabi* (Conti Rossini 1905:69f.), the second authority after the abbot. Being in this position, A. reformed the monastic community, having persuaded the abbot Täklä Haymanot to prohibit monks and nuns from dwelling together.

After the death of Täklä Haymanot, hearing that the monks were about to elect him abbot, he fled to Ṣäᶜada Amba in Təgray and stayed for some time with *abba* ↗Bäṣälotä Mikaᵓel. When the latter died, A. returned to Däbrä ᶜAsbo. He was called to become one of the twelve *mämhərs* of *abunä* ↗Filəppos, organized by the Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob for missionary work. A. was appointed to carry out a mission in Wärəb. He preached in different regions, including Ǝndägäbṭän, Damot and Narᵓət (Ǝnnarya), and founded some monastic communities, one of them in Ṣəgaga (Ṣəgağğa), where his *Gädl* was written in the late 15th cent.

A. was among the monks who strongly denounced the marital practices of Emperors ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon and Säyfä Arᶜad. In the course of the controversy, A. was repeatedly persecuted, tortured and exiled. Claiming A.'s priority over other spiritual sons of Täklä Haymanot, *Gädlä Anorewos* ascribes him the leading role in the conflict, as well as in the translation of the relics of his spiritual father, which seems to have taken place shortly before A.'s death on 18 *Mäskäräm*, probably around 1374. A. was buried in Däbrä Ṣəgaga (Conti Rossini 1905:100).

Src.: KinBibl 64, no. 17; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum I. Acta S. Baṣalota Mikāᵓēl et S.Anorewos (Seu Acta Sancti Honorii)*, Louvain1905 (CSCO 28, 29 [SAe 11, 12]), 69f., 100 (text) = 58f., 88f. (tr.); AmhChurchD vol. 3, 47ff.
Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos,

capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo la “lista rimata” (sec. XIV–XVIII)”, *Orientalia* n. ser. 12, 1943, 226–53, here 236–43; CerLett 57–64; SAMUEL WOLDE-YOHANNES, *Il fondo umanistico dei modelli e degli ideali dei gadl. Ricerca linguistico-filosofica su alcuni testi del XV secolo etiopico*, Rome 1996; TadTChurch 176, s. index; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Monastic Holy Man and the Christianization of Early Solomonic Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 1984 (SKK 73), s. index.

Samuel Wolde Yohannes, Red.

Anorewos “the Younger”

A. (**አኖሬዎስ**) was the nephew and a disciple of ↗Zena Marqos and lived in the middle of the 14th cent. He was appointed by *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob to spread Christianity in the regions of Tägulät to the north, Morät in the south, and the plateau of Wägda, which overlooks both of them in northwestern Šäwa, from the river Ǝnsaro to the river Adabay. In the *Gädlä Fəlippos* he is called **ካልእ፡ አኖሬዎስ** (*kalᵓə Anorewos*, ‘another A.’); sometimes he is also nicknamed “A. the Junior” (s. TadTChurch 176), to distinguish him from Anorewos appointed to Wäräb (↗Anorewos “the Elder”). At least two copies of his *Gädl* are known to exist (KinBibl 64), but it has not been published.

Src.: BORIS TURAIEV, *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum, II. Acta S. Aronis et S. Philippi*, Louvain 1905 (CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]), 197f. (text) = 178f. (tr.); GETATCHEW HAILE, “The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Täklä Haymanot of Shoa”, *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 14 (text) = 29 (tr.) [n. 40]; EMML vol. 9, 268 [EMML 3987].

Lit.: TadTChurch 176f.; KinBibl 64, no. 18; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Monastic Holy Man and The Christianization of Early Solomonic Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 1984 (SKK 73), 94.

Steven Kaplan

Anqäṣä amin

A.a. (**አንቀጸ፡ አሚን**, ‘The Gate of Faith’) is the title of a Christian polemic against Islam, written in Gəᶜəz in 1540 A.D. by *əṣṣägge* ↗ᶜƎnbaqom, a converted Muslim. After a doxology and an invocation of Christ, the author addresses himself to ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, who, he says, invited him to explain the Christian faith departing from the Qurᵓān. ᶜƎnbaqom seriously tries to do just that. The Gospel, Christ and the Trinity, are mentioned in the Qurᵓān. Using the numerical value of some of the mysterious Arabic letters found at the beginning of certain *sūras*, the so called *fawātiḥ* (*as-suwar*), e.g. of *a*, *l*, *m* (Qurᵓān 2:1–2), ᶜƎnbaqom constructs an Arabic phrase which makes the Qurᵓān say, “I shall praise that book”, i.e. the Gospel; the letters *k*, *h*, *y*, ᶜ, *ṣ* (Qurᵓān 19:1) mean “Christ my God”, while the letters *y*, *s* (Qurᵓān 36:1) indicate Jesus, whose name the Muslims have deliberately changed. The Qurᵓān testifies that God has a Son, who is also the son of Mary, and that the Gospel is a divine revelation. It also announces the coming of Christ. The Trinity is referred to in the Arabic *basmala*, an equivalent of the Ethiopic **በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ** (*bäsəmä ab wäwäld wämänfäs qəddus*, ‘In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit’). By changing the construct state of some words in the Light Verse of Qurᵓān 24:35, ᶜƎnbaqom finds a clear reference to the well-known **ብርሃን፡ ዘእምብ ርሃን** (*bərhan zäᵓəmbərhan*, for Greek φῶς ἐκ φοτός, *‘lumen de lumine’*) of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. Natural phenomena such as: the sun – its brilliance – its heat, or: man – his word – his spirit were created to illustrate the existence of the Trinity. Finally, the incarnation of Christ is announced by philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, the Emperor Augustus and Hermes Trismegistos. This passage apparently is borrowed from an Arabic original. Some derisive remarks about Islam conclude the work, which stands in the tradition of Christian anti-Muslim apologies.

↗Gəᶜəz literature

Lit.: ᶜENBĀQOM, *Anqaṣa Amin* (*La Porte de la Foi*). *Apologie éthiopienne du Christianisme, contre I’Islam à partir du Coran*, ed., tr. by EMERI JOHANNES VAN DONZEL, Leiden 1969 (Lit.).

Emeri van Donzel

Anqäṣä bərhan

A.b. (**አንቀጸ፡ ብርሃን**, ‘The Gate of Light’) is a collection of hymns in praise of the Blessed Virgin. The collection is part of the Ethiopic ↗Psalter, copied, as a rule, following the ↗*Wəddase Maryam*. The hymns are to be chanted (not read) on Sundays as a supplement to, not in place of, the Sunday hymns of the *Wəddase Maryam*. The Ethiopic Psalter, which includes the A.b., is the daily prayer-book of the Christians.

The title A.b., customarily given to this work by those who recite it, is taken from a phrase of its *incipit*, where Mary is thus described. The gate is the blessed Virgin (Ez 43:1–4, and 44:1–2) and the light, Jesus Christ. The title the author gave it, however, is **ውዳሴ፡ ወግናይ፡ ለእመ፡ አዶናይ**,

Wəddase wägəmay läʾəmmä adonay or ‘Praise and Glorification of the Mother of the Adonay’. Some manuscripts call it **ውዳሴሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም**, *Wəddaseha läʾəgzʾətənä Maryam*, just like the *Waddase Maryam*. Tradition ascribes its composition to St. ↗Yared, the famous church musician of the Aksumite dynasty; s. for example, the Amharic *Story of Mary*, EMML 5567, fol. 62b; the Synaxary entry in his honour, on 11 *Gənbot* (BudSaint 877); and the homily on Yared (Conti Rossini 1904), where the quotation from the beginning of the A.b. – “Holy and happy, glorious and blessed, honoured and exalted …” – is ascribed to Yared. As Grohmann (1919:18–25) has ably demonstrated, there is much similarity in content and arrangement between the hymns of this collection and the Sunday hymns of the *Wəddase Maryam*. Lash (1973) understands this relationship as the A.b. being an interpretation of the *Waddase Maryam*. A closer study of the A.b. suggests that it is not only of high literary quality but also a subtle but devastating refutation of attempts, seen in some sources, to give the blessed Virgin divine power. Throughout the collection, Mary is presented with the reverence due to the Mother of God, but with a power limited to interceding with her Son on behalf of the faithful who solicit her intercession. Every hymn ends with “Pray for us, o holy one, that your Son may grant us a share of His mercy”.

The author distinguishes clearly between worshipping (which he reserves for the Son/God) and glorification (which he uses both for the Son/God and Mary). An example would be: “The Magi, having seen the star, came from a far country to worship your Son and to pay you homage/glorification”. The report of what the Magi did was one of the important texts that *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob quoted against the ↗Stephanites, who refused to prostrate themselves on the ground before Mary, i. e. to worship her with her Son – “as the Magi had worshipped the mother and the Son”. With his quotation, “Hear, O (my) daughter, consider and incline your ear; forget your people and your father’s house, for the king has desired your beauty. Since he is your Lord, worship him” (Ps 44 [45]:10–11), the author of the A.b. puts Mary on the level of the faithful before the Lord. Interestingly, more recent copies of the book of Psalms do not have the sentence “worship him”.

The A.b. is also part of the ↗*Məʿəraf* chants, (s. VelMe I). Lash 1973 has noticed a difference between the text in the *Məʿəraf* and that in the Psalter.

Src.: EMML 5567, fol. 62b (vol. 10, forthcoming); BudSaint 877; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae sanctorum antiquiorum I: Acta Yared et Panṭalewon*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9, 10]), 3–39 (text), 1–36 (tr.); repr. 1961; VelMe I, 69–75.

Lit.: ADOLF GROHMANN, *Aethiopische Marienhymnen*, Leipzig 1919 (Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 23, 4); CHRISTOPHER LASH “‘Gate of Light’: an Ethiopian Hymn to the Blessed Virgin”, *Eastern Church Review* 4, 1972, 36–46; 5, 1973, 143–56; VelMe II, 279–83.

Getatchew Haile

Anqäṣä nəssəḥa

A.n. (**አንቀጸ፡ ንስሐ**, ‘The Gate of Penitence’) is a treatise addressed to priests, detailing the list of penances (**ቀኖና**, *qännona*) that the confessor must impose for the various sins confessed by the penitent. This title figures explicitly in various mss. (Vat. Aeth. no. 156; Uppsala Ethiopian no. 39, B, fol. 79ab–88a; EMML no. 1453 [4°], fol. 35–43, etc.); therefore it is different from the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*nuzaze*, despite certain claims to the contrary. The penances imposed by the priest must be proportional to the fault, but also according to the ability of the penitent. They often involve fasting, prostrations, or almsgiving, sometimes whipping.

A version of this book was published by ↗Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase in 1974 A.M. [1981 A.D.], under the title **ሥርዓተ፡ ቀኖና** (*Śərʿatä qännona*), but the name A.n. appears in the subscription in the very last line. It is in fact the third part (pp. 37–50) of the book called **አንቀጸ፡ ንስሐ፡ ምስለ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ቀኖና** (*Anqäṣä nəssəḥa məslä śərʿatä qännona*), the two other parts being an Amharic version of the *Mäṣḥafä nuzaze* (pp. 5–12) and the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*baḥray* (pp. 13–36; for this last treatise, s. ms. EMML 1480, 7° [EMML vol. 4, 601f.]). The textual tradition of the A.n. seems far from being a simple matter; the only study which deals with it being the unpublished thesis of the late *abba* Gäbrä Maryam Eman.

The Rome edition of 1967 A.M. [1975 A.D.] is of no use in this case, since it contains (pp. 91–95) only an adaptation of “the rite of the sacrament of penance”, consisting merely of rubrics, under the title of **ሥርዓተ፡ ምሥጢረ፡ ንስሐ** [**ኑዛዜ**] (*Śərʿatä məśṭirä nəssəḥa* [*nuzaze*]).

The sources of this treatise are probably the same ones as those of the penitential canons published by Guerrier (1918/19).

Src.: EMML vol. 4, 601f.; OSCAR LÖFGREN, *Katalog über die äthiopischen Handschriften in der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala*, Uppsala 1974, 130f.; GreTisVat I, 597; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), **አንቀጸ፡ ንስሐ፡ ምስለ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ቀኖና** (*Anqäṣä nəssəḥa məslä śərʿatä qännona*, 'The Gate of Penitence, together with the Order of Canon'), Addis Abäba 1974 A.M. [1981 A.D.]; **መጽሐፈ፡ ቀንዲል፡ ወንስሐ፡ [ኑዛዜ] ወሥርዓተ፡ ሚሶተ፡ ቍርባን፡ ለሕሙማን** (*Mäṣḥafä qändil wänəssəḥa* [*nuzaze*] *wäśərʿatä wähibotä qʷərban läḥəmmuman*, 'Book of the Anointment of the Sick and of Penitence [Confession], and the Order for Giving Communion to the Sick'), Rome 1967 A.M. [1975 A.D.].

Lit.: *abba* GHEBRÈ-MARIÀM EMAN, *Il rito del sacramento della penitenza nella Chiesa etiopica*, Ph.D. thesis, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Roma 1964; L. GUERRIER, "Canons pénitentiels", *ROC* 21, 1918/19, 5–24, 345–55.

Ugo Zanetti

ᶜAnsäba

The ᶜA. river (**ዓንሰባ**, also Ansäba, in older literature ᶜAyn Säba, 'The source of Saba') has its source near Asmära. From there it takes its course north-west through Ḫamasen and Sänḥit, then flows north-north-west, west of the Saḥəl mountains, and finally joins the ↗Barka at the border with Sudan. It only contains water during rainy seasons. In Saḥəl the ᶜA. river traditionally serves as a boundary between the territiories of the ↗Ḥabab to the east and the ↗Marya further inland, both of these are Təgre-speaking groups (Cecchi in d'Avray 1996:23f.). The ↗Bilin of the Sänḥit plains take their cattle to the ᶜA. pastures.

A broad range of trees covers the ᶜA. banks, such as sycamores, tamarinds, mimosas and baobabs (s. Cecchi in d'Avray 1996:24). Since ancient times the fertile ᶜA. valley, inhabited by agriculturists, has formed a link between the highlands and the Saḥəl. As a camel-caravan route from the Sudan via Kärän to the Red Sea port of Massawa, it was of great importance in history. It appears (in the corrupted form "Asabe") on the Florentine map *Egyptus Novelo* as early as 1454 (Crawford 1958).

ᶜAnsäba, near Elᶜabäred, photo courtesy of Matthew Curtis

In the 19th cent. the valley was annexed by the Egyptians, who based their claims on the suzerainty over the Ḫabab which had once been established by the Ottomans. Since the area was also claimed by the Ethiopian kingdom, it was raided several times by *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda in the late 1880s, which pushed the Ḫabab to enter an alliance with the Italians in 1887. During the Italian period, huge farms were set up near the ᶜA. (e.g., ↗ᶜƎlla Bärᶜəd; Maryam Dəʿarit near Kärän).

The ᶜA. valley often provided a retreat area for rebels. In a skirmish at Wälta Mädhanit to the south-west of ᶜAd Täkälezan, the Ḫamasen noble ↗Abärra Kaśa Ḫaylu defeated an Italian military unit in March 1892, whereupon many heads of ᶜA.-valley villages were summarily executed. Much later, the northern ᶜA. was a retreat area for the Eritrean Liberation Front, factions of which held the so-called ᶜA. Conference there in 1968. This was the beginning of a reformist movement, which later led to the formation of the ↗Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front (EPLF, KilHDic 75, 411). In December 1976, the "battle of ᶜA.", which took place north of Kärän between the EPLF and the Näbälbal Division considerably weakened the presence of the Ethiopian central government in the north.

"Anseba" was one of the sub-zones during the colonial era. In 1995 the ᶜA. administrative region

was created in the state of Eritrea, with Kärän as its capital, comprising most of the northern highlands on both sides of the river (partially corresponding to the former provinces Saḥəl and Sänhit).

The Təgrəñña-speaking descent group ↗Šäwᶜattä ᶜAnsäba, which follows a traditional law of their own, inhabits western Ḥamasen and has its own traditional sub-region, west of the upper flow of the ᶜA.

Lit.: KilHDic 75, 411; ANTHONY D'AVRAY, *Lords of the Red Sea. The History of a Red Sea Society from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 45), 23ff., 32, 51; OSBERT GUY STANHOPE CRAWFORD, *Ethiopian Itineraries ca. 1400–1524*, Cambridge 1958.

Wolbert Smidt

Anṣokiya

A. (**አንጾኪያ**) is located in the north-east of Šäwa, about 10 km to the west of the town of Qämise. It covers the escarpment between the ↗Gəšše highlands and the Borkänna swamps. The area is characterized by steep hillsides, interspersed with fertile and very densely settled terraces, mostly in the ↗*wäyna däga* zone (Stitz 1974:90). After the Italian occupation, cultivation expanded rapidly into the lowlands.

A. is mentioned in several historical sources. ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī had one of his important victories here. The rugged terrain made it into an area of refuge during the Oromo invasions. A. later emerged as a petty chiefdom in allegiance to the Emperor, independent of the Šäwan rulers until it was conquered by *märəd azmač* ↗Asfa Wäsän in the late 18th cent. (BTafA 511, 523). Thereafter it was governed as a separate district and is mentioned as such in sources from the late 19th cent. In the early 20th cent. it was apparently incorporated in either Gəšše or Efrata. After the Italian occupation, A. was included in Gəšše *wäräda*. After 1991, A. became a *wäräda*, with Mäkoy town as the administrative centre, and after the administrative reorganization about 1997 it also included the former *wäräda* of Gämza (Mağäte).

Src.: BassHist vol. 2, 177–86; HuntGeogr 125ff.; BTafA 511, 523; ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, Roma 1886, vol. 1, 343f.; WILLIAM CORNWALLIS HARRIS, *The Highlands of Æthiopia*, London 1844, vol. 2, 178f.; *blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŠELLASE WÄLDÄMÄSQÄL, **ዝክረ ነገር** (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba ²1962 [1969/70 A.D.]; PAUL SOLEILLET, *Voyages en Éthiopie (janvier 1882–octobre 1884)*, Rouen 1886, 271.

Lit.: VOLKER STITZ, *Studien zur Kulturgeographie Zentraläthiopiens*, Bonn 1974 (Bonner Geographische Abhandlungen 51), 90; SVEIN EGE, *Class, State and Power in Africa. A Case Study of the Kingdom of Šäwa (Ethiopia) about 1840*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 46), 18, 25, 27, 146, 217.

Svein Ege

Anṭalo

A. (**አንጣሎ**, also Henṭalo) is a small village located in the district of ↗Ǝndärta, Southern Təgray. It lies some 20 miles south of Mäqälä, the capital of Təgray. The urge to control this fortified mountainous place has provoked frequent engagements among various Təgrayan chiefs since the 17th cent. A. flourished as a town in the last quarter of the 18th and beginning of the 19th cent.

With the advent of *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase of Ǝndärta to power as Governor of all Təgray, A. became the political centre of Təgray. Earlier, it was the residence and a safe hideout of his father *däğğazmač* Kəflä Iyäsus, who once rose up to challenge the authority of *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul of Təgray. Furthermore, one of the most insecure Gondärine "shadow emperors", *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis once took asylum in the same area. It was from A. that *ras* Wäldä Śəllase received annual taxes, reviewed troops and declared administrative re-organizations. His ambition to overthrow the ↗Yäğğu dynasty induced him to undertake the necessary preparation from A.

Parallel to the physical extension of the town, A.'s population grew rapidly in the beginning of in the 19th cent. Meanwhile, A. emerged as the principal commercial centre of Təgray, second only to ᶜAdwa. It was frequented by Muslims

Anṭalo as seen by the 1868 Napier expedition, from Acton 1868:373

and Christians alike. Nevertheless, the town had declined immediately after the death of its patron, *ras* Wäldä Śəllase. It was badly affected by the chaos that followed and became overshadowed by ↗ᶜAddigrat, the new political centre established by ↗Säbagadis Wäldu of ᶜAgamä. The latter succeeded Wäldä Śəllase as Governor of Təgray. Even then, A. survived as an important market-centre of the salt trade throughout the 19th cent. Currently, it is only a small town and the capital of the Didiba Dergağen subdistrict in the southern Təgray zone. The population was estimated at 899 inhabitants in 2000.

Geologists have named the very thick calcarous strata, which are very developed in Təgray, "the Henṭalo limestone".

Lit.: MEDHANE TADDESSE, *Salt, Trade, and Urbanization: the Story of Mäqälä Town, 1872–1935*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995; PankHist I; NATHANIEL PEARCE, *The Life and Times of Nathaniel Pearce*, London 1831; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY, *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa 2000; ROGER ACTON, *The Abyssinian Expedition and the Life and Reign of King Theodore*, London 1868, 373 (ill.).

Tsegay Berhe G. Libanos

Anṭəyakos: Mäṣḥafä anṭəyakos ↗ Athanasius

Anthony, Saint

St.A. (**ኦንጦኒ**, *Ənṭonəs*), who is generally considered to have been the founder of monasticism, was born of Christian parents in Qimān al-ᶜArūs, north of Beni Suef, in about 251 A.D. At the age of 20 he followed the words of Christ (Mt 19:21), gave away his goods and sent his younger sister to a convent. At first he practised the ascetic life outside his village, later he settled at Pispir (Dayr al-Maymūn). Harassed by visitors, he moved to a cave on the slope of the south Qalala mountains, 35 km west of the Red Sea, where he lived for 40 years. Twice he went to Alexandria to support St. Athanasius in his fight against Arianism. He died in 356 A.D. His Vita was written by St. Athanasius. In the *Apophthegmata Patrum* there are 38 apophthegms of the "Father of Monasticism" (s. Arras 1984). The monastic houses of both ↗Täklä Haymanot and ↗Ewosṭatewos trace themselves to A. He is, moreover, frequently invoked in the Ethiopian ↗hagiography along with his disciple Macarius. Despite his prominence within Ethiopian Christianity, there has been no systematic study of his role in it or the literature about him. The *Vita Antonii* is believed to be one of the earliest works translated from Greek into Gəᶜəz during the Aksumite period. Later a ↗*mäl'akt* and ↗*sälam* to A. were also composed. St.A. is also commemorated in the ↗*Sənkəssar* on 22 *Ṭər*. Other works attributed to A. include the *Tə'əzazä abunä qəddus Ənṭonəs* ('The Commandment of our Father Saint Anthony'), *Təmhərt zä'abba Ənṭonəs* ('The Teaching of *abba* Anthony') and the *Ṣälotä qəddus abba Ənṭonəs* ('The Prayer of the Saint *abba* Anthony').

↗Monasticism

Src.: *Mäl'əkt*: EMML 374, fols. 200–02b; 659 fols. 156b–60b; *Sälam*: EMML 2810 fol. 96b; 2054 fol. 37b; 659 fol. 160b; Ṭānāsee 146 fols. 104va–06vb; *Sənkəssar*: BudSaint 2, fols. 531–37; *Vita*: Ṭānāsee 164 fols. 19ra–62ra, EMML 1844 fols. 2a–21b, ChAbb 31, 1; WrBriMus 261, 13; Monastic genealogies: EMML 1440 fol. 58a; 2134 fols. 167a–68a; 2459 fol. 91a; VICTOR ARRAS, *Geronticon*, Louvain 1986 (CSCO 476, 477 [SAe 79, 80]), 3–10, 87–93, 169, 192f., 195, 212, 238, 242 (text); ID., *Asceticon*, Louvain 1984 (CSCO 458, 459 [SAe 77, 78]), 23ff., 168–72 (text); GERARD COLIN, *Vie de Sāmu'ēl de Dabra Hāllēluyā*, Louvain 1990 (CSCO 519, 520 [SAe 93, 94]), 7, 46 (text) = 6, 37 (tr).

Lit.: LOUIS LELOIR, "Premiers renseignements sur la Vie d'Antoine en éthiopien", in: ANTIDORON, *Hulde aan Dr. Maurits Geerard bij de voltooiing van de Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, Wetteren 1984, 9ff.; ID. "Le prophétisime ecclésial d'Antoine", in: *After Chalcedon. Studies in Theology and Church History, Offered to Prof. Albert van Roey for his Seventieth Birthday*, Louvain 1985 (Louvaniensia Analecta 18), 217–31.

Otto Meinardus – Steven Kaplan

Antinori, Orazio

A. (b. 27 October 1811, Perugia, d. 27 August 1882, Lät Maräfəya) was an Italian naturalist and traveller. He studied natural history at the University of Perugia. In 1848 and 1849 A. participated in the campaigns for the political unity of Italy. After his journey to Tunisia in 1866, A. returned to Italy where he became one of the founding members of the Italian Geographical Society in 1867. In 1870 he was in the area of the Red Sea, where he visited ᶜAsäb and the colonial agriculture of Father Stella in Šotäl (Bogos). In 1875 he obtained the leadership of the expedition to the Equatorial Lakes organized by the Italian Geographical Society. He received a piece of land from *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II at Lät Maräfəya, where he opened a geographical station and where he died.

Src.: ORAZIO ANTINORI, *Viaggio nei Bogos. Con prefazione del march. Prof. Giacomo Antinori*, Roma 1887; ORAZIO ANTINORI – ODOARDO BECCARI – ARTURO ISSEL, *Un viaggio nel Mar Rosso*, Roma 1884; *Nel centro dell'Africa. Premessavi la Vita di O. Antinori scritta dal colonnello O. Baratieri*, Roma 1884.

Lit.: LORENZO LANDINI, *Due anni in Africa col marchese Orazio Antinori. Memorie*, Città di Castello 1884; ADRIANO AUGUSTO MICHIELI, *Orazio Antinori*, Torino – Milano 1941.

Gian Carlo Stella

Antonelli, Pietro

Count A. (b. 1859, d. 1901), was a diplomat, who visited Ethiopia for the first time in 1879. He met the future *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II at Ankobär and devised an aid policy to the sovereign of Šäwa who, in exchange for arms, should not have hindered any future Italian penetration. He returned to visit Mənilək in 1883, bringing with him a considerable supply of arms. In his way he signed a convention for friendship and commerce at Hadelè Gubbò with the *sulṭān* of Awsa. On 21 May 1883 at Ankobär they signed a friendship and trade treaty that until then had been unsuccessfully proposed by Orazio ↗Antinori. A. then set up a programme which aimed to make Mənilək accept an Italian protectorate over Ethiopia. The Treaty of Wəčale (↗Italo-Ethiopian convention of 1889) was a result of this. However, after the death of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, Mənilək was crowned Emperor and in 1890 declared that the article XVIII of the treaty (decisive for the institution of an Italian protectorate) was invalid. A.'s enormous effort to persuade the Emperor to change his mind was unsuccessful. What followed was the Italo-Ethiopian crisis which led to the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa. A. returned to his fatherland where he carried out other diplomatic duties.

Lit.: ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale. Dall'Unità alla marcia su Roma*, Roma – Bari 1976, s. index; SVEN RUBENSON, "Professor Giglio, Antonelli and Article XVII of the Treaty of Wichale", *JAH* 3, 1966, 445–57.

Marco Lenci

Añwaa

Anywaa language

A. (Anywa, Anyuak [Añuak], Anuak) is a Western Nilotic language of 100,000–200,000 speakers along the rivers Sobat, ↗Baro, Gelo and Akobo in Ethiopia (↗Gambəla) and the Sudan (Upper Nile). The local name is *Dho Anywaa* [*dhàànywáa*] 'A. language'. The name found in old documents, i.e. Yambo, is now obsolete. The dialectal differences are minimal. In the lexicon, they relate mainly to the source of borrowing, which is ↗Amharic and ↗Oromo in the case of Gambella and ↗Arabic in the case of the Upper Nile. A. and the geographically discontiguous languages Päri and Jur-Luwo of Southern Sudan form a dialect cluster from the linguistic point of view. The three varieties also share more than 90 % basic lexicon with Shilluk (Sudan).

A. is a tone language (high, mid, low, falling, rising). Its consonant system involves five places of articulation: labials (*b*, *p*, *m*, *w*), dentals (*dh* [*d̪*], *th* [*t̪*], *nh* [*n̪*]), alveolars (*d*, *t*, *n*, *l*, *r*), palatals (*j* [*ǧ*], *c* [*č*], *ny* [*ñ*], *y*) and velars (*g*, *k*, *ŋ*) and is characterized by a lack of fricatives. Consonants can be simple or strong/geminated.

The vowel system consists of ten monophthongs and five diphthongs, which fall into two different categories and are subject to rules of vowel harmony. Vowel length is distinctive. The different spelling conventions (s. further below) presently used affect in particular the vowels:

	[-breathy/-ATR]	[+breathy/+ATR]
IPA influence use	*ɪ, ɛ, a, ɔ, ʊ, æ, ɯ, ʌ*	*i, e, ə, o, u, ɛ̈, ʉ*
The New Testament 1976	*ɪ, ɛ, a, ɔ, o[!], æ, ɯ, ɪa*	*ï, e, ä, o[!], u, ü, wo*
Abälä Omøt et al. 1987/95	*i, e, a, ø, o, ɛ̈, wø, ia*	*ï, ë, ä, ö, u, ïë, wö*

[ATR = Advanced Tongue Root]

A. has a very rich derivational system, in particular verbal derivation, and involves morphophonological processes such as (a) change of vowel quality, (b) change of vowel length, (c) strengthening of stem-final consonant, (d) tone change, e.g. *cām* 'to eat something', *cʌ̀mò* 'to do eating', *cámɔ́* 'to go and eat something', *cʌ́mó* 'to come and eat something', *cāam* 'to feed somebody', *cʌ́ʌmó* 'to do feeding' etc. The same processes are also involved in number formation, as some of the following sample words show:

'one'	*ācíɛl*	'moon, month'	*dwʌ̀y*, pl. *dwʌ̀dè*
'two'	*ārí̀àw ~ ān̄áw*	'sun'	*cʌ̀ŋ*, pl. *cʌ́ŋŋé*
'three'	*ādʌ́k*	'blood'	*rèmɔ̄*
'fire'	*màac*, pl. *mʌ̀c*	'tongue'	*lɛ́ɛp*, pl. *lɛ́ɛpí*
'water'	*pìi* (pl.)	'tooth'	*lèeō*, pl. *lʌ̄k*

The self-standing pronouns are: sg. 1st /2nd / 3rd pers.: *āanī / (y)ɪ̄nī / ēnī*; pl. 1st (indusive) / 1st (exclusive) / 2nd / 3rd: *ɔ́nī / wāanī / ūunī / gēnī*. There are also short forms without the *-nī*. They are used as pronominal affixes in verb forms and as possessive suffixes. Demonstratives show a three-way distinction: *măn*, pl. *mʌ̀úy* [near speaker], *mànɔ́gɔ̀*, pl. *mʌ̀ɔ́gɔ̀* [near hearer], *màn(ì)cɛ́*, pl. *mɔ̀kɛ́* [far from hearer and speaker]. Interrogatives are *ŋà* 'who?', *ŋɔ́* 'what?', *káa/kúné* 'where?', *wʌ̀ʌnè* 'when?', *pér ŋɔ́* 'why?'. In clause-initial position, these question words are preceded by *ā*.

A. has two different clause types, i.e. noun-phrase-initial clauses and verb-initial clauses. Declarative clauses are of the noun-phrase-initial type, cf. *wàaŋì*$_1$ *kwʌ̀ʌr*$_2$ 'his/her grandmother$_1$ is afraid$_2$' or *ó*$_1$ *dìmó*$_2$ *tóŋ*$_3$ *wʌ̀nnɪ́*$_4$ *āk-wáaɛ́*$_5$.' Dimo's$_2$ son$_1$ asked for$_5$ his unde's$_4$ spear$_3$', while imperative and narrative clauses are of the verb-initial type, e.g. *gɛ̀ɛrɔ́*$_1$ *gɔ̀*$_2$*!* 'let's build$_1$ it$_2$!' and [X happened] *óo*$_1$ *mɪ́ɛl*$_2$ *jówwí*$_3$ '[X happened] and the people danced'. Adverbial clauses are either of the noun-phrase-initial or of the verb-initial-type, depending on whether they render a situation as having a clear temporal end (temporal boundedness) or not (temporal unboundedness). In the first case verb-initial clauses are found, in the latter case noun-phrase-initial clauses. The two clause types also differ in their morphological case system in that noun-phrase-initial clauses are morphologically ergative while verb-initial clauses are morphologically accusative-nominative.

The comparatively brief history of written A. is characterized by separate developments in Ethiopia, in the Sudan and among linguists, and shows a great heterogeneity in scripts and spelling conventions used. Before the publication of Reh (1996, 1999), only two very brief outlines of A. had been published (Lusted 1976; Keefer et al. in BendLang 164–70), though some manuscripts were produced (Keefer 1965; 1969). In Ethiopia, A. was first written in the Amharic script, sometimes complemented by an additional Latin transliteration (e.g. Keefer 1965). In the Sudan, A. used to be written in a modified version of the African alphabet, which is based on the Latin script. Meanwhile, in Ethiopia, another Latin-based script was also created (e.g. Abälä Omøt et. al. 1987/95). This script differs from the one used in the Sudan both in its inventory of symbols and in its spelling conventions. The spelling used in Reh (1996, 1999) follows mainly International Phonetic Alphabet conventions and those used among Niloticists.

Lit.: ABÄLÄ OMØT – OJULU OGWØL – CAAMUWËËL OBØØYA, *Gööre mo göör ki dha anywaa*, 1, Gambela 1987/1995; HAILE EYESUS ENGDASHET, *Anuak Orthography*, Addis Ababa 1986; AURELIA KEEFER, *The Anyuak Verb*, American Mission, ms. duplicate 1965; JAMES KEEFER, *Amharic-Anuak and Anuak-Amharic dictionary*, American Mission, ms. duplicate 1969; ID. et al., "Anuak", in: *BendLang* 164–70; MARIE LUSTED, "Anywa", in: *BendNonSLang* 495–512; MECHITHILD REH, *Anywa Lan-*

guage. Description and Internal Reconstructions, Köln 1996 (Nilo-Saharan 11); ID., *Anywa-English and English-Anywa Dictionary*, compiled with the assistance of SAM A. AKWEY and CHAM U. URIAT, Köln 1999 (Nilo-Saharan 14).

Mechthild Reh

Añwaa ethnography

The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia put the population of the A. of Gambella region as 44,581, which might have been underestimated. The total population including both Ethiopian and Sudanese A. may be between 100,000 and 200,000. Neighbouring A. to the west live the ↗Nuer. To the north and east are the ↗Oromo who live on the Ethiopian highlands. Between the A. and the Oromo live the ↗Mağangir. The ↗Murle occupy the land to the south in the Sudan. Small minority ethnic groups of the Komo and Opuo live to the north of the A.

The A. are basically sedentary agriculturalists, cultivating maize, sorghum, tobacco, pumpkin, cowpeas etc. on the river bank which is subject to flooding during the rainy season, as well as in the savannah woodland. Fishing, hunting and gathering are also important means in their subsistence economy, although now hunting plays a minor role as the once rich wildlife has been destroyed in recent years. Unlike other Western-Nilotic-speaking peoples such as the Nuer and Dinka, they keep only a limited number of cattle, goats and sheep.

Most of the A. villages are located along the five rivers flowing westwards through Añwaaland. They are, from north to south, the Baro (in Añwaa: Upeeno), Aluoro, Gila (Giilo), Akobo and Oboth. They merge and become the Sobat river and then join the White Nile. Traditionally a village, normally with a population of several hundred, was the largest political unit. It was ruled either by a village headman (*kwaaro*) or a noble (*ñieya*). Both are hereditary offices, and while village headmen are from different clans, nobles belong to a single royal clan.

Toward the end of the 19th cent., the A. were brought under the influence of the expanding Ethiopian empire and some village headmen and nobles emerged as imperial agents and acquired a number of rifles in exchange for elephant tusks, cattle and slaves. A couple of nobles, such as Akway and Udiel, exercised considerable power far beyond their own villages.

On the Ethiopian side, the traditional political system of the village headmen and nobles as well as other customs and institutions were banned and abolished by the 1974 ↗Revolution. The *Därg* era saw a drastic socio-economic transformation of A. ways of life to an unprecedented degree, as various agricultural development projects, such as the resettlement programme, a state farm or an irrigation project, were established in A. land. Another factor that had a great impact was the huge influx of Sudanese refugees together with the establishment of the headquarters and training camps of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). In sum, the state administrative system and market economy firmly encroached upon their life. On the Sudanese side, the traditional political system persisted, but the land was devastated because of the Sudanese civil war.

Añwaa woman pounding millet, Počala village, 1935, photo by Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard, © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford (accession no. EP.AK.57)

During the *Därg* era a group of A. dissidents organized the Gambella People's Liberation Movement. After the fall of the *Därg* in 1991, it seized power at the regional level and, under the new framework of the ethnicity-based regional administration and politics, the state of inter-ethnic relations and the consciousness of A. ethnicity entered a new era. In particular, historical hostility between the A. and the Nuer became highly politicized and militarized and resulted in a series of inter-ethnic armed conflicts.

Lit.: EDWARD EVAN EVANS-PRITCHARD, *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, New

York 1940; ID., "Further Observations on the Political System of the Anuak", *Sudan Notes and Records* 28, 1947, 62–97; DOUGLAS HAMILTON JOHNSON, "On the Nilotic Frontier: Imperial Ethiopia in the Southern Sudan", in: DONALD DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986, 219–45; EISEI KURIMOTO, "Natives and Outsiders: the Historical Experience of the Anywaa of Western Ethiopia", *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 43, 1992, 1–43; ID., "People of the River: Subsistence Economy of the Anywaa (Anuak) of Western Ethiopia", in: SHUN SATO – EISEI KURIMOTO (eds.), *Essays in Northeast African Studies*, Osaka 1996 (Senri Ethnological Studies 43), 29–57; ID., "Politicisation of Ethnicity in Gambella", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 798–815; GODFREY LIENHARDT, "Anuak Village Headmen I, II", *Africa* 27, 1957, 341–55; *ibid.* 28, 1958, 23–36.

Eisei Kurimoto

Anze Matienzo, Eduardo

A.M. (b. 14 October 1902, Cochabamba, Bolivia), doctor in law and political sciences, was a Bolivian high rank diplomat, politician and writer. He served his country in different diplomatic functions in Latin America and later as its foreign minister (1941–43), then as ambassador to Peru and in 1947 to the United Nations (UN). On 14 December 1950 he was appointed the "United Nations Commissioner for Eritrea", a British administered mandatory territory at this time, to implement the transition until the end of British rule.

On 2 December 1950 in its resolution 390 A (V) the UN General Assembly had voted for the establishment of a federation between Eritrea and Ethiopia, with Eritrea having its own government with legislative, executive and judicial autonomy in her internal affairs, while its external affairs, defence and external commerce were to be in the hands of the planned Federal Council. Immediately after his arrival in February 1951, A.M. concentrated major policy issues in his hands, first strengthening civil order by pushing the British administration for a serious anti-*šəfta* policy, later in March 1952 organizing the first country-wide elections for the Eritrean Assembly. During the transitional period, A.M. had, together with the British, to organize an Eritrean administration, to prepare a constitution and finally submit it to an Eritrean Assembly – which also had to be convoked – for adoption (↗Eritrean-Ethiopian Federation).

The constitutional commission led by A.M., with the help of his personal secretary, the Bolivian diplomat Emilio Anze Franco (b. 1915, s.

Eduardo Anze Matienzo, from Pankhurst – Pankhurst 1953:232, plate XXX

ErDizBio 19), consulted local elders and political groupings all over Eritrea mostly in 1951, then high-rank experts of international public law such as Guggenheim in Geneva, and also involved Ethiopia and the British administration. On those grounds Luca, the commission's lawyer, wrote the constitution in French, submitted to the Assembly on 3 May 1952. Difficulties in the translation process were only mastered when A.M. asked the journalist ↗Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam and the Ethiopian-born Swiss merchant André Evalet to translate the draft into Amharic and Təgrəññа. This was followed by its adoption by the Eritrean Assembly on 10 July, approved by A.M. one month later (↗Constitutions). A.M. also drafted laws supplemental to the Constitution and submitted them to the Assembly.

His influence on the shaping of the Federation was crucial for its later development. A.M. acted strongly in favour of full implementation of Eritrean autonomy, preventing the Ethiopian Imperial representative to execute power and even risking conflict with the Emperor. When he suggested that any later amendment to the constitution should be ratified by the UN instead by the Emperor, the Ethiopian Foreign Minister ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld intervened strongly and successfully. The first Eritrean Chief Executive, i.e. the head of government, was elected by the

Eritrean Assembly following A.M.'s initiative (↗Täḍla Bayru). Immediately after the enforcement of the Federal Act A.M. left the country on September 15, 1952. His final report constitutes a rich source for regional historiography.

↗United Nations Commissions for Eritrea

Src.: *Progress Report of the United Nations Commissioner in Eritrea during the Year 1951, GA Official Records, Sixth Session (A/1959)*, New York 1951; UNITED NATIONS COMMISSIONER IN ERITREA, *Final Report of the United Nations Commissioner in Eritrea*, GA Official Records, Seventh Session, Supplement No. 15 (A/2188), New York 1952; ID., *Statement of the UN Commissioner in Eritrea presenting the draft constitution in Eritrea to the Representative Assembly of Eritrea, 10 June 1952*, [Asmara 1952]; ID., *Records*, 1949–1954, 1949–1952 (bulk), including case files of the United Nations Tribunal in Eritrea (U.N. Archives); *Constitution* (ms. of translation given 1994 to the President's office, Asmära, by André Evalet, Geneva).

Lit.: ErDizBio 19f.; KilHDic 102f., 143f., 215f., 307; A. ARTHUR SCHILLER, "Eritrea: Constitution and Federation with Ethiopia", *American Journal of Comparative Law* 1953, 375–77 (Lit.); ZÄWDE RÄTTA, **የኤርትራ፡ ጉዳይ** 1941–1963 (*Yä'ertra gudday* 1941–1963, 'The Case of Eritrea, 1941–63'), Addis Abäba 1999; ANDRÉ EVALET, *De Ménélik à Mengistu. Un Suisse en Éthiopie*, Genève 1999 (Collection Sources et témoignages, Musée d'ethnographie, Genève, [4]), 92; E. SYLVIA PANKHURST – RICHARD K.P. PANKHURST, *Ethiopia and Eritrea. The Last Phase of the Reunion Struggle 1941-1952*, Woodford Green 1953, 232 (ill.).

Wolbert Smidt

Aosta, duke of ↗ Savoia, Amedeo di

Aphrahat

A. (b. ca. 270, d. ca. 345), called "The Persian Sage", was a Syriac Church Father and the author of a series of 23 treatises, "Demonstrations", which cover most of the theological reflection of Persian Christians of his time. A.'s Christian name was Jacob, which led to his being confused (in Latin, Armenian and Ethiopian sources) with Jacob, Bishop of Nisibis (d. 338).

A.'s theology is based exclusively on the Bible and is free from Greek influence, but also absorbed elements of the Jewish exegetical tradition. His work was translated into Armenian (attributed to Jacob of Nisibis), Georgian (attributed to Hippolytus) and Arabic (attributed to ↗Ephrem).

In Ethiopia neither A.'s name nor the title of his work are known. At least two of his "Demonstrations" (Syriac: *Taḥwəyāthā*, 'demonstrations, explanations [of Christian theology]') are known in Gəʿəz. One of them, **ድርሳን፡ ዘአባ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ዘሀገረ፡ ንጽቢን፡ ዘከመ፡ መጽአ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ፋርስ፡ በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገረ፡ ንጽቢን** (*Dərsan zäʾabba Yaʿaqob ṗappas zähagärä Nəṣəbin zäkämä mäṣʾə nəgusä Fars bämäwaʿəlihu wəst hagärä Nəṣəbin*, 'The Homily by Father Jacob, bishop of the city of Nisibis, on the arrival in his days of the king of the Persians at Nisibis'), is A.'s "Demonstration 5: The Wars" (s. Pereira 1906). The title is a misnomer, alluding to the tradition of Jacob, bishop of Nisibis, being the defender of his city when attacked by the Persians (cp. the ↗*Sənkəssar* reading on 18 *Ṭər*), but the text deals rather with Daniel's prophecy of the Four Beasts (Dan 7), symbolizing the four world empires.

Another of A.'s "Demonstrations" (8: 'The resurrection of the dead') is found in a 14th-cent. theological text **ነገር፡ በእንተ፡ እለ፡ ይክሕዱ፡ ትንሣኤ፡ ምውታን** (*Nägär bäʾəntä əllä yəkəḥədu tənśaʾe məwətan*, 'Treatise on those who deny the resurrection of the dead'), edited by Cerulli (1964). It was written in polemic style against some unnamed "heretics" whose views, according to Cerulli, would later on be taken up by the ↗Michaelites and ↗Stephanites. The author of the "Treatise" used A.'s text as already available in an Ethiopic translation.

Src.: JEAN PARISOT (ed., tr.), *Aphraatis Sapientis Persae Demonstrationes*, Paris 1894, 1907 (Patrologia Syriaca 1, 2); GUY LAFONTAINE (ed., tr.), *La version arménienne des oeuvres d'Aphraate le Syrien*, Louvain 1977–80 (CSCO Scriptores Armeniaci 7, 12); PETER BRUNS (ed., tr.), *Unterweisungen / Aphrahat*, Freiburg – New York 1991 (Fontes Christiani 5, 1–2); BudSaint 513f.; FRANCESCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA (ed., tr.), "Jacobi, episcopi Nisibeni, Homilia de adventu regis Persarum adversus urbem Nisibis", in: CARL BEZOLD (ed.), *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag (2. März 1906) gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern*, Gießen 1906, 877–92; ENRICO CERULLI (ed., tr.), "De resurrectione mortuorum, opuscolo della Chiesa etiopica del sec. XIV", in: *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* II, Città del Vaticano 1964 (Studi e testi 232), vol. 1, 1–27; TJITZE BAARDA, "Another Treatise of Aphrahat the Persian Sage in Ethiopic Translation", *New Testament Studies* 27, 1980–81, 632–40.

Lit.: GEORG GÜNTER BLUM, "Afrahaṭ", in: GERHARD KRAUSE – GERHARD MÜLLER et al. (eds.), *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Berlin 1977, vol. 1, 625–35 (Lit.); GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Riflessi etiopici dell' escatologia di Afraate", *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 17, 1, 2000, 151–59.

Witold Witakowski

Apiculture ↗ Bees

Apocalyptic literature ↗ Eschatology

Apocrypha ↗ Pseudepigrapha and apocrypha

Apologia ad Constantinum ↗ Athanasius; ↗ ʿEzana

Apostles, Acts of

The A.A. (Gəʿəz: **ግብረ፡ ሐዋርያት**; *Gəbrä Ḥawaryat*) is the second part of a two-volume biblical history. The first volume, the Gospel of Luke, describes the coming of the Messiah. The A.A., being the second volume, recount the coming of the "Kingdom", beginning with the ascension of Jesus and typically ending with Paul's Roman imprisonment (but s. below). Although properly belonging with the Gospel of Luke, the A.A. never follow it in Ethiopic manuscripts or printed editions of the ↗New Testament.

Of the New Testament books, A.A. was one of the last to be translated into ↗Gəʿəz. Although the earliest-known ms. dates from the 14th cent. (Biblioteca Ambrosiana B20b inf.), solid evidence exists to postulate a pre-9th-cent. translation and other indicators suggest a translation before the 7th cent. Internal evidence of liturgical development (for example, "they blessed the table" translates the common Lukan phrase "the breaking of bread", Lk 2:42 passim) and of dependence upon other translated biblical books (such as the Gospel of John and the Pauline Epistles) suggests a translation in or shortly after the 5th cent. The A.A. were translated directly from a Greek text containing an "Alexandrian" text-type, with only some "Byzantine" and very limited "Western" admixture.

Lack of facility in Greek and ignorance of Roman customs by the Ethiopian translator(s) resulted in numerous mistranslations. The reading **አንቲቅስቂያ** (*antiqəsqiya*) for ἄντικρυς Χίου ('opposite Chios', 20:15), for example, indicates the difficulty experienced by the translator(s) and also suggests a Greek Vorlage written in *scriptio continua*. In addition, the A-text lacks most of the sea-voyage account (chs. 27–28), where the technical nautical terminology proved unfathomable. Where the Greek was comprehensible, the translator(s) produced slavish translations, making the Ethiopic version important for New Testament textual research.

Between the 13th and 15th cent. scribes began revising the A-text in light of the Arabic. Apart from Acts 1:1–12 and chs. 27–28, these attempts did not result from purposeful revisions but from increasing contact with other traditions. This led to a thorough revision ("B-text") in the 16th cent., based on the Arabic. The revisers also translated marginal notes found in their Arabic exemplars. One note, found at the end of the A.A., informed readers of Paul's release from captivity and his subsequent mission work and martyrdom. Although omitted in printed editions, many modern Ethiopic mss. include this longer ending (s. Uhlig in PICES 10).

The A.A., although the only book of the New Testament mentioning "Ethiopia" (8:27), apparently never became popular in the country. The book exercised little influence on liturgical texts. Excerpts appear primarily in baptismal liturgies and some horologia. Known manuscripts containing the A.A. number just over 100. Today, however, a reading from the A.A. is compulsory at every Mass.

The book made a more indelible impression on Ethiopian historiography. Although translated too late to supplant existing traditions about the origin of Aksumite Christianity, the account of the Ethiopian eunuch's conversion (↗Filappos) eventually interacted with the Solomon-Sheba legend (↗Makəbba). The "A-text" of Acts 8:26–39 has the eunuch overseeing Gaza, in Palestin, not the treasury (**መዛግብት**, *mäzagəbt*) of ↗Candace. In Greek, "Gaza" and "treasury" are spelled the same. The translators, unaware of 1st cent. Graeco-Roman political reality, concluded that the similar word in 8:27 also referred to the city mentioned in 8:26. The story of Solomon bequeathing the city of Gaza to the Queen of Sheba (↗*Kəbra nagaśt*, ch. 33) developed to explain how the government of this city could have belonged to an Ethiopian.

More recently, Ethiopians have eased this tension between the biblical text and Ethiopian tradition by suggesting the Ethiopian eunuch evangelized the nation, but the church remained unrecognized until the arrival of an ordained bishop in the 4th cent. (↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan).

↗Bible

Lit.: JAMES MONTGOMERY, "The Ethiopic Text of the Acts of the Apostles", *Harvard Theological Review* 27, 1934, 169–205; CURT NICCUM, *The Book of Acts in Ethiopic (with Critical Text and Apparatus) and its Relation to the Greek Textual Tradition*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Notre Dame 2000; SIEGBERT UHLIG, "The Last Chapter of Acts in the Ethiopic Version", in: *PICES* 10, 319–22; ROCHUS ZUURMOND, "The Ethiopic Version of the New Testament", in: BART D. EHRMAN – MICHAEL WILLIAM HOLMES (eds.), *Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, Grand Rapids, MI 1995 (Studies and Documents 46), 142–56.

Curt Niccum

Apostles, Constitution of the ↗ Didəsqəlya

Apostles, Contendings of ↗ Ḥawaryat: Gädlä ḥawaryat

Aqaqi

A. (አቃቂ, Oromo: Haqaaqii), until 1917 the terminus of the railway from Djibouti, is now the first station town of importance, 15 km from Addis Abäba. A. has an altitude of 2,120 m A.S.L. at the bridge over the Great Aqaqi river.

This town, built on the banks of the Great Aqaqi, is now joined to the capital (Näfas Səlk and Bole Airport districts). It provides water, energy (first produced by the Abba Samu'el power plant and later by the ↗Qoqa power-stations) and plots of flat land, well served by the road and railway networks. Close to the main national market, A. imports raw materials and exports industrial products, avoiding the Addis Abäba traffic jams.

In the 1960s the Imperial Government was eager to industrialize its capital and decided to attract firms which had until then been mainly located in Dərre Dawa and Asmära. Joint ventures were then set up with Indian and Japanese capital in the cotton-spinning and weaving industry. These factories had a reputation for appalling working conditions and very low wages. Mechanical workshops, a tyre and plastics manufacturing plant and an iron girder factory have increased the industrial power of A. Though it is already polluted by various sources in the capital, general refuse, waste water of the cement factory, various workshops in Addis Abäba and the flour-mill in Qalliti – the river is further polluted by the industrial plants in A.

The Revolution nationalized all the industrial firms and grouped them into state corporations, thus leading the foreigners to leave. The present government is now trying to privatize these state-owned firms with limited success. The population has grown from 17,726 inhabitants in 1970 to 54,146 in 1984, reaching 53,886 in 1994 (figures for A. *wäräda*, not for the city itself). Along with Dukäm, ↗Däbrä Zäyt and ↗Moğğo, A. is one of the industrial satellite towns of a conurbation which joins the capital to ↗Adaamaa (Nazret).

↗Railways

Lit.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE, *Report on a Survey of Shoa Province*, Addis Ababa 1966; ID., *Survey of Major Towns in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1968; ID., *Ethiopia. Statistical Abstract 1970*, Addis Ababa 1971; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY, *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988; ALAIN GASCON, *La Grande Éthiopie, une utopie africaine. Éthiopie ou Oromie, l'intégration des hautes terres du Sud*, Paris 1995; ID., "Addis Abeba, la plus haute capitale d'Afrique", in: ANNE-MARIE FRÉROT (ed.), *Les randes villes d'Afrique*, Paris 1999, 165f.; MESFIN WOLDE MARYAM, *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972; OFFICE OF THE POPULATION AND HOUSING CENSUS COMMISSION, *Ethiopia 1984. Population & Housing Census Preliminary Report* 1, n° 1, Addis Ababa 1984; ID., *The 1994 Housing Census of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1995–96; FRIEDRICH FREIHERR VON KULMER, *Im Reiche Kaiser Menelik. Tagebuch einer Abessinischen Reise*, Leipzig 1910, 144 (ill.).

Alain Gascon

Caves at the Great Aqaqi, some of which were formerly inhabited, 1907, from von Kulmer 1910:144

ᶜAqaṣen

ᶜA. (**ዓቃጺን**) is the ancient title of a regional ruler in Təgray province, which goes back to the title of **ዓቃቢ፡ ጸንጸን** (*ᶜaqqabe ṣänṣän*, 'keeper of the fly-whisks') at the court of the ancient kingdom of ↗Aksum (TadTChurch 73).

During the rule of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty the title survived in the north, where the population was unhappy with the Zagʷe rulers and considered them usurpers. At that time, the local rulers of ↗Ǝndärta had the traditional title of *ᶜaqqabe ṣänṣän*. These aristocrats did not want to recognize a new ↗Solomonic dynasty as well, but their resistance was supressed by *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I and the title (in its abbreviated versions **ዓቀንጸን** [*ᶜaqänṣän*] or ᶜA.) passed to more modest rulers of ↗Säraye district. *Aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, who revived the ancient custom of coronation in Aksum, also revived the significance of the no-less-ancient title of *ᶜaqqabe ṣänṣän* and granted it during the ceremony to the ruler of Təgray. However, this alone could not restore the efflorescence of northern might and prosperity and ᶜA. remained a traditional title for the governors of Säraye. Later, in its form **ዓቃጺና** (*ᶜaqaṣəna*), it became a title of even lesser rulers.

Src.: DombrChr 298f. (tr.); KrAmdS (tr.), index; PerrZaY 50; MANFRED KROPP (ed., tr.), *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minās*, Louvain 1988 (CSCO 503 [SAe 83]), 15.
Lit.: TadTChurch 73, 97.

Sevir Chernetsov

Aqetzär

A. (**አቄትዘር**) is a term derived from two separate words: *aqet* and *zär*. The etymology of both is not clear (*zär* could be an Amharic word for 'progeny, generation'; Cushitic provenance is possible, cf. Brockelmann 1950:17), but in the chronides this combined term has the general significance of hordes of camp followers. Although A. can be perceived also as the name of a certain military regiment, the chronicler of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl makes a clear distinction between the ↗*çäwa*, professional soldiers, and the A., who, he says, "included slaves or servants of both sexes". While using it in more or less the same sense, the Chronicle of *aṣe* Susənyos adds that the A. congregated according to language and ethnic group (PerChron 70). This gives the impression that he is describing all the camp-followers who were not members of the ruling elite or the professional soldiery (cp. PerChron 60, 84).

A tentative etymology of the word must take into account the existence of the word A. with the meanings 'mason' and 'craftsman' (cp. THMDic 740: *aqet* 'crafsman, carpenter, maison'; s. also *aqeče* '[name] of the regiment in the past …'; cp. also KaneDic 1186). In fact, in the Chronide of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓä Yaᶜəqob the **አቄቴ፡ ዣር** (*aqete žar*) or **አቂት፡ ዣር** (*aqit žar*) seem to be just craftsmen (PerrZarY 71, 93). The land deeds of *aṣe* ↗Lalibäla mention a chief or commander of the **ዓቀይታት** (*ᶜaqäytat*), but it is not clear to what kind of activity it is referred. Otherwise it is not certain that *ᶜaqäytat* is related to the noun *aqet*. In any case, in Təgrəñña *ᶜaqäytay* means simply 'soldier'.

Src.: PerrZarY 71, 93; CRHist 186; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed.), "L'evangelo d'oro di Dabra Libanos", *RRALm*, ser. 5, 10, 1901; ID., *Documenta ad illustrandam historiam: I Liber Axumae*, 2 vols., Louvain 1909-10 (CSCO SAe ser. altera 8); ETHIOPIAN ACADEMY OF LANGUAGES (ed.), **መዝገበ ቃላት ትግርኛ ብትግርኛ** (*Mäzgäbä qalat təgrəñña bətəgrəñña*, 'Lexicon of Təgrəñña in Təgrəñña'), Addis Abäba 1989 A.M. [1996/97 A.D.]; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1965 (Monographs in Ethiopian Land Tenure 1); PerChron 60, 70, 84 (text), s. index; THMDic 740.
Lit.: CARL BROCKELMANN, *Abessinische Studien*, Berlin 1950 (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch-historische Klasse 97, 4), 17.

Merid Wolde Aregay

Aqordät

Aqordät town

A. (**አጆርደት**, also ᶜAqordät) is a town of the ↗Beni ᶜAmər groups of the ↗Beğa community and their serfs from ↗Təgre-speaking groups. It is situated in the western lowlands of Eritrea, mid-way between the cities of Kärän in the highlands and Kassala in the Gaš delta, and was the capital city of the former *awraǧǧa* of

View over Aqordät, 1997, photocourtesy of Sara Smidt Bill

↗Barka (later renamed A.). According to the new administrative division of Eritrea, ↗Barentu became the capital of the Gaš-Barka region (*zoba*), while A. remained the capital of the A. sub-province of Gaš-Barka. A. was the centre of the old caravan-trade route from eastern and northern Sudan to Eritrea, owing to its proximity to the river Barka.

Under the hegemony of the ↗Funǧ confederation in the Sudan, the *nabtāb* became the ruling class of the Beni ᶜAmər, with their centre around A. It was from the Funǧ that the vassal Beni ᶜAmər chief, *diglāl* (Ar. *nāẓir*), received his emblem of rank and authority. His permanent camp was situated a few kilometres from the present town of A.

Although the *diglāl*'s rising power was broken by the invasion of the ↗Mahdists from 1885–93, he continued to rule over the country. In June 1890, an Italian military expedition, which had already built a small fort near A., allied itself with the Beni ᶜAmər. In 1893 they defeated the Mahdist army in the Barka region (Nadel 1954:63).

A. developed as a centre of the Italian administration and a hospital and Italian Arabic school were built. In 1928 a railroad from Asmära to Kärän reached A. By 1938 the town's population was estimated at approximately 2,050, including 168 Italians, workers from other parts of Eritrea, Sudanese, Arabs, West Africans (Takrur) and others (s. Guida). By 1943 the city's population had increased further, but only a few of the Beni ᶜAmər elite (*nabtāb*) and the *diglāl* resided in the city. Others camped on its outskirts. Italian entrepreneurs developed bananas and various citrus-fruit plantations along the Barka River during the 1940s and 1950s, providing further economic growth (Killion 1998:50f.).

During the ↗Eritrean-Ethiopian Federation, A. faced political instability: as the Muslim population in general and the western-lowland Muslim population in particular was suppressed by ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's government A. became a centre for political movements. A.'s police and government employees were organized by the Eritrean Liberation Movement (ELM) in 1958 (↗Liberation movements).

In 1960 the ELM cells in A. began to launch guerilla attacks against the Ethiopian police and military garrison. The town became a principle centre for the early Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) organization. In July 1962, ELF operatives bombed a ceremony attended by the Imperial representatives and the Eritrean Chief Executive. Four officials were killed and police gunfire wounded 60 civilians. Repression and guerilla attacks continued throughout the 1960s as A. developed into a major Ethiopian garrison town.

In 1972–75 ELF attacks around A. intensified and on 9 March 1975 the Ethiopian Army massacred 208 people, resulting in the exodus to the Sudan of most of the population. In September 1977, A. was liberated by ELF forces, but the town was recaptured by the Ethiopian Army in July 1978. It was liberated again on April 1988 through joint action by the ELF and the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front.

The population of A. and its surrounding villages is today between 45,000 and 65,000 following the return of many residents who became refugees in the Sudan. The majority of A.'s inhabitants engage in agricultural activities as well as pastoralism. Some also make baskets, mats and other products from coconut-trees. A. has a range of social services, including elementary and junior schools, a high school and a hospital. It also houses administrative buildings, specifically for the Ministry of Agriculture.

Lit.: ANDREW PAUL, *A History of the Beja People of the Sudan*, Cambridge 1954; ID., "Notes of the Bani-Amer", *Sudan Notes and Records* 31, 1950, 223–45; ANTONIO L. PALMISANO, *Ethnicity: the Beja as Representation*, Berlin 1991; SIEGFRIED F. NADEL, *Races and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1943; ALBERTO POLLERA, *The Native Peoples of Eritrea*, tr. by LINDA LAPPEN, Lawrenceville 1999; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London 1976, 155–60; KilHDic 51f.; *Guida* 218f.; CHRIS KUTSCHERA, *Érythrée. Eritrea*, Paris 1994, 143 (ill.).

Abdulkader Saleh Mohammad

Aqordät archeological site

The archeological area of A. stretches from the town of A. to the west and south to the Sudanese border and beyond. Archaeological investigations conducted in the 1940s by Anthony John Arkell and other British officers identified a number of sites with evidence of occupation from the Late Stone Age to historical times. Archaeological sites have been located at Dandaneit, Darotai, Gadein, Gibraltar, Khor Damtai, Khor Karshmila or Kurshemal, Jebel Walad el-Barak, Jebel Laquatat, Kokan, Ntanei and Shabeit.

Lithic tools from Gibraltar, Khor Damtai, Khor Karshmila, Gadein and Jebel Walad el-Barak are mainly macrolithic tools and may date to the Early Holocene period; similar tools were collected in the lower strata at ↗Gobädra in Təgray, where they are dated to ca. 10,000–7,000 B.C.

Late prehistoric pottery, stone tools (maceheads and perforated disks, axes, flattened cylinders, palettes and dishes, grindstones, small perforated oval flat disks, burnishing-rods, objects of uncertain use), personal ornaments (stone bracelets, lip-plugs and ear-plugs, shell pendants, beads), stone animal figurines, metal objects and obsidian microliths were collected at Kokan, Ntanei, Shabeit, Dandaneit and Jebel Walad el Barak. The ceramics from these sites included decorated ↗pottery (rim-banded ware, scraped ware decorated with small clay balls, basket-like pots, impressed "dog-tooth" decorated pots, criss-cross combed ware, inside-scraped jars, finger-nail impressed ware) and some undecorated ware. These materials are similar in style to those collected near Kassala in the Gaš Delta in the Sudan and can be ascribed to pastoral and agro-pastoral people that occupied the lowlands in the 2nd millennium B.C. (Gaš Group, Jebel Mokram Group). The occurrence of some vessels similar to those from the ↗ʿOna near Asmära points to contacts with the highlands in the late 2nd millennium B.C.

Finally, ceramics similar in style to the post-Aksumite ones of the highlands have been collected at Gibraltar and Darotai and were associated with clay and glass pendants, and clay objects.

Lit.: ANTHONY JOHN ARKELL, "Four Occupation Sites at Agordat", *Kush* 2, 1954, 33–62; RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "Alcuni siti inediti dell'Eritrea settentrionale", *Abbay* 10, 1979, 82f.

Rodolfo Fattovich

ʿAqqabe säʿat

The ʿA.s. (**ዓቃቤ፡ ሰዓት**; lit. 'keeper of the hours'), was responsible for the emperor's schedule as well as for the hours of prayer. Although it is impossible to date precisely the origin of this office, among the earliest references are documents from ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana (Conti Rossini 1901:197, passim). Hagiographical traditions, probably of the 15th cent. (Kur 1965:23–26), claim that the title was given to *abba* ↗Iyäsus Moʾa and the abbots of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝstifanos by *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak in return for the monk's help in gaining the throne.

The ʿA.s. was the most important ecclesiastical official in the court and his tents were often pitched near the chapel of St. Mary. It is, however, with ʿA.s. Šäräqä Bərhan (d. 1403), an intimate friend of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II, that the political significance of the title emerges. *Aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob enhanced the importance by making ʿA.s. ↗Amməḫa Ṣəyon his most trusted courtier. He is said to have resided at the court, to have crowned *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam, and informed him of the military successes of his army against the sultanate of ʿAdal. ʿA.s. Täsfa Giyorgis was one of the regents following Bäʾədä Maryam's death. The abbots of Däbrä Ḥayq continued to hold this title until the time of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī. During that time ʿA.s. Nägadä Iyäsus (cf. Conti Rossini 1962:29–33) was captured and executed by a contingent of Muslim soldiers.

In the 16th cent. at the time of Francisco ↗Alvares's visit to Ethiopia, the office had considerable influence. Alvares called the "Cabeata" "the second man in these Kingdoms" (BeckHuntAlvar 270). The ʿA.s. was one of the supreme judges and the only person with unrestricted access to the emperor. Pedro Paez says that the ʿA.s. "knows all the secrets and gives the king advice in everything for the good of his soul and body, even (telling him) not to eat and drink saying 'this is enough'" (Huntingford 1965:104).

In the Gondärine period the ʿA.s. resided in Gondär, close to the emperors, as did other high ecclesiastics, such as the metropolitan (↗*Paṗpas*) and the ↗*əčč̣äge*. ʿA.s.'s connection to the Däbrä Ḥayq appears to have become rather weak. Nevertheless James Bruce described the ʿA.s. as "the third ecclesiastic in Ethiopia, and under the Abuna, is head of all the secular clergy" (BruNile vol. 3, 19). Several texts also mention an assistant called the **አፈ፡ ዓቃቤ፡ ሰዓት** (*afä ʿaqqabe säʿat*, lit. 'the mouth of the ʿA.s.')

as another important official (Kur 1965:34). The ᶜA.s. finally lost his importance with the decline of the Gondärine kingdom. In later times, before disappearance, ᶜA.s. is only rarely mentioned among high clergymen, but with his influence going not beyond his function (Hyatt 1928:51).

Src.: STANISLAS KUR (ed., tr.), *Gadla Iyasus Mo'a, abbé du couvent de St-Étienne de Ḥayq*, Louvain 1965 (CSCO 259, 260 [SAe 49, 50]), 34 (text) = 28 (tr.), s. index; PerZarY 7f., 27ff.; BeckHuntAlvar s. index; BruNile III, 19; BassHist 377; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (ed., tr.), *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa – Nairobi 1965 (IES Monographs in Ethiopian Land Tenure no. 1), s. index; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Documenta ad illustrandam Historiam I. Liber Axumae*, Louvain 1909–10 [repr. 1961–62] (CSCO 54, 58 [SAe 24, 27]); ID. "L'evangelo d'oro di Dabra Libanos", *RRALm* ser. 5, 10, 1901, 177–219; HARRY MIDDLETON HYATT, *The Church of Abyssinia*, London 1928, 51.

Lit.: TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Dabra Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117; TadTChurch 272, esp. n. 5.

Steven Kaplan

ᶜAqqabe śəray

ᶜA.ś. (ዓቃቤ፡ ሥራይ, 'keeper of charms') is a literary-Gəᶜəz name (LesCDic 66; KaneDic, 1185) for a traditional healer in Ethiopia (Worrel 1909:182f.), who may also be called in Amharic ጠንቋይ (*ṭänqʷay*), or ↗*däbtära*. As it is impossible to draw a distinct line between traditional Ethiopian medicine and magic, it is also difficult to formulate the precise difference between these three words, which remain rather overlapping denominations. *Ṭänqʷay* mostly means a sorcerer and oral witch doctor (KaneDic 2157). *Däbtära* in this particular context means a specialist in written magic, i.e. written amulets and pharmacological recipes, such as መጽሐፈ፡ መድኃኒት (*Mäṣḥafä mädḥanit*, 'The Book of Pharmacy'), መጽሐፈ፡ ፈውስ (*Mäṣḥafä fäws*, 'The Book of Medicine'), or ዕፀ፡ ድብዳቤ (*ᶜƎśä dəbdabe*, 'The Register of Plants'; s. Griaule 1930). The name ᶜA.ś. seems, however, to mean both *ṭänqʷay* and *däbtära* in literary language.

↗Magic scrolls

Src.: LesCDic 66; KaneDic 1185, 2157.

Lit.: JACQUES MERCIER, *Asrès, le magicien éthiopien: souvenirs, 1895–1985*, Paris 1988; WILLIAM HOYT WORREL, "Studien zum abessinischen Zauberwesen", *ZA* 23, 1909, 149–83, here 182f., esp. n. 7; MARCEL GRIAULE, *Livre de recettes d'un dabtara abyssin*, Paris 1930; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Prières magiques éthiopiennes pour délier les charmes* (*mäftehē seray*), Warszawa 1955 (Rocznik Orientalistyczny 18).

Sevir Chernetsov

ᶜAqqabi

↗ Churches and church administration

Aqʷaqʷam

A. (አቋቋም) is a cover term for Ethiopian Christian liturgical dance and its instrumental accompaniment, including performance practices for the prayer-staff (↗*Mäqqʷamiya*), the sistrum (↗*Ṣänaṣəl*) and the drum (↗*Käbäro*). It is transmitted as an oral tradition by ↗*däbtära*, church musicians, who spend years studying at special schools (*aqʷaqʷam bet*) where they master this esoteric art.

A. is an integral part of the performance of the Ethiopian hymnary (↗*Dəggʷa*). Important chants are first sung unaccompanied, in antiphonal style, by two solo singers and then repeated several times by the choir with different combinations of instruments and dance. Customarily, 24 *däbtäras* participate in the dance, each holding a sistrum and prayer-staff. They divide into two lines of twelve facing each other, with a drummer positioned at either end.

According to oral traditions and iconography, dance was part of Ethiopian liturgical practice from earliest times. A brief written account compiled from reports by Jesuit missionaries, published in 1615, confirms the use of musical instruments and dance within the liturgy "from memory".

Three A. styles were actively perpetuated in church practice until the late 20th cent., although there may exist additional regional dance and instrumental styles that have not been documented. The surviving styles are said to have been innovations of the 19th cent., two having originated in Gondär and a third at ↗Däbrä Tabor. A thorough study of instrumental practice and dance has yet to be done and would provide invaluable insights into the little-understood rhythmic structure of Ethiopian liturgical music.

↗Qəddase; ↗Hymns; ↗Zema

Lit.: FRANK LLEWELLYN HARRISON, *Time, Place, and Music: an Anthology of Ethnomusicological Observation c. 1550 to 1800*, Amsterdam 1973, 50f.; DONALD LEVINE, *Wax and Gold: Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture*, Chicago 1965, 26f.; MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, PUBLICATIONS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS DEPARTMENT (ed.), *Music, Dance and Drama*, Addis Ababa 1968, 8f., 27ff.; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY – PETER JEFFERY (eds.), *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant: an Anthology*, Madison 1993–94, vol. 1, 4; vol. 2, 3f.

Kay Kaufman-Shelemay

Arabäbni

A., identified as Arʾəñ (ኦርእኝ) by Conti Rossini (CRHist), was a small Muslim province in the region of today's Arsi province, south of the Awaš. It was one of the seven Muslim trading states in southern Ethiopia, which belonged with ↗Dära, ↗Ifat, ↗Däwaro, ↗Hadiyya, ↗Šarḫa and ↗Bale to the Muslim belt or "Muslim fringe" (الطراز الاسلامي *aṭ-ṭirāz al-islāmī*). According to the report of the Egyptian courtier Ibn Faḍlallāh al-↗ᶜUmarī (d. 1349) in the first half of the 14th cent., A. touched the kingdoms of Däwaro and Hadiyya and was four days' journey by four. Its army comprised a little fewer than 10,000 foot-soldiers and very numerous cavalry. Like Däwaro, its agricultural production induded cereals, legumes and fruits. Its inhabitants, who were described as Ḥanafītes, used the same "primitive money" (↗*Ḥakunu*) as those of Däwaro. Al-ᶜUmarī's statement is repeated by the 15th-cent. Egyptian encyclopaedist al-↗Qalqašandī (d. 1418) and abridged by the historian al-↗Maqrīzī (d. 1442).

Src.: CRHist 83, line 25 (text) = 95 (tr.) and n. 1; IBN FAḌL-ALLĀH AL-ᶜUMARĪ, *Routes Toward Insight into the Capital Empires, Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, ed., tr. by FUAT SEZGIN, Frankfurt/Main 1988 (Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, Series C, Facsimile Editions 46, 4), vol. 4, 22; ID., *Masālik el-abṣār fī mamālik el-amṣār*, 1: *L'Afrique, moins l'Égypte, traduit et annoté avec une introduction et 5 cartes*, tr. by MAURICE GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES, Paris 1927 (Bibliothèque des Géographes Arabes 2), 15 and n. 1, 250; AḤMAD B. ᶜALĪ AL-QALQAŠANDĪ, *Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-aᶜšā fī ṣināᶜat al-inšāʾ* ('The Dawn of the Night-Blind, on the Art of Composition'), 14 vols., Cairo 1913–18, vol. 5, 327; AḤMAD B. ᶜALĪ AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Kitāb al-Ilmām bi-aḫbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabaša min muluk al-Islām. Historia Regum Islamiticorum in Abyssinia*, ed. by FRIEDRICH THEODOR RINCK, Leiden 1790, 12 (text) = 13f. (tr.).

Lit.: JOSEF MARQUART, *Die Benin-Sammlung des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde in Leiden …*, Leiden 1913 (Veröffentlichungen des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde in Leiden Serie II, 7), 270 n., 279, 327, 335; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1952, 67, 73 with n. 1; TadTChurch 142, n. 3; ENRICO CERULLI, *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971 (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente 64), 285 and n. 13, 317; RICHARD PANKHURST, *The Ethiopian Borderlands. Essays in Regional History from Ancient Times to the End of the 18th Century*, Lawrenceville – Asmara 1997, 70f., 73, 98.

Franz-Christoph Muth

ᶜArabfaqīh ↗ Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša

Arabia

Relations in ancient times

Extremely close connections between A., particularly the Yemen, and Ethiopia, are attested over a very long period. This is scarcely surprising. The land of ↗Punt must have been situated somewhere in this region, very probably in the Eritrean/Təgrayan highlands and the Sudanese borderlands to the coast. Reliefs in an Egyptian tomb indicate that the Puntites possessed boats, and the Arabs were also doubtless themselves seafarers from early times. ↗Strabo, whose report was based on the no longer extant work on Erythrean Sea by Agatharchides of Cnidus (1st half of the 2nd cent. B.C.), in the 1st cent. B.C. mentions the Sabaean traffic in aromatics, "both the local kinds and those from Aethiopia; to get the latter they sail across the straits in leathern boats" (Jones — Sterrett 1930, ch. 4, 19). The ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, in the first cent., and Procopius in the 6th cent., note the famous "sewn boats" of the Red Sea (Dewing 1914); it took five days to cross from "Boulikas" to ↗Adulis, the port for Aksum. Evidently, there was constant intercourse between the two sides of the Red Sea, and indeed a general "Red Sea culture" is postulated in early times. Recent work suggests that in the late 2nd and early 1st millennium B.C. the eastern Təgray plateau and coastlands, and the Arabian Tihāma, possessed much the same culture (recently discovered in Yemen, the so-called "Ṣabr culture" to all probability existed on both sides of Bāb al-Mandab and was close to ↗ᶜOna Culture; s. Voigt – Sedov 1998). They were in contact with lowland Sudan and even with the Nile Valley, while the western plateau was in contact with peoples of the Gaš Delta. The Daᶜəmat (↗DᶜMT) leading polity seems to have succeeded in uniting the eastern and western areas under a single authority.

By the middle of the 1st millenium B.C. (a date cautiously suggested, using palaeographical information), or possibly even earlier, the polity called "the kingdom of Daᶜəmat and Sabaʾ" had been established in the Eritrean/Ethiopian uplands. It was ruled by a *mlkn* ('king'), or *mukarrib*, apparently indicating "federator", one who rules over peoples united by some sort of treaty. In A., there were *mukarribs* of Sabaʾ, Qatabān and ↗Ḥaḍramawt at different times, while in Ethiopia the *mukarrib* seems to have controlled Daᶜəmat and also, perhaps by a treaty arrangement, some native Sabaeans living in certain places, perhaps in commercial settlements. This title *mukarrib*, and the use of the names Sabaʾ, MRYB (surely alluding to Mārib, capital of Sabaʾ in Yemen) and Ḥadaqān, imply a very

intimate connection with Sabaʾ in A. Many facets – buildings, altars and incense burners with the familiar disc and crescent motif, statues, inscriptions and other archaeological finds – confirm that this polity was extremely closely related to contemporary Arabian culture over the sea, perhaps because of a long development within the same cultural matrix as noted above. Both used very similar Semitic languages, and both used the same script (known as ↗Epigraphic South Arabian because of its frequency in Yemen).

The sites belonging to this "South Arabian" phase in Eritrea and Ethiopia are very numerous — now including Aksum itself, and on the hill of ↗Betä Giyorgis above the town — indicating that the phenomenon was neither brief nor restricted. Among the excavated sites or those where chance finds have been made are Ḥawəlti and Mälazo, near Aksum, the early levels at Mäṭära, Səglamen, ʿAddi Gälämo, Fəqya, ʿAddi Kramatən and Käskäse. At Yəḥa the fine stone-built temple is the best-preserved monument of the period. Given the imposing dimensions of the temple, the tombs found there and the large palace (?) building called Grat Bəʾal Gəbri, Yəḥa may represent the capital city of the Daʿəmat polity.

At some sites in Ethiopia, Mäṭära, Yəḥa and Ḥawəlti-Mälazo, actual Sabaean inscriptions have been found. It seems that the Sabaeans functioned in a limited area and for a limited time, perhaps later assimilating with the local people. Though the exact nature of their presence is uncertain, it seems possible that they were engaged in furthering trading relations between the two countries. Perhaps they offered military assistance as well. At any rate, it appears that their influence was powerful enough to have them named in the title of the federator, or *mukarrib*. In other inscriptions — and it is this that calls into question the earlier assumption that all this high civilization in Ethiopia was simply the implant of Sabaean colonists — the language is "proto-Ethiopic", apparently related to Epigraphic South Arabian as employed by Ḥimyarites (Maigret – Robin 1998). The inscriptions of the rulers are all in the latter language.

The inscriptions of *mukarribs* of Daʿəmat and Sabaʾ are known from ʿAddi Gälämo, Ǝnda Ċärqos, possibly Mäṭära, Mälazo, and Ǝnda Abba Gärima. Of four rulers known to date, some refer the *mlkn* WʿRN ḤYWT, attested at Yəḥa, Käskäse and ʿAddi Səglamen, others to three *mukarrib*s, RDʾM, RBḤ, and LMN.

A complete reversal of the idea that influences came from South A. to Ethiopia was proposed by Jacqueline Pirenne (1989:257–71). She hypothesized that groups of Sabaeans moved originally from North A. to Ethiopia in two waves, in the 8th or 7th cent. B.C. and again in the 6th and 5th cent. The first group went on into South A., the second remained, and established the kingdom of Daʿəmat. Later, some of them, too, moved on to A. taking with them the writing, architecture and other cultural elements they had developed in Təgray. Naturally, there remained in Ethiopia many traits introduced by these peoples. That such a radical reversal which is strongly criticized by other scholars can be proposed emphasizes how far away we are from certainty in our ideas about Arabian-Ethiopian contacts at this early period.

It is unclear how much contact might have remained between A. and Ethiopia in the centuries before the next firmly-attested intercourse between them, nor is the exact nature of the development from the "South Arabian" phase in Ethiopia to the subsequent Aksumite period clearly definable. At Mäṭära, there was apparently a clear break between the two periods but this need not have been the case everywhere in the country.

The second period of intense Arab-Ethiopian contact that we know about was an Ethiopian initiative, involving Aksumite expansion over the Red Sea into A. itself. Inscriptions from Arabian sites offer primary evidence of Aksumite alliances with the kingdoms and tribal groupings of the Yemen, sending fleets and armies under sons of the *nağāšī* of "Aksuman and Ḥabašat" to A. in order, one supposes, to strengthen their grip on the Red Sea and Azanian (East African) trade. Aksum had expanded to Adulis, and from there doubtless traded with its neighbours. The next step seems to have been to carry their dominion over the sea to al-Maʿāfir, the southern Yemen coastal region. This phase of Aksum-Arabian relations seems to occupy the time between the 1st and the 4th cent.

The ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (mid-1st cent.) mentions "Kharibael [Karibʾīl] the lawful king of two tribes", "Homerite and Sabaïte", ruling from his capital at Saphar [Ẓafār], and the "tyrannos Kholaibos [Kulayb]" of the southern coastal Mapharitis region [al-Maʿāfir] (Huntingford 1980:32f.). Their authority permitted them to exploit the rich trade in ivory and other

products with Azania, the east African coast to Tanzania. The Arabian port of Muza in al-Maᶜāfir, with its Arab merchants trading with Rhapta in Azania, seems to have been of more importance than Adulis, the port of Aksum. By the mid-4th cent., King ↗ᶜEzana of Aksum, in his inscriptions, employs a splendid titulary naming two Arabian states: the Ḥimyarites and "Raeidan", and the Sabaeans and Salḥen. Though by this time, with a strong kingdom of Ḥimyar ruling much of southern A., it is unlikely that there was anything more than an historical support for these claims, they are the signs of what had been happening in the interim period, especially in the 3rd cent. A.D.

By the early 3rd cent., Arab power had weakened, and Aksum had come to dominate al-Maᶜāfir. We are lucky to possess some inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqīs and al-Miᶜsāl in Yemen that explicitly refer to the activities of the Ethiopians (↗Ḥabašāt), and allow us to gain some idea of their progress in subduing parts of A. To weaken Ḥimyarite maritime control, the *nağāšī* of Aksum allied with Sabaᵓ, but also, following a policy of *divide et impera*, shifted alliances when it suited them to retain their influence on the east coast of the Red Sea and even inland.

The Aksumite *nağāšī* GDRT (Gadarat, perhaps representing a Gəᶜəz name such as Gədur, Gädura, Gedara) is known from inscriptions dated by the "era of Ḥimyar" to around the beginning of the 3rd cent. A.D. A single object, a bronze wand, found in Ethiopia, attests to the same name: *nəguś* ↗GDR of Aksum. From South Arabian inscriptional evidence we know that he allied himself with the Sabaean rulers ᶜAlhān Nahfān, son of Yarīm Ayman I, and his sons Šaᶜir Awtar and Yarīm Ayman II, against Ḥimyar: "they agreed together that their war and their peace should be in unison, against anyone that might rise up against them, and that in safety and in security there should be allied together Salḥīn and Zararān and ᶜAlhan and Gadarat" (Munro-Hay 1991:72). Salḥīn is the palace of the kings of Sabaᵓ at Mārib, and the parallel may permit us to infer that Zararān refers to a palace of the king of Aksum at his capital city. With this alliance, as far as we know, Aksum entered into the sphere of Arabian politics, even if intermittently, as far as our present evidence goes, for a period of several centuries, until, in fact, the Persian conquest in the late 6th cent.

ᶜAlhān Nahfān's son Šaᶜir Awtar (ca. 210 to 230 A.D.) abandoned his father's policy. Later in his reign we find him allied with the Ḥimyarite ruler, Liᶜazz Yuhanūf Yuhasdiq, against Gadarat. Aksumite forces that had garrisoned the Ḥimyarite capital Ẓafār were driven out. Even so, Aksum remained a force to be reckoned with in A. under Šaᶜir Awtar's successor Lahayᶜatat Yarḫam, who also fought Ḥabaš troops.

In the 240s, a certain Šamir of D̲ū Raydān and Ḥimyar, almost certainly the Ḥimyarite king Šamir Yuhaḥmid, sought assistance from King ᶜAd̲ebah (ᶜD̲BH) of Aksum, and his son Garmat, Garima or Girma (GRMT), with their allies from Sahartān and the tribe of ᶜAkk, against the Sabaean kings Ilīšaraḥ Yaḥdub and Yaᵓzil Bayyin, sons of Fariᶜum Yanhub. As far as the Sabaean kings were concerned, Ḥimyar, the Abyssinians, and Sahartān violated a treaty of peace. Šamir of D̲ū Raydān and Ḥimyar had called for the aid of the Ḥabašat against the kings of Sabaᵓ, but they were made to submit (if one believes the inscription of the "victors"). Ḥimyar was evidently not completely defeated, since under Karibᵓil Ayfaᶜ, who reigned until ca. 260, Ḥimyar is found fighting the Ḥaḍramis, Sabaeans and Abyssinians. An inscripion from al-Misᶜāl mentions that an unnamed son of the *nağāšī* came to Ẓafār with troops from al-Maᶜāfir.

Ḥimyarite power was accruing, evidently a danger for Aksum's pretensions in A. Around 267–68, the Aksumite leaders DTWNS and ZQRNS were in Yemen, again fighting Ḥimyar, now under King Yāsir Yuhanᶜim (ca. 260–70). An inscription from al-Miᶜsāl (no. 5) relates how the Aksumites attacked with support from al-Maᶜāfir. However, with the reigns of Yāsir Yuhanᶜim and his son Šamir Yuharᶜiš, in the 270s, all southern A. was to fall under Ḥimyarite hegemony with the conquest of Sabaᵓ and Ḥaḍramawt. By about 295 Šamir adopted the longer title of king of Sabaᵓ, D̲ū Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt, and Yamanat. Even if an inscription of the last Sabaean king, Našaᵓkarib Yuhaᵓmin Yuharḥib mentions Abyssinian incursions at this time, references to his wars in Sahartan do not mention the Abyssinians. By Šamir's time it seems that the Ethiopians had ceased to be a real danger. Henceforward, for another two centuries, there seems to have been little likelihood of any real Ethiopian influence in Ḥimyar, unless some sort of formal recognition was accorded by the *nağāšī* to the ruler in

A. This, at any rate, is suggested by the titulary of ʿEzana and the information provided later by pseudo-Zacharias of Mitylene, who claims that the kings of Ethiopia in the early 6th cent. appointed the rulers in Yemen (Brooks 1953).

Diplomatic connections, and doubtless trade, continued in the 4th and 5th cent., but we know little about it. After the reign of Šamir Yuharʿiš, an inscription informs us that Karibʾīl Watar Yuhanʿim, king of Sabaʾ, Ḏū Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt and Yamanat, sent ambassadors to the "land of Ḥabašat and Aksuman, to the *nağāšī* … and he [the *nağāšī*?] sent with him as emissaries ʿHQM and ZLNS". A substantial number of Aksumite gold coins of the kings of Aksum of the later 4th and 5th cent. have also been found in A.

Inscriptions detailing the Ethiopian side of the activity in A. are extremely rare. One, however, formerly at Adulis, has been preserved by the accident of its being copied by Cosmas Indicopleustes, who later inserted it into his book *The Christian Topography*. Cosmas was asked to copy the inscription, known as the ↗Monumentum Adulitanum from its provenance, by Asbas, *archon* or governor of Adulis. He had been commanded by King ↗Kaleb of Aksum to obtain a copy, doubtless because it supplied some legal material relevant to his proposed expedition to A. in c. 520 A.D. The anonymous king who had it prepared in his 27th year declares: "I sent an expedition by sea and land against the peoples living on the other side of the Erythraean Sea, that is the Arabitas and the Kinaidokolpitas, and after subjugating their kings I commanded them to pay me tribute and charged them with guaranteeing the security of communications on land and sea. I conducted war from Leuke Kome to the land of the Sabaeans" (Munro-Hay 1991:222; Wolska-Conus 1968:373–78). Very likely this is the account of one of the 3rd cent. rulers of Aksum whose forces were deployed in A., perhaps, at a guess, King Sembrouthes, whose reign is attested only by an inscription dated in his 24th year.

The third period in which we have firm evidence of intimate connections between A. and Ethiopia is that of the Ḥimyar war of King Kaleb and its aftermath. Presented as a religious war, emerging as a result of the Jewish King Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar's persecution of the Christians of Nağrān, there may well have been good economic reasons, as before, for another Aksumite attempt to subdue Ḥimyar. Inscriptions of Yūsuf and his generals, records by Procopius (Dewing 1914:189ff.) and Syrian records like the *Book of the* ↗*Himyarites* (Moberg 1928) tell the story as contemporaries perceived it. The legends that accrued around the invasion of Yemen and the life of Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar (Ḏū Nuwās) are related by other historians, including some writing in Arabic, such as aṭ-Ṭabarī.

There is no doubt that Kaleb's initiative succeeded, and that his army conquered the Yemen and destroyed Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar. There is also no doubt that a Ḥimyarite called Sumuyafaʿ Ašwaʿ was installed on the throne: an inscription refers to him as "viceroy for the kings of Aksum". It might be at this time that a large hoard of Aksumite gold coins, and many late Roman gold pieces, were buried in a pot at a place called al-Maḍāriba in southern Yemen. Kaleb, victorious, took on the trappings of a monarch of all the Arabs, calling himself in an inscription "Kaleb, ∃llä Aṣbəha, son of Tazena, Bəʾəse LZN, king of Aksum, Ḥimyar, Ḏū Raydān, Sabaʾ, Salḥen, and of the High Country and Yamanat, and the Coastal Plain and Ḥaḍramawt and of all their Arabs, and the Beğa, Noba, Kasu, Ṣiyamo and *DRBT* … of the land *ATFY*(?)" (Munro-Hay 1991:230; Schneider in PICES 4). But it was not long, perhaps five years, before an Aksumite called ↗Abraha seized the Ḥimyar throne. He was able successfully to defy Kaleb, who, if the Arab historians are to be believed, sent two expeditions to dislodge him. In his turn, he declared himself "king of Sabaʾ, Ḥimyar, Ḥaḍramawt, Yamanat, and all their Arabs of the Coastal Plain and the Highlands". The kings of the Arabs never employed the peculiarly Ethiopian locution of naming Raydān and Salḥīn in their titles, except in the combination Ḏū Raydān.

Abraha is a figure of legend, founder of a short-lived Ethiopian dynasty in the Yemen. It is related that he built the great church al-Qulays, in Ṣanʿāʾ, in an attempt to divert the Arabs' pilgrimage. He is also said to have launched an expedition against the Kaʿba in Mecca, but his army was destroyed by divine intervention in the *ʿām al-fīl* ('Year of the Elephant'), when Muḥammad the Prophet was born. Apart from these stories, Abraha is known from several inscriptions, including the famous 543 A.D. Mārib dam inscription, which details his repair of the structure, and mentions

that he had received ambassadors from a number of great rulers (Rome, Persia) and some Arab groups. But he names the Aksumite *naǧāšī* first, and this precedence might agree with Procopius' statement that Abraha accepted to render tribute to Kaleb's successor. Interestingly, with this in mind, one might note the titulary of Waᶜzeb, son of (Kaleb) ƎllätÄ Aṣbəḥa, which includes only Aksum, Ḥimyar, Ḏū Raydān, Sabaᵓ, Salaf [= Salḥen], the Beğa, Kasu, Ṣəyamo and WYTL (?). It is notable that Waᶜzeb abandons the longer title claiming hegemony over all South A., reverting to the older more modest claim included in ᶜEzana's titulary.

Aksum, Abraha's son ("Yaksum" in Arab histories), is also mentioned on the Mārib inscription, interestingly with the qualification Ḏū Maᶜāfir. He succeeded his father, and was in turn succeeded by his brother Masrūq. The Ethiopian rule in Ḥimyar collapsed when the Persians invaded the Yemen on the plea of a certain Sayf Ḏū Yazan. The legends tell of the famous arrow shot by the aged Sassanian general Wahriz, that killed Masrūq and ended the dynasty of Abraha, and the independence of the Yemen.

A curious facet of the long Aksumite connection with A. is the script, known as pseudo-Sabaean, employed by ᶜEzana, Kaleb and his son Waᶜzeb. The language is Gəᶜəz, the letters Sabaean. ᶜEzana produced inscriptions in three scripts and two languages: Greek, Gəᶜəz, and a pseudo-Sabaean rendering of Gəᶜəz. The inscriptions of Kaleb and Waᶜzeb are known in pseudo-Sabaean versions only (so far). The script for the last two kings is much more elaborate than that of ᶜEzana, reflecting changes in the inscriptions of A. over the same period.

Although Ethiopia's political connections with Yemen were over after the 6th cent., commercial relations continued, though only reported at very distant intervals. There were contacts with areas further north in A. as well. Many traditions about Ethiopia are recorded in the cycle of stories about the life of the prophet Muḥammad preserved by a number of Arabic historians, such as Ibn Hišām and aṭ-Ṭabarī. It seems that in 615–16 the king of Ethiopia, called in these records *naǧāšī* ↗Aṣḥam b. Abǧar, accorded protection to Muslims, followers of Muḥammad, who were being persecuted by the ruling tribe of Mecca, the ↗Qurayš. In the first ↗*hiǧra* to Abyssinia, a small number of Muslims came to Ethiopia, but soon returned home in the mistaken belief that the Qurayš had converted to Islam. They had not, and the next *hiǧra* included over a hundred persons, who remained until 628. Among them were a daughter of Muḥammad, Ruqayya, two women who later became his wives, Umm Ḥabība and Umm Salama, and the future *ḫalīfa* ᶜUṯmān b. ᶜAffān. They were well received in Ethiopia. The *naǧāšī* refused to hand them over, even when messengers with gifts (the leatherwork of Mecca was especially appreciated in Ethiopa) were sent by the Qurayš. ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ, later in 640 to be the conqueror of Egypt for Islam, was one of the messengers of the Qurayš. Later, it is claimed, his submission to Islam was accepted on Muḥammad's behalf by the *naǧāšī* himself. Muslim tradition also records that in 6 H. [627/28 A.D.] Muḥammad sent embassies to the *naǧāšī* and other rulers; aṭ-Ṭabarī and others even claim to reproduce the letter.

Ethiopia holds an ambiguous place in Muslim tradition. Some records say that because of Aṣḥam b. Abǧar's kindness to his followers, Muḥammad exempted Ethiopia from the ↗*ǧihād*. Other Muslim commentators view Ethiopia's place very differently, asserting that, since the *naǧāšī* was supposed to have accepted Islam (as some *ḥadīṯ* claim), Ethiopia was "the first Andalus", a country lost to Islam, and therefore to be regained by any method possible.

Contact in early Islamic times was sporadic, as far as the evidence goes. It is claimed that in 640 ᶜUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb sent a force to suppress piracy in the Red Sea, but the expedition was not a success. Later, around 702 A.D., under Sulaymān b. ᶜAbdalmalik, the Arabs occupied the ↗Dahlak islands because of piratical activities from Abyssinia. It came to be used as a place of exile for dissident poets and the like. A certain Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was exiled there by the *ḫalīfa* ᶜUmar in 718/19. Nevertheless, Arab historians usually subsume Dahlak islands as part of the dominions of the *naǧāšī*s, even after the islands were Islamicized and came under the rule of their own sultans. In 366 H. [977 A.D.] it is recorded that Ibn Ziyād of Yemen was sent 1,000 slaves by the governor of Dahlak.

Arab merchants, as might be expected, continued to come to Ethiopia. Indeed, it is from Arab sources alone that we learn of the name of a new capital city, ↗Kuᶜbar, first mentioned by al-Yaᶜqūbī (flourished ca. 872–91). Al-Yaᶜqūbī

describes "a vast and powerful country. Its royal town is Kuʿbar. The Arabs go thither to trade. They have big towns and their sea coast is called Dahlak". Al-Masʿūdī (d. 956) offers rather similar information in his *Aḫbār az-zaman*: "… the Ḥabaša are the descendants of Ḥabaš b. Kūš b. Ḥām. The largest of their kingdoms is the kingdom of the *nağāšī*, who follows Christianity; their capital is called Kafar (Kaʿbar). The Arabs used since the earliest times to come to this kingdom for trade" (Vantini 1975:724).

Two Arab historians, as well as the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, provide notes that confirm one of the greatest national disasters commemorated by Ethiopian historians, the conquest and long rule by a foreign non-Christian queen in the late 10th cent. ↗Ibn Ḥawqal, writing ca. 980, records that the Queen of Abyssinia had been ruling for 30 years, and had killed the king, or *ḥaḍānī*. A supplementary note elsewhere states that she was in contact with Yemen: the king of the Yemen, Abū l-Ǧayš Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Ziyād received a zebra from the female ruler of al-Ḥabaša. He later sent it on to King Baḫtiyār in Iraq in 969–70. It seems more than likely that this queen is identical with the destructive ruler enshrined in Ethiopian legend as Gudit, Yodit, or ↗Esato.

Around 1296, al-Ḥarrānī supplements the information about the towns of Ḥabaša: "one of the greatest and best-known towns is Kaʿbar, which is the royal town of the *nağaši* […] Zaylaʿ, a town on the coast of the Red Sea, is a very populous commercial centre […] Opposite al-Yaman there is also a big town, which is the seaport from which the Ḥabaša crossed the sea to al-Yaman, and nearby is the island of ʿAql" (Vantini 1975:448).

Src.: STRABO, *The Geography of Strabo: in Eight Volumes. Books 15–16*, tr. by HORACE LEONARD JONES, based on tr. by JOHN ROBERT SITLINGTON STERRETT, Cambridge — Harvard 1930, ²1954; MUḤAMMAD IBN ISḤĀQ, *The Life of Muhammad: a translation of Isḥāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, tr. by ALFRED GUILLAUME, Oxford 1955; MUḤAMMAD A. BAFAQIH, *Le Yemen*, Ph.D. thesis, Sorbonne 1983, ch. 3; ERNEST WALTER BROOKS (ed.), *Historia Ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori Vulgo Adscripto*, Louvain 1953 (CSCO 88 [Scriptori Syrici 41]); HENRY BRONSON DEWING (ed., tr.), *Procopius*, London — New York 1914; AXEL MOBERG, *The Book of the Himyarites*, Lund 1928.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Mäṭära", *AE* 7, 1967, 33–88; ID., "Les fouilles de Yeha (Mai–Juin 1972)", *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des civilisations éthiopiennes. Traveaux de la Recherche Coopérative sur programme RCP 230* 4, 1973, 35–38; MUḤAMMAD A. BAFAQIH — CHRISTIAN ROBIN, "The Importance of the Inscriptions of Jabal al-Misʿal", *Raydan* 3, 1980 [in Arabic], 9–29; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "L'inscription éthiopienne de Marib", *AE* 6, 1965, 223–26; ANDRÉ CAQUOT – ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "Les monuments recueillis à Maqallé", *AE* 1, 1955, 17–41; ID., "*Inscriptions de l'Ethiopie antique*, Leiden 1955; ID., "Les inscriptions de Melazo", *AE* 3, 1959, 83–89; LIONEL CASSON, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton 1989; M. EL-CHENNAFI, "Mention nouvelle d'une 'reine Éthiopienne' au IVe s. de Hégire / Xe s. ap. J-C", *AE* 10, 1976, 119ff.; HENRI DE CONTENSON, "Les fouilles B Haoulti-Melazo en 1958", *AE* 4, 1961, 39–60; ID., "Les monuments d'art sud-arabe découverts sur le site de Haoulti (Éthiopie) en 1959", *Syria* 39, 1962, 64–87; ID., "Les fouilles à Haoulti en 1959", *AE* 5, 1963, 41–86; D. M. DUNLOP, "Another 'Prophetic' Letter", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1940, 54–60; RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "Remarks on the Late Prehistory and Early History of Northern Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 85–104; ID., "The Gash Delta between 1000 BC and AD 100", *Meroitica* 10, 1989 [= SERGIO DONADONI – STEFHEN WENIG (eds.), *Studia Meroitica 1984: Proœedings of the Fifth International Conference for Meroitic Studies*, Rome 1984], 797–816; RODOLFO FATTOVICH — KATHRYN BARD, "The Origins of Aksum: A View from Ona Enda Aboi Zague (Tigray)", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 16–25; RODOLFO FATTOVICH — KATHRYN A. BARD — L. PETRASSI — V. PISANO, *The Aksum Archaeological Area: a Preliminary Assessment*, Napoli 2000; EPHRAIM ISAAC — CAIN FELDER, "Reflections on the Origins of the Ethiopian Civilization", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 71–83; MURAD KAMIL, "An Ethiopic Inscription from Mareb", *JSS* 9, 1964, 56f.; JACQUELINE PIRENNE, "Haoulti et ses monuments, nouvelle interpretation", *AE* 7, 1967, 125–40; ID., "Des Grecs à l'aurore de la culture monumentale sabéenne", in: TOUFIC FAHD (ed.), *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel*, Strasbourg 1989, 257–71; IBN ḤAWQAL ABŪ L-QĀSIM MUḤAMMAD, *Configuration de la terre*, tr., ed. by J. H. KRAMERS — GASTON WIET, Paris — Beyrouth 1964, 16, 56; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Ancora sulle 'origine' etiopiche", in: *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, Pisa 1985, 303–15; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *Aksum. An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity*, Edinburgh 1991; ID., "The al-Madhariba Hoard of Gold Aksumite and Late Roman Coins", *Numismatic Chronicle* 1989, 83–100; LANFRANCO RICCI — RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "Scavi archeologici nella zona di Aksum. A. Seglamien", *RSE* 30, 1984–86, 117–69; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Inscriptions d'Enda Cerqos", *AE* 4, 1961, 61–65; ID., 'Notes épigraphiques sur les découvertes de Matara', *AE* 6, 1966, 88–92; ID., "Deux inscriptions Sudarabiques du Tigré", *BiOr* 30, 5/6, 1973, 385–89; ID., "Trois nouvelles inscriptions royales d'Axoum", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 767–79; ID., "Les débuts de l'histoire éthiopienne", *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des civilisations éthiopiennes. Traveaux de la Recherche Coopérative sur programme RCP 230* 7, 1976, 47–54; ID., "Documents épigraphiques de l'Éthiopie — V", *AE* 10, 1976, 81–93; ID., "L'inscription chrétienne d'Ezana en écriture sud-arabe", *AE* 10, 1976, 109–17; ID., "Documents épigraphiques de l'Éthiopie — VI", *AE* 11, 1978, 129–32; ID. "Deux inscriptions éthiopiennes. I. 'WM, AVA, YEHA et ADUA'", *JES* 15, 1982, 125–28; GIOVANNI VANTINI, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*, Heidelberg — Warsaw 1975; CH.J. ROBIN – A. DE MAIGRET, "Le Grand Temple de Yéha (Tigray, Éthiopie), après la première campagne de fouilles de la Mission française (1998)", *Comptes rendus de l'Académie*

des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres juillet–octobre 1998, 737–98; B. VOIGT – A. SEDOV, "Die Sabir-Kultur und die jemenitische Küstenebene in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.", in: W. SEIPEL (ed.), *Jemen. Kunst und Archäologie im Land der Königin von Saba*, Milano – Wien 1998, 128–33 [Wien, Künstlerhaus, 9. November 1998 bis 21. Februar 1999. Ausstellungskatalog].

Stuart Munro-Hay

Relations in medieval and modern times

Until the rise of Islam A. was the most important neighbour of the Aksumite state. The two shores of the Red Sea were connected in nearly every conceivable aspect, culturally, commercially, politically. The conquest of the Yemen (524–90) was the culmination of Aksum as a Red Sea-oriented state and civilization. The emergence of Islam and the life of Muḥammad had an important Ethiopian dimension. The first *hiǧra*, the Prophet's sending of his early followers to seek asylum with the *naǧāšī* of *al-Ḥabaša*, was a formative event in the early history of Islam. However, the very same episode left legacies which marked the end of this cross-Red Sea mutuality. Radical Muslims were left with the message that, since the *naǧāšī* was said to have converted to Islam, Christian Ethiopia was an infidel state, one of Islam's main enemies. Mainstream, more tolerant Muslims were left with a message of Ethiopia's legitimacy, stemming from the Prophet's gratitude for saving his followers (Arab. *ṣaḥāba*). But this gratitude was to be translated into benevolent negligence. The Prophet's *ḥadīṯ*: اتركوا الحبشة ما تركوكم (*Utrukū l-Ḥabaša mā tarakūkum*, 'Leave the Abyssinians alone as long as they leave you alone'), meant practically the side-lining of a detached Ethiopia. Islam, in any case, diverted the energies of the Arabians in directions away from the Red Sea. Aksumite Ethiopia, for its part, turned southwards and inland. Relations between A. and Ethiopia, throughout all the centuries since then, has not been restored in a way even remotely reminiscent of pre-Islamic intensity.

In many ways A. "left" also the Muslim *ḥabašīs* of the Horn of Africa. Islamic scholars occasionally crossed the Red Sea and had some influence on the development of the medieval Islamic principalities of southern Ethiopia. Scholars from Ḥaḍramawt were actively behind the Islamic revival which led to the rise of the 16th-cent. Islamic conqueror ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī. He was also in touch with the *amīr* of Mecca, and also with the new Ottoman conquerors of the Yemen.

ʿUṯmān al-Mirġānī, who in early 19th cent. spread Islam among the clans of western Eritrea, or also ↗Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh Ḥasan (the "Mad Mullah"), who led in the early 20th cent. an Islamic-inspired effort to unite the Somalis, had received their formative education in Mecca. Pilgrimage to the holy city from the Horn has never been interrupted. However, the political disunity of Islam in Ethiopia, the failure of Muslims in the Horn to adopt the Arabic language and the general Islamic-Arabian attitudes towards the *ḥabašī* combined together to prevent the solidification of those relations.

Medieval and modern commercial relations, important and long enduring in themselves, made otherwise little difference. Ethiopian ↗coffee had made his way to Muḫa and as of the 16th cent. also from A. to the rest of the Middle East. ↗*Čat* was sent from Harär to the Yemen, skin and other goods were imported from the Ethiopian highlands. *Ḥabašī* slaves (mostly from southern and Nilotic Ethiopia) were considered the best in the markets of the Ḥiǧāz. Their trade in A. went on, openly and officially, even after the 1857 abolition of slavery in the Ottoman empire. It was reported as dwindling only in the 1930s. Practically all Red Sea traders, in all commercial fields, were Muslims. These connections and trade facilitated the survival of Islamic communities in Ethiopia, but in terms of international relations they hardly connected Ethiopia's Christian elite with A.

Global powers tried occasionally to bridge administratively and politically between the shores of the Red Sea. They scored little success. The Ottomans, in 1557, after their failure to beat the Portuguese in the competition over the Red Sea – India route, captured the port of ↗Massawa and went up the Eritrean highlands. They proclaimed their Province of Abyssinia ↗*Habeš eyaleti*, which included the Arabian port and sub-province of Jidda. Habeš was supposed to be the Ottomans' Red Sea unit, controlling the local trade and the *ḥaǧǧ*. In 1578, however, they were finally defeated by *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl and abandoned this enterprise.

The decline of the Red Sea trade during the ensuing periods contributed to Ethiopia's isolation and drifting into the "Era of the Princes" (↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*) and its revival in the early 19th cent. (following the rise of Muḥammad ʿAlī *paša* in Egypt) contributed to the strengthening of Islamic communities during that period of Ethiopia's decentralization (1769–1855).

In 1884–85 the British from Aden occupied the nearby Horn of Africa coast, their prime interest being the supply of cattle to Aden. However, they found themselves establishing their colony of Somaliland and the Aden connection was marginalized. The Italians in Eritrea had their designs on A., culminating during Mussolini's heyday. In 1928 their Eritrean authorities signed a treaty with the *imām* Aḥmad of the Yemen. Mussolini envisioned a renewed Roman empire in the East, which was supposed to include a Red Sea, Ethiopian-Arabian, wing. Decades later, the Soviet Union developed also their trans-Red Sea designs. As of 1977 they encouraged their local allies to form a regional treaty. In 1981 Mängəstu Ḫaylä Maryam of Ethiopia and ᶜAlī Nāṣir Muḥammad of the Republic of South Yemen (together with Muᶜammar al-Qaḏḏāfī of Libya) signed such a treaty, which lasted until a 1986 coup ousted the Yemeni leader.

Egypt, connected to Ethiopia by both the Red Sea and the Nile, was the Islamic entity which never really "left the Ethiopians". Egyptian activities in the Red Sea did occasionally connect Ethiopia to A. The ↗Fatimides and the ↗Mamluks developed their trade with ↗Zaylaᶜ and connected it also to the Arabian ports.

In recent times, Ǧamāl ᶜAbdannāṣir's war in Yemen (1962–67) had a tremendous impact on Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's regime. Fearing an eventual victory in Yemen for revolutionary pan-Arabism, the Ethiopian Emperor hurried in late 1962 to annex fully Eritrea to Ethiopia. In 1973, Muḥammad Anwar as-Sādāt and King Fayṣal of Saudi A. worked together to convince Ḫaylä Śəllase to break relations with ↗Israel. The Emperor finally and fatefully agreed to do so in October 1973, having been promised $ 200 million by the Saudis. Ḫaylä Śəllase's last trip abroad was in January 1974 to Riyāḍ, where he was told he would get only $35 million, and in order to rebuild Addis Abäba's main mosque.

Christian Ethiopia's relations with A. were marked by this religious dichotomy. *Aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, for example, built Gondär with the help of Muslim traders and thought of reviving Red Sea trade. He wrote in 1642 to al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, the *imām* of the Yemen, who did not respond. Only a second message, sent five years later to the new *imām* al-Mutawwakil ᶜalā llāh resulted in the sending of an envoy to Gondär. After the envoy (Ḥasan al-Ḥaymī, the author of *A Journey to Ethiopia*) returned to the Yemen, the *imām* wrote to *aṣe* Fasilädäs in 1651–52. He reiterated the argument that *an-naǧāšī* converted to Islam and urged *aṣe* Fasilädäs to do the same. He conditioned their relations on the Emperor's conversion to Islam.

The economic potentiality of Arabian – Ethiopian co-operation was demonstrated in 1924 in a nutshell. Following *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən's visit to Aden, a group of local Jewish traders and artisans was invited to settle in Ethiopia. Their contribution to Ethiopia's commerce has been quite significant.

In the 1990s a new era seemed to begin. With the opening of Ethiopia's economy, and with the combined cultural revival of Islam in Ethiopia, Arabian money started flowing in. For example, the energetic Saudi multi-millionaire of Ethiopian descent, *šayḫ* Muḥammad al-ᶜAlamudī, has become a pivotal public figure. He invested in dozens of enterprises in various cultural, commercial and financial spheres and became one of the most influential personalities in today's Ethiopia. Symbolic, perhaps, was the fact that he invested in both the innovation of the "*naǧāšī*" grave and mosque in Təgray, as well as in the construction of the new Sheraton Hotel, a highly luxurious complex in Addis Abäba inaugurated in 1997, the headquarters of Ethiopia's new and thriving business community.

Lit.: HAGGAI ERLICH, *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, Boulder 1994; EMERI JOHANNES VAN DONZEL (ed, tr.), *A Yemenite Embassy to Ethiopia 1647–1649. Al-Ḥaymī's Sīrat al-Ḥabasha*, Stuttgart 1986 (AeF 21); MORDECHAI ABIR, *Ethiopia and the Red Sea*, London 1980; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London ²1965; ENRICO CERULLI, "Ethiopia's Relations with the Muslim World", in: M. EL FASI (ed.), *UNESCO General History of Africa*, vol. 3: *Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century*, Berkeley 1988, 575–85; JOSEPH CUOQ, *L'Islam en Ethiopie, des origines au XVI siècle*, Paris 1981; BRADFORD G. MARTIN, "Arab Migration to East Africa", *IJAHS* 7, 1974, 367–90.

Haggai Erlich

Arabic

Arabic in Ethiopia

The presence of A. in Ethiopia is as ancient and well established as the relationships between the two sides of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. It played in the past and still plays nowadays a crucial role in both the literary history and the social life of the whole country. In spite of the interest of scholars in the A. influence on Ethiopia, the scanty amount of available data up to now allows only a tentative evaluation of the

complex consequences this influence exercised on the historical and sociological level. Since early times A. has been in close contact with Christian as well as with Islamic Ethiopia.

Not only Christian theological and religious works, but also historical and hagiographical texts have been translated from A. into ↗Gəʿəz, starting approximately from the end of the 13th cent. As the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church was strictly bound to the ↗Coptic Church of Alexandria and the Ethiopian Patriarch was himself an Egyptian, these translations were based on original Christian A. texts which were common in Egypt (GuiSLett 22; Murad Kamil 1942; CerLett 54ff.; Ricci 1969; Kropp 1986). The influence of A. on Gəʿəz is witnessed by the considerable number of A. loan-words Gəʿəz acquired in its later phases (Leslau 1958). It is in this context to be remembered that the Amharic version of the Bible also was originally translated from A. (Ullendorff 1968:63–66). Other translations, not immediately linked with Islam, are analysed by Kane (1974:608–13). A.-Amharic glossaries compiled for a practical purpose testify to a recurrent desire or necessity of Ethiopians of any religion to acquire a good fluency in A. (Littmann 1908; Troupeau 1970:333–42).

A. has been used by Christian Ethiopians as a means of communication in international and internal political relationships. This kind of use is witnessed in the official letters Ethiopian rulers, metropolitans and patriarchs and outstanding local governors and leaders sent to foreign, especially, but not exclusively, Arab, representatives, diplomats, travellers, military heads, kings and statesmen (Appleyard – Irvine – Pankhurst 1985:35–39, 53–57; Rubenson 1984, 1987).

As for the Islamic part, it is almost impossible to ascertain with exactitude the level of the knowledge of A. reached by Ethiopian Muslims in the past: the most reliable hypothesis is that A., written and spoken, followed the main paths of diffusion beaten by Islamic religion. In particular, the solid and stable relationships Ethiopian Muslims always had with the Yemen and the Arabian Peninsula facilitated the diffusion of the sacred language of Islam (Cerulli 1931, 1936, 1941, Martin 1975, Gori 1995).

Nowadays we may find four different ways of spreading spoken and/or written A. in Ethiopia:

1. A.-speaking communities of traders and immigrants of Arab origin settled in Ethiopia

The largest Arab community living in Ethiopia is represented by Yemenis, who are present in ↗Addis Abäba and many other Ethiopian towns. Sociologically, both immigrants who left the ↗Yemen recently and individuals who were actually born in Ethiopia, but who are descendants of Yemenite forefathers make up this group. Also traders who do not intend to settle down in Ethiopia come at intervals from the Yemen. Geographically, the Yemenis of Ethiopia are from North as well as from South Yemen and ↗Ḥaḍramawt. Besides the Yemenis, small groups of Egyptian and Lebanese traders (Christians, Šīʿī and Sunnī Muslims) may come to Ethiopia on business and stay for a length of time. Together with these desultory Arab travellers who visit Ethiopia, staying for a while in the country, we may also reckon a very different category of persons which is of high importance for our topic: the *daʿwa*-group members, Muslim learned men (from Egypt or Saudi Arabia, though sometimes they are also of non-Arab origin) who visit the Islamic communities, especially during ↗Ramaḍān, and preach or hold lectures in fundamentally classical A. in the mosques in order to spread Islamic faith or to strengthen the observance of the Islamic tenets among the Muslims. These heterogeneous groups of people contribute to the spread in Ethiopia of both Classical and spoken A. of different dialects.

2. Religious and cultural language of Ethiopian Muslims

This is perhaps the most remarkable form in which A. spread and is spreading in Ethiopia. Generally speaking, and leaving aside the regional peculiarities, which can be relevant in some cases, we may single out several different levels and ways of using spoken and written A. by Ethiopian Muslims.

A. is taught in Qurʾānic schools everywhere a Muslim community lives. Obviously the usual teaching simply aims at the mnemonic learning of the Holy Book by the pupils, without giving any grammatical lessons and even without explaining the sense of the verses to recite and memorize; nevertheless, the Qurʾānic school almost invariably is the place where little Muslim children meet A. for the first time and start learning unconsciously some basic elements of the language. Further and deeper study of Classical A. can be carried out under the guidance of local learned men (Haile Gabriel Dagne 1976:349–54; Hussein Ahmed in PICES 9, Abdulnasir Idris 1992).

Islamic ↗A.-language literature is widespread among Muslims in Ethiopia (Drewes 1976; Gori 1995). Since many Ethiopian *ʿulamāʾ* ('learned men') used to write religious works and poetry in Classical A., an Islamic literature in A. came into being in Ethiopia (for specimen from Harär s. Wagner 1975, 1978, 1997; from Wällo s. Hussein Ahmed in PICES 8). Foreign authors, mostly of Arab origin, are also commonly read. Islamic printing-houses promote the publication and sometimes the translation of A. religious texts: besides the Qurʾān (the full text of the Qurʾān was translated into ↗Amharic in 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]; s. Ricci 1969:70, Kane 1974:613ff. and Mittwoch 1906 for an earlier translation of some sections of the Islamic Holy Book) some of the most fundamental manuals of *šāfiʿī fiqh* and booklets containing plain explanations of the Islamic dogmas were also translated into Amharic and ↗Oromiffa (Gori 1995:107ff.). Islamic bilingual Amharic-A. newspapers and magazines (*Bilāl*; *al-Furqān*) have been printed and distributed in Ethiopia (Hussein Ahmed in PICES 11).

Classical A. has also been widely used in ↗*šarīʿa* courts and in every official Islamic institution to write down records and account-books (Abdurahman Garad 1990; Ahmed Zekaria 1997).

As for oral fluency, it is difficult to evaluate the average skill. In many cases, no more than the salutation formulas and a scanty amount of the Qurʾānic text to be recited during the prayers will be known. An almost perfect fluency in some variety or other of A. may be noticed in Muslims who stayed in the Arab world, in particularly in Saudi Arabia or Egypt, to study, to make the pilgrimage, or to work, but even in people who never visited an Arab country, a perfect command of the classical written language may frequently be coupled with a high capacity to use it in conversation, as the case may require, especially for the discussion of religious topics. It has also been noticed that in general the Muslims (in particular the ↗Səlti) tend to use more A. loanwords than the average Amharic speaker in their Amharic conversation (Drewes in PICES 3, 59f.).

3. Communication language for peoples living on the borders with Sudan and between Ethiopian Muslims of different origins

No fresh and reliable data are presently available for this kind of use of A. in Ethiopia. Ferguson (1971:304f.) first dealt with this question and he underlined the use of A. "as a lingua franca mostly among Muslims".

4. Communication language in the markets

Many Arab immigrants are traders or come to Ethiopia on business. Arab shopkeepers are present in the markets of all the main Ethiopian cities. Ferguson (1971:305) notes the use of "a rudimentary" form of A. in communication between Arab merchants and their customers. More detailed and critically arranged data on this topic may be found in Cooper — Carpenter (in BendLang 244–55).

Conduding this necessarily limited survey, we may underline that an evident sign of the strong relationships between Arabia and Ethiopia is to be found in the great number of A. loan-words in all the Ethiopian languages (Leslau 1990) as well as in the presence of Ethiopic loan-words in A. (Nöldeke 1910:31–66; Jeffery 1938).

Lit.: ABDULNASIR IDRIS, *Traditional Islamic Centres of Learning in Harar*, Senior Essay, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1992; AHMED ZEKARIA, "Some Notes on the Account-Book of Amir ʿAbd al-Shakur b. Yusuf (1783–1794) of Harar", *Sudanic Africa* 8, 1997, 17–36; DAVID L. APPLEYARD — ARTHUR K. IRVINE — RICHARD PANKHURST, *Letters from Ethiopian Rulers (Early and Mid 15th Century)*, Oxford 1985, 35–39, 53–57; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRAL* ser. 6, 4, 2, 1931, 39–101; ID., *Studi etiopici. I. La lingua e la storia di Harar*, Roma 1936; ID., "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 6–42; CerLett 54ff.; ROBERT L. COOPER — SUSAN CARPENTER, "Language in the Market", in: *BendLang* 244–55; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "Bilingualism in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 57–60, ID., *Classical Arabic in Central Ethiopia. English Text of the Paper Read on 11 December 1975 for the "Oosters Genootschap in Nederland"*, Leiden 1976 (Oosters Genootschap in Nederland 7); CHARLES A. FERGUSON, "The Role of Arabic in Ethiopia: a Sociolinguistic Perspective", in: ID., *Language Structure and Language Use*, Stanford 1971, 293–312; ALESSANDRO GORI, "Alcune considerazioni e precisazioni preliminari sull'origine e sulla natura delle presenze islamiche non autoctone nelle comunità musulmane d'Etiopia", *Annali IUO* 53, 1995, 406–36; ID., "Soggiorno di studi in Eritrea ed Etiopia. Brevi annotazioni bibliografiche," *RSE* 39, 1995 (1997), 81–129; GuiSLett 22; HAILE GABRIEL DAGNE, "Non-Government Schools in Ethiopia", in: *BendLang* 339–69; HUSSEIN AHMED, "Introducing an Arabic Hagiography from Wollo", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 185–92; ID., "Traditional Muslim Education in Wollo", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 3, 94–106; ID., "*Al-Alam*: The History of an Ethiopian Arabic Weekly", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 155–66; ABDURAHMAN GARAD, *Harar. Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines Emirats im Horn von Afrika (1825–1875)*, Frankfurt am Main 1990 (Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 3, Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften 426); ARTHUR JEFFERY, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an*, Baroda

1938; MURAD KAMIL, "Translations from Arabic in Ethiopic Literature", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 8, 1942, 61–71; THOMAS LEIPER KANE, "Arabic Translation into Amharic", *BSOAS* 37, 1974, 608–27; MANFRED KROPP, "Arabisch-äthiopische Übersetzungstechnik am Beispiel der *Zena Ayhud* (*Yosippon*) und der *Tarika Wäldä ᶜAmid*", *ZDMG* 138, 1986, 315–46; WOLF LESLAU, *Arabic Loanwords in Ethiopian Semitic*, Wiesbaden 1990; ID., "Arabic Loanwords in Geᶜez", *JSS* 3, 1958, 146–68; ENNO LITTMANN, "Abessinische Glossen", *ZA* 21, 1908, 221–44; EUGEN MITTWOCH, "Exzerpte aus dem Koran in amharischer Sprache", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprache zu Berlin. Abteilung 2*, 9, 1906, 111–47; BRADFORD G. MARTIN, "Mahdism, Muslim Clerics and Holy Wars in Ethiopia", in: *USCES* 91–100; THEODOR NÖLDEKE, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, 31–66; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Letterature dell'Etiopia", [extract from:] OSCAR BOTTO (ed.), *Storia delle letterature d'Oriente*, vol. 1, Milano 1969, 801–911; ID., [review article], *RSE* 24, 1969 [1970], 261–64; SVEN RUBENSON, "Shaykh Kasa Haylu", in: *PICES* 7, 279–84; ID. (ed.), *Acta Aethiopica*, vol. 1: *Correspondence and treaties 1800–1854*, Evanston – Addis Ababa 1987 (Acta Aethiopica 1); EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, London 1968, 63–66; GEORGE TROUPEAU, "Un vocabulaire arabe dialectal-éthiopien", in: DAVID COHEN (ed.), *Mélanges Marœl Cohen*, The Hague 1970, 333–42; EWALD WAGNER, "Arabische Heiligenlieder aus Harar", *ZDMG* 125, 1975, 28–65; ID. (ed., tr.), *Legende und Geschichte. Der Fatḥ madīnat Harar von Yaḥyā Naṣrallāh*, Wiesbaden 1978 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 44, 3); ID., *Afrikanische Handschriften*. Teil 2: *Islamische Handschriften aus Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1997 (VOHD 24, 2).

Alessandro Gori

Arabic in Eritrea

In Eritrea, A. is only the mother-tongue of the ↗Rašāʾida, a nomadic Arab ethnic group (as far as one may assume, a section of the Arabian Banī Rašīd; s. Muḥammad ᶜUṯmān Abū Bakr 1994:226), who emigrated from the Arabian Peninsula to the Sudan coast and thence southwards to the Eritrean Saḥəl in the middle of the 19th cent. Nowadays the Rašāʾida live scattered on the shores of the Red Sea between Port Sudan and ↗Massawa and in the hinterland up to ↗Täsänäy and the ↗Atbara river. No reliable data are available about the number of the members of the Rašāʾida (Trimingham 1952:222 speaks of "about 1,000"). A.-speaking traders from the Yemen and Arabia maintain steady and strong relationships with Eritrea, particularly with the coastal towns, and have spread the use of A. in commercial life.

As elsewhere in the Islamic world, Eritrean Muslims study Classical A. as an essential part of their religious education and they may also acquire a certain proficiency in spoken A. According to Thompson (1976:600), in northern Eritrea, among the Təgre and the Beğa, A. is used in inter-tribal communication and in trade. Two main dialects are in use: Yemeni, especially in the Red Sea area and in Massawa, and Sudanese in the western lowlands. A mixture of these two forms of A. seems to be spoken in the rest of the country by Muslims.

During the time of the British Military Administration (1941–52), the study of A. in Islamic schools gained momentum following the importation of textbooks from Egypt. According to the Eritrean constitution, A. was Eritrea's official language, together with ↗Təgrañña, during the period of the Eritrean-Ethiopian Federation (1952–62). A. was used in the Eritrean court system, and probably in federal courts, since these were composed also of Eritrean judges.

During the long war against Ethiopia, the knowledge of A. among Eritreans improved and spread because of a series of factors. Many Eritreans (both Muslims and Christians) fled the war and sought refuge in the Sudan, where they could stay in refugee camps or in other accommodation, find a job and settle down for some time. Other Eritreans, especially educated young people, compelled by the war or by the hard economic situation, emigrated to Arab countries (Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf), where they looked for a job and lived for a while. The political representatives of the Eritrean fighting groups wished to establish and maintain good relationships with the Arab countries and multiplied their contacts at all levels with the Arabic-speaking world. The Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) was established in Cairo by western-Eritrean youngsters who received their modern education in A. Moreover, in the 1960s and 1970s the ELF leadership interpreted Ethiopian history as integrally connected to Arab history and adopted the slogan (Arab.) عروبة اشعاب ايريتريا (*ᶜUrūbat aš-ᶜāb Īrītrīyā*, 'The Arabism of the Eritrean peoples'). Conceiving their struggle as a part of the time's Pan-Arabic revolution, the ELF saw to the publication of hundreds of Arabic pamphlets and adopted A. as its official language.

All these different factors have a strong feedback effect on the spread of A. in Eritrea. Many Eritreans, Christians and Muslims, who in one way or another lived in some Arab country, acquired a fluent command of spoken A. (Sudanese, Egyptian, Saudi or Gulf dialects) and perhaps, at least in some cases, a certain knowledge

of written A., and brought it back to Eritrea when they returned. Individuals who had intellectual jobs or carried out political and official tasks in some Arab countries could possibly attain proficiency in Classical A. too. The influence A. exerted on Eritreans during the war of independence is evident, if we analyse the political and sociological vocabulary of the pamphlets and booklets of the Eritrean guerrillas and of the contemporary Təgrəññña press. In these literary products, a part of the military and sociopolitical vocabulary is directly borrowed from A. (Yaqob Beyene 1987:9, 13).

Now that independence has been achieved by Eritrea, A. is used as a working language of the state, due to the determination of the Muslim part of the population (Muḥammad ʿUṯmān Abū Bakr 1994:592f.). Most of the Eritrean newspapers and magazines are published both in Təgrəññña and in A. Television and radio programmes in A. are regularly broadcast. A modern and rich Eritrean prose and poetic literature in Arabic is flourishing at present (Gori 1995:81–107).

Lit.: BendLang; YAQOB BEYENE, "Terminologia marxista-leninista in tigrino", *RSE* 31, 1987 [1988], 5–21; ID., "La lotta per l'indipendenza dell'Eritrea ed i paesi Arabi", in: CLELIA SARNELLI CERQUA (ed.), *Studi arabo-islamici in onore di Roberto Rubinacci nel suo settantesimo compleanno*, Napoli 1985, vol. 1, 69–85; MUḤAMMAD ʿUṮMĀN ABŪ BAKR, *Taʾrīḫ Īrītrīyā al-muʿāṣir arḍan wa-šaʿban* ('The Contemporary History of Eritrea. Land and People'), Cairo 1994; ID., *Ǧuḏūr aṯ-ṯaqāfa al-ʿarabīya wa-t-taʿālīm fī Īrītrīya* ('Roots of the Arabic Culture and Education in Eritrea'), Cairo 1997; ALESSANDRO GORI, "Soggiorno di studi in Eritrea ed Etiopia. Brevi annotazioni bibliografiche," *RSE* 39, 1995 [1997], 81–129, here 81–107; ALAIN ROUAUD, "Rashā'ida," in: *EI*², vol. 8, 437f.; E. DAVID THOMPSON, "Languages of Northern Eritrea", in: *BendNonSLang* 597–603; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London 1952; HAGGAI ERLICH, *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, Boulder 1994, ch. 12; MARIE-CLAUDE SIMEONE-SENELLE, "L'arabe véhiculaire parlé en Erythrée sur la côte sud de la Mer Rouge de Massawa a Rahayta", *Oriente moderno* 80, 2000, 153–82; JONATHAN MIRAN, "Islamic Court Records from Nineteenth-Century Massawa: A Source for Social and Economic History", in: *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Eritrean Studies, "Independent Eritrea: Lessons and prospects", Asmara, July 2001*, forthcoming; ID., "Grand mufti, érudit et nationaliste érythréen: note sur la vie et l'oeuvre de cheikh Ibrâhîm al-Mukhtâr (1909–1969)", *Chroniques yéménites* 10, 2002, forthcoming; ID. – REX SEAN O'FAHEY, "The Islamic and Arabic Writings of Eritrea", in: REX SEAN O'FAHEY (ed.), *Arabic Literature of Africa*, vol. 3: *The Writings of the Muslim Peoples of Northeastern Africa: Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia*, Leiden 2003.

Alessandro Gori

Arabic literature

The existence of an A.l. in Ethiopia has been a well-known fact since the very beginning of Ethiopian studies. Arabic Christian as well as Islamic literature exerted a powerful influence on Ethiopic literature in the past. Local clergy and learned men (often of Egyptian Coptic origin) translated, from Christian Arabic into ↗Gəʿəz, religious and profane works for the Church and the monasteries. Moreover, high-ranking prelates as well as lay political rulers used sometimes Arabic to write official messages and letters.

However, it is quite obvious that it was in the Islamic regions of Ethiopia that Arabic found a much wider use for the writing of historical, theological and administrative works of varying size and scope. Arabic is considered in fact as the scholarly language all over the Islamic world and the most important works on various subjects are usually written in Arabic by Muslims who want to show their strong tie with the language of the Divine Revelation. Ethiopian Muslim learned men wrote in Arabic and were at the same time often very well acquainted with Islamic texts by Arab authors.

For the sake of brevity we may thus divide the Arabic literature in Ethiopia into two different kinds: the Arabic writings of local Islamic intellectuals, and the Arabic works imported from the Islamic world into Ethiopia for the enhancement of the Islamic culture and the religious consciousness of the Muslim faithful.

The first type of material is of course the most interesting for a variety of reasons. Linguistically, it gives us an exact image of the level of knowledge of written Arabic among Ethiopian Muslims; culturally, it sheds light on the main subjects which concerned the Ethiopian Islamic communities. We must also remember that a great deal of our information on the factual history of Islamic principalities and states in Ethiopia comes directly from local historical sources written in Arabic.

Most of the A.l. in Ethiopia is contained in manuscripts which were found and published by scholars or remained unpublished, and even unnoticed, in libraries. Only a relatively small amount of the Arabic works written in Ethiopia or brought into the country from abroad is available in modern printed editions.

From the geographical point of view, the greatest part of the Arabic literary production in

Ethiopia known to us nowadays comes from the ancient city of ↗Harär, which has been since a very early date a sort of cultural capital of Islamic Ethiopia. Moreover, the town of Harär drew the attention of western scholars much more than, and long before, any other Islamic cultural centre in Ethiopia. Only very recently were deep and wide researches carried out in and on other Islamic areas, mainly in Wällo and in Central Ethiopia, thus enabling us to discover the first portion of a probably huge literary production in Arabic, which still has to be brought fully to light and properly analysed. Islamized Oromo-speaking areas of Ethiopia also should be included in further investigations on this topic.

We may easily classify this local literary production according to literary genres. Wagner (1997) provides a complete theoretical classification into 12 different genres, partially following the categories applied by Ahlwardt (1887–99).

Apart from Wagner's exhaustive classification, here we would like to focus our attention only on what we could simply call the historical, the hagiographical, the mystical and pietistic, the doctrinal and moralistic, and the juridical and administrative genres which seem to us to be the most important ones in the Arabic literature in Ethiopia.

Historical writings are perhaps the most renowned manifestation of A.l. in Ethiopia. Wagner (1978:4f.) singles out three different kinds of locally produced Islamic-Ethiopian historiography in Arabic:

1. A conventional one which recalls the canons of traditional Islamic historiography. The most prominent representative of this sort of historiography is the famous ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (BassHist), which however was presumably not written by an Ethiopian author.

2. An absolutely pure Ethiopian Arabic production of genealogical trees, chronological lists of rulers and brief historical notes (Listenhistoriographie). It is first thanks to the painstaking efforts of Enrico ↗Cerulli that a large number of manuscripts containing this kind of literary production has been collected, especially in Harär, and then published and duly studied by him (Cerulli 1931, 1936, 1938, 1941, 1942, 1964). Wagner and others extended and perfected our knowledge of this peculiar and important kind of Arabic writings from Harär (Wagner 1974a, 1974b, 1976, 1979, 1991; Tedeschi in PICES 4).

3. A hagiographical or legendary historiography ("hagiographische oder legendäre Geschichtsschreibung") which is best represented in the text of the so-called *History of Zär'a Yaʿəqob* (Wendt 1935; Getatchew Haile – Wagner 1983) and in the ↗*Fatḥ madīnat Harar* (Paret 1974; Wagner 1978). The *Fatḥ* is a very intriguing kind of writing, as historical events and personages which were and are of crucial importance for the town of Harär are there described in an almost completely hagiographic narrative style, which thus creates a sort of mythopoetical saga of the origins (Kropp 1981).

We may consider the *Fatḥ* as a sort of *trait d'union* between a purely historiographical and a purely hagiographical production, which is also well attested in the A.l. of Ethiopia. Hussein Ahmed's study on the Wällo Islamic learned man *šayḫ* Ǧaʿfar Bukko is almost entirely based on the manuscript of the *šayḫ*'s Arabic hagiography (the *Misk al-aḏfar*, Hussein Ahmed in PICES 8). *Šayḫ* Ḥusayn of Bale's renowned hagiographies (the ↗*Rabīʿ al-qulūb* and the *Nuzhat al-asrār*, both of an anonymous author, printed several times in Egypt and Ethiopia) have also been used the better to define the historical and cultural dimensions of this holy man and his cult (Gori 1996 with further bibliography). Recent research on *faki* Aḥmad ʿUmar (d. 1953), a Bornu saint of the Tiǧānīya brotherhood, buried in Yaʾa, make use of his two Arabic hagiographies (one printed, one in manuscript; Hishihara in PICES 13).

From the foregoing, it emerges that, oddly enough, no hagiographical text of any of the many saints that are venerated in Harär has been discovered and studied up to now.

From a quantitative point of view, mystical literary production in Arabic holds perhaps the second position after historiography, but has a very peculiar relevance, because it is almost entirely represented by poetry: invocations of the name of God, litanies and hymns recited in praise of the Prophet ↗Muḥammad and the great holy men are written by Ethiopian Muslims in more or less pure Classical Arabic verses which try to stick to the principles of Arabic prosody, but also, it is worthwhile mentioning, in local languages (↗Harari, ↗Səlṭi, and also ↗Amharic) in Arabic script. These poetical texts are often intended to be sung in mystical meetings and in religious ceremonies inside the shrines of the saints and in other sacred places.

Wagner's scholarly activity has contributed decisively to clarify all the aspects of this litera-

ture that are known to us, especially in its Hararine form (Wagner 1975; for other Islamic regions of Ethiopia s. Drewes 1976; Alula Pankhurst in PICES 11).

Halfway mystical and pietistic may be considered the ↗*Fatḥ ar-raḥmānī*, a very famous devotional formulary with general theological instructions for the praise of the Prophet Muḥammad, written by the Harari author *šayḫ* ↗Hāšim (1711–65), published several times in Addis Abäba and also very wide spread in manuscripts in Harär.

In the field of mysticism, we have also to mention the initiatic chains (*silsila*) of the different brotherhoods and the lists of saints to be invoked (Wagner 1973; Hussein Ahmed 1990; Wagner 1997:12f.).

Another Harari, *faqīh* ↗Ḥāmid b. Ṣiddīq, wrote in the 18th cent. three works to which we may safely give the attributes of theological and moralistic in their narrower sense (Brunschvig in PICES 4). Other works of this kind were written by Wällo scholars (Hussein Ahmed in PICES 10).

As for the juridical and administrative genre, Arabic was widely used in *šarīʿa*-courts and in state finance, as testified by the *qāḍī* records of Harär studied by Abdurahman Garad (1990) and the account-book of *amīr* ʿAbdaššakūr analysed by Ahmed Zekaria (1997).

To conclude, the importance of the study of the original A.l. spread among Ethiopian Muslims must be underlined. A knowledge of this kind of foreign literary production can give us useful hints on the cultural level and orientation of the Islamic intelligentsia, on its ways of formation, on the problems with which it was concerned and on the external influences to which Ethiopian Islam was exposed. In this field we actually know very little for the past (Gori 1996 for the diffusion of the *šāfiʿī* juridical textbooks; Drewes 1983 for the books contained in the library of ↗Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdaššakūr in Harär in the 19th cent.). For the present time, a first, tentative study in Ethiopia (and Eritrea) was carried out by Gori (1995).

Src.: BassHist; EWALD WAGNER (ed., tr.), *Legende und Geschichte. Der Fatḥ Madīnat Harar von Yaḥyā Naṣrallāh*, Wiesbaden 1978 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 44, 3).

Lit.: AHMED ZEKARIA, "Some Notes on the Account-Book of Amīr 'Abd Shakūr b. Yūsuf (1783–1794) of Harar", *Sudanic Africa* 8, 1997, 17–36; WILHELM AHLWARDT, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin 1887–99 (Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin 7–9, 16–22); ROBERT BRUNSCHVIG, "L'Islam enseigné par Ḥāmid b. Ṣiddiq de Harar (XVIIIe siècle)", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 445–54; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *RRALm* ser. 6, vol. 4, 2, 1931, 39–96; ID., *Studi Etiopici*, vol. 1: *La lingua e la storia di Harar*; vol. 2: *La lingua e la storia dei Sidamo*, Roma 1936, 1938; ID., "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 5–42; ID., "Gli emiri di Harar dal secolo XVI alla conquista egiziana", *RSE* 2, 1942, 2–18; ID., "La fine dell'emirato di Harar in nuovi documenti storici", *Annali IUO* nuova ser. 14, 1964, 75–82 [all repr. in: ID., *Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971]; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, *Classical Arabic in Central Ethiopia...*, Leiden 1976 (Oosters Genootschap in Nederland 7); ID., "The Library of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdal-Shakūr, Sulṭān of Harar (1272–92/1856–75)", in: ROBIN LEONARD BIDWELL – GERALD REX SMITH (eds.), *Arabian and Islamic Studies. Articles presented to R. B. Serjeant on the Occasion of his Retirement from the Sir Thomas Adams Chair of Arabic at the University of Cambridge*, London – New York 1983, 68–79; ABDURAHMAN GARAD, *Harar. Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines Emirats im Horn von Afrika (1825–1875)*, Frankfurt am Main 1990 (Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 3, Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften 426); GETATCHEW HAILE – EWALD WAGNER, "Die Geschichte Nūr b. Muǧāhids von Harar oder The History of Aze Zarʾa Yaʿqob", *ZDMG* 139, 1983, 43–92; ALESSANDRO GORI, "Soggiorno di studi in Eritrea ed Etiopia: alcune osservazioni bibliografiche", *RSE* 39, 1995 [1997], 81–129; ID., "First Studies on the Texts of Shaykh Ḥusayn's Hagiographies", *RSO* 70, 1996, 53–82; MINAKO HISHIHARA, "The Life History of a Muslim Holyman: al-Faqi Ahmad Umar", in: *PICES* 13, 391–402; HUSSEIN AHMED, "Introducing an Arabic Hagiography from Wallo", in: *PICES* 8, 185–97; ID., "The Life and Career of *shaykh* Talha b. Jaʿfar (c. 1853–1936)", *JES* 22, 1983, 13–30; ID., "The Life and Career of Shaykh Ṭalha Jaʿfar (c. 1853–1936)", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 567–76; ID., "Two Muslim Shrines in South Wollo", in: *Proceedings of the V Seminar of the Department of History*, Addis Ababa University 1990, 61–74; MANFRED KROPP, [Review of Wagner 1978], *OrChr* 65, 1981, 229-32; ALULA PANKHURST, "Indigenising Islam in Wällo: Ajäm, Amharic Verse Written in Arabic Script", in: *PICES* 11, 257–73; RUDI PARET, "Eine fragwürdige arabische Chronik von Harar", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 421–43; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "L'emirato di Harar secondo un documento inedito", in: *ibid.*, 481–500; EWALD WAGNER, "Eine Liste der Heiligen von Harar", *ZDMG* 123, 1973, 269–92; ID., "Three Arabic Documents on the History of Harar", *JES* 12, 1974, 213–24; ID., "Genealogien aus Harar", *Der Islam* 51, 1974, 97–117; ID., "Arabische Heiligenlieder aus Harar", *ZDMG* 125, 1975, 28–65; ID., "Die Chronologie der frühen muslimischen Herrscher in Äthiopien nach den Hararíner Emirslisten", in: *Wort und Wirklichkeit. Studien zur Afrikanistik und Orientalistik Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*, Meisenheim 1976, 186–204; ID., "Neues Material zur 'Ausa Chronik'", in: *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beirut 1979, 657–73 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 22); ID., "The Genealogy of the Later Walashmaʿ Sultans of Adal and Harar", *ZDMG* 141, 1991, 376–86; ID., *Afrikanische Handschriften, Teil 2. Islamische Handschriften aus Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1997 (VOHD 24, 2), 12f.; KURT WENDT, "Amharische Geschichte eines Emirs von Harar", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 4, 1935, 484–501.

Alessandro Gori

Arabic loan-words

A.l. are found in most, if not all, languages of Ethiopia and Eritrea due either to direct borrowing, as in case of Gəᶜəz, Təgre, Təgrəññа, Amharic, Harari, Beğa, Bilin and some other Agaw languages, Sāho, ᶜAfar, Somali and some dialects of Oromiffa, as well in as some Nilo-Saharan languages (Gumuz, Bärta and Kʷama) or to indirect borrowing, as in the case of most Gurage, Cushitic and Nilo-Saharan languages.

The first contacts between Arabic and the languages of Ethiopia and Eritrea go back to the pre-Islamic period, although these language contacts are difficult to reconstruct because of the scarcity of data. It is not clear whether some A.l. may be found already in Gəᶜəz texts dating to the period when Gəᶜəz was still a spoken language. They are found in Old Amharic as well as in the oldest records of the Cushitic languages.

The sources of borrowing were manifold, particularly in the commercial and religious realms. Amharic commercial terminology includes e.g. *suq* 'market, shop', *tağər* 'merchant, rich-man', *särräfä* 'to change money', *kəray* 'rent, loan', *qali* 'expensive', *räkkäsä* 'to be cheap', *aynät* 'specimen', *bəlaš* 'gratis, free', as well as names of many imported and exported goods like *fas* 'axe', *rəsas/ərsas* 'plumb, bullet', *ḥarir* (Gəᶜəz *ḫarir*) 'silk', *qʷəmaš/qumaš* 'clothing', *kämr* (Gəᶜəz *ḫamr*) 'wine', *zayton/zayt/zet* 'olive' etc. As far as religious contacts are concerned, translations from Christian Arabic into Gəᶜəz resulted in some loan-words like *qomos* 'prior, head priest', *əsquf* 'bishop' (both ultimately from Greek). On the other hand, Islamization of some groups and whole peoples as well as the creation of Muslim states brought about the spread of Islamic religious and cultural A.l., e.g. *mäsgid* 'mosque', *kafir* 'unbeliever'. Some authors even speak of "Islamic Amharic".

There are also some medical terms, e.g. *ḥakim* 'doctor', *waba/woba* 'disease, malaria', *safra* 'choleric temperament, gall, bile', and astronomical terms, e.g. *qämär* 'moon', *ziža* astronomical table', *fäläk* 'celestical sphere' etc. Sometimes A.l. have also been used as magical terms.

The impact of the immigration of speakers of Arabic to Ethiopia and Eritrea cannot be overestimated and as a result Arabic is one of the languages of both Ethiopia and Eritrea. For some peoples, e.g. the Harari, the ᶜAfars, the Somali and some Oromo, Arabic has been a prestigious language and was the first, and for a long time the only, written language in use. Therefore, there are A.l. connected with both daily life as well as learned words.

Some A.l. are used practically everywhere in Ethiopia, e.g. *bunna* 'coffee' (from Arabic *bunn*), *šay, šahi* etc. 'tea', *tərəngo, turunga* etc. 'citron', *bərtukan* 'orange', *zabib, sabib* etc. 'grapes, raisins', *šärmuṭa* 'prostitute', *askari/aškär* 'soldier; servant', *fäll/fal* 'omen', *tarik* 'history', *tərğman* 'interpreter', *šanṭa* 'bag' and many others.

Some A.l. in languages of the area are original Arabic words, but others are non-Arabic words borrowed through the mediation of Arabic, e.g. Syriac *der* 'monastery', Greek *ṭälsäm* 'talisman', *ṭalisan* 'priestly vestment', *fanus* 'lantern', Greek or Latin *qändil* 'candle', Persian *bändär/mändär* 'town', *mähandis* 'engineer', *däbtär* 'notebook, copybook', *foṭa/fota* 'cloth' (ultimately from Sanskrit!), Turkish *ṭäbänğa* 'rifle, pistol', *gašla* 'hospital, barrack', European *babur* 'steamer, train', *qərš/gərš* 'piastre, small coin, change (money)', *Nämsa* 'Austria, Germany', *siğara* 'cigarette' etc.

Special studies of A.l. contain very extensive lists, including over 1,100 in Amharic (Brzuski 1983), over 700 in Harari (Leslau 1963), several hundred in Somali listed by Zaborski (1967) and even more by Callegari (1987/88). However, some of the A.l. found in dictionaries and in special studies are found in only a limited number of texts or may even have been used only on occasion. While many A.l. have Literary Arabic as their source (e.g. religious terminology, both Christian and Islamic), others have been borrowed from spoken-Arabic dialects. Quite naturally, neighbouring Yemenite, Ḥaḍramawt, Ḥiğāzī and Sudanese dialects have been the source. It is usually difficult if not impossible to say from which variety of spoken Arabic a particular word has been borrowed, which probably shows the levelling tendency due to borrowing the same words from different dialects, but sometimes there are variants, e.g. *gumruk/ğumruk* 'customs', *ğäbäna/žäbäna* 'coffee-pot', *qadi/qazi* 'judge', due to dialect differences within Arabic or between the dialects and Classical Arabic.

Lit.: WOLF LESLAU, "Arabic Loanwords in Gurage", *Arabica* 1956, 266–84; ID., "Arabic Loanwords in Harari", in: *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, Roma 1956, vol. 2, 14–35; ID., "Arabic Loanwords in Tigré", *Word* 12, 1956, 125–41; ID., "Arabic Loanwords in Tigrinya", *JAOS* 76, 1956, 204–13; ID., "Arabic Loanwords in Argobba", *ibid.* 77, 1957, 36–39; ID.,

"Arabic Loanwords in Amharic", *BSOAS* 19, 1957, 221–44; ID., "Arabic Loanwords in Geᶜez", *JSS* 3, 1958, 146–68; ID., *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1963 (University of California Publications in Near Eastern Studies 1); ID., *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage*, Wiesbaden 1979; ID., "Additional Arabic Loanwords in Tigré", in: ROSWITHA G. STIEGNER (ed.), *Al-Hudhud. Festschrift Maria Höfner zum 80. Geburtstag*, Graz 1981, 171–98; ID., "Additional Arabic Loanwords in Amharic", in: SIEGBERT UHLIG – BAIRU TAFLA (eds.), *Collectanea Aethiopica*, Wiesbaden 1988 (AeF 26), 87–109; ID., "The Geᶜez and the Arabic Vocabulary", in: ULLA EHRENSVÄRD – CHRISTOPHER TOLL (eds.), *On both Sides of al-Mandab. Ethiopian, South Arabian and Islamic Studies Presented to Oscar Löfgren on his Ninetieth Birthday 13 May 1988 by Colleagues and Friends*, Stockholm 1989 (Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul. Transactions II); ID., *Arabic Loanwords in Ethiopian Semitic*, Wiesbaden 1990 (Lit.); ID., "Arabic and Amharic Loanwords in Afar", *RSE* 39, 1995 [1998], 131–54; ID., "Arabic Loanwords in Selṭi", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 103–23; ARTHUR JEFFERY, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an*, Baroda 1938; LesCDic; WITOLD BRZUSKI, *Zapozyczenia Arabskie w dawnym i wspoliczesnym jezyku amharskim* ('Arabic Loanwords in Old and Modern Amharic'), Warszawa 1983; ANDRZEY ZABORSKI, "Arabic Loan Words in Somali, Preliminary Survey", *Folia Orientalia* 8, 1967, 125–75; LAURA CALLEGARI, *I prestiti arabi nella lingua somala*, Ph.D. thesis, Università di Torino 1987/88.

Andrzej Zaborski

Arada ↗ Addis Abäba

Aräfa

A. is the name of a popular Muslim religious festival which is held all over the Islamic world and takes place in the last month of the Islamic ↗calendar. It is derived from Arabic يوم العرفة (*Yawm al-ᶜArafa*). Strictly speaking, *ᶜArafa* is the eve of the feast, which is held on the *Yawm an-naḥr* (10 *Ḏū l-ḥiǧǧa*), and is known as *ᶜĪd al-aḍḥā*, 'feast of the immolation'. The term refers to ᶜArafāt, the name of a plain near Mecca, which is one of the five places to be visited by the pilgrims as part of the *ḥaǧǧ* (↗Pilgrimages).

On the third day of the *ḥaǧǧ* to Mecca, the pilgrims have to visit the plain, all of them dressed in white in order to mark that there is no difference between master and servant, rich and poor, Arab and non-Arab. All are equal, all repeat the same phrases of prayer, all are Muslims and all submit to the will of God. A *ḥaǧǧ* without visiting the plain of ᶜArafāt is not considered a proper *ḥaǧǧ*.

Part of the *ḥaǧǧ* is the sacrifice of animals, whose parts are then given to the poor (the Saudi government has arranged today that such meat is properly canned and shipped to famine-stricken countries). *Yawm al-ᶜArafa* is considered the most important day in the Muslim calendar.

In Harär, A. ranks in importance higher than *ᶜĪd al-fiṭr*. As in Mecca, animals are slaughtered for the poor. Children may be given new clothes and – after the prayers – some coins by their parents and relatives. The first three days, the *Ayyām at-tašrīq* (11–13 *Ḏū l-ḥiǧǧa*, following *ᶜĪd al-aḍḥā*), are festive days and days of prayer for everyone. For the youngsters, however, A. may last up to 15 days – days which are reserved for their parties. Boys and girls may come together during these parties, yet the girls are expected to return home in the evening, while the boys may stay together in a friend's house.

↗Feasts

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, *Studi etiopici I. La lingua e la storia di Harar*, Roma 1936, 235; ELISABETH-DOROTHEA HECHT, *Die traditionellen Frauenvereine (Afōča) der Harari in Harar und in Addis Abeba, Äthiopien*, Berlin 1993 (Marburger Studien zur Afrika- und Asienkunde, Serie A: Afrika 30); WOLF LESLAU, *Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background*, vol. 1: *Harari*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1965 (University of California Publications in Near Eastern Studies 7), 229–34.

Elisabeth-Dorothea Hecht

Arägawi Mänfäsawi

A.M. (**አረጋዊ፡ መንፈሳዊ**, 'the Spiritual Elder') is the name under which John Saba (*saba* in Syriac means 'ancient' or 'elder'; also known as John of Dalyata) is best known in Ethiopian tradition. He was a Nestorian hermit, who lived in the first half of the 8th cent. There are few biographical details about him: it is known that he came from Mesopotamia and took the monastic habit at the monastery of Qardu (in present-day south-east Turkey), before retreating to the mountain of Dalyata, where he lived an ascetic existence.

His writings in Syriac include 25 to 28 homilies or treatises, 48 to 51 letters, 3 to 8 homilies in verse (*memrē*) or centuries, under the title "Chapters on Knowledge", and several short works of doubtful authenticity. These works were translated from Syriac to Arabic before the middle of the 13th cent.

The ↗Gəᶜəz version of the John Saba anthology is known in Ethiopian tradition as A.M. This title derives from *aš-Šayḫ ar-Rūḥānī* (Arabic for "the Spiritual Elder"), since the work was translated from the Arabic Vorlage in the 16th cent. on the order of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (Conti Rossini 1899:271). According to Ethio-

pian tradition, it was *abunä* ↗Marqos who personally participated in the translation, along with *əčč̣äge* ↗ᶜEnbaqom (Ricci 1991:977), who was the abbot of Däbrä Libanos and the translator of many works from Arabic into Gəᶜəz (van Donzel 1969:34; Dillman 1878:43f.).

The A.M. forms, along with the third treatise on ascetism by ↗Isaac of Nineveh and the questions and answers on the history of the Egyptian fathers by Philoxenus of Mabbog (↗*Filkəsyus*), a trilogy of monastic books called *Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkosat*, which to this day is considered to form the spiritual foundation of Ethiopian ↗monasticism. This is one of the reasons why these works had so wide a circulation and are found in so many copies.

↗Monastic literature

Src.: መጻሕፍተ፡ መነኮሳት። ሦስትኛ፡ መጽሐፍ። አረጋዊ፡ መንፈሳዊ (*Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkosat. Śostəñña mäṣḥaf. Arägawi mänfäsawi*, 'The Books of the Monks. Book Three. Arägawi Mänfäsawi'), Addis Abäba 1982 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.]; AUGUSTUS DILLMANN, *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin. Dritter Band. Verzeichniss der abessinischen Handschriften*, Berlin 1878, 42ff., ms. 49 [Ms.or.qu. 491]; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Griaule*, Paris 1938 (Travaux et mémoirs de l'Institut d'Éthnologie 29), 123–38 [ms. 325 = Griaule 21], plate iv; GrETisVat I, 321–37 [ms. Vat 84]; 818–21 [ms. Borg. 20]; HamTana 1, 176ff. [ms. Ṭānāsee 39 = Kebrān 39]; ZotBNat 134ff. [ms. 115].

Lit.: CerLett 190; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* 8, 1899, 197–220, 263–85; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "La lettre et la notice finales du Vieillard Spirituel", *ROC* 2, 10, 1915–17, 77–81; GuiSLett 68; GEORG GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1, Città del Vaticano 1944, 434ff.; EMERI JOHANNES VAN DONZEL, *ʿÄnbāqom. Anqaṣa Amin* (*La Porte de la Foi*). *Apologie éthiopienne du Christianisme contre l'Islam à partir du Coran*, Leiden 1969, 34; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Ethiopian Christian Literature", in: *CE*, vol. 3, 975–79.

Enzo Lucchesi

Arägawi Säbagadis

Šumᶜagame A.S. (**አረጋዊ፡ ሰባጋዲስ**, d. 1860) was a son of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu. A.S. inherited claims to the governorship of Təgray after the defeat and death of his father in 1831, but was only able to establish himself in ↗ᶜAgamä, which he held as his own against Säbagadis's successor *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam in the 1840s and 1850s.

A.S. was a strong opponent of the early Catholic missionaries, but eventually developed friendly relations with them and with the French consul at Massawa.

Lit.: KEVIN O'MAHONEY, "*The Ebullient Phoenix*". *A History of the Vicariate of Abyssinia, 1839–1860*, vol. 1, Asmara 1982, 64f.

Sven Rubenson

Arägawi Zämikaʾel

↗ Zämikaʾel Arägawi

Arakel

A. *bey* (Armenian Aṛak'el Nubar, Arab. Arakīl, Tgr. ᶜAli K̲är *bey*, Tgn. ᶜAli K̲ärbe, b. ca. 1840 Trieste, d. 16 November 1875 at Gʷäda Gʷəddi near Gundät) descended from an Armenian family from Smyrna (Izmir), which held high positions in Cairo and Istanbul over three generations. He was educated in Germany and France.

At a young age he became a high Egyptian official in the Foreign Office, being a relative of Nubar *pasha* Nubarian, Egypt's Foreign Minister and five-times Prime Minister (1872, 1877/78 etc.). For a short time A. played a key role in the Egyptian quest for enlarging their territory on the southern Red Sea coast. When ↗Munzinger *pasha* became Governor-General of East Sudan in December 1873 the Christian A. was appointed governor of ↗Massawa Province under him, as his successor. A. continued the port's modernization, constructing the aqueduct of ↗Ǝmkullu, pushed the construction of a telegraph line to ↗Kassala, planned to occupy the ᶜAfar Ṭəlṭal salt plains and, in 1875, built the Egyptian governor's palace on Tawlūd island, initiated by Munzinger, near the dam joining it with Baṣəᶜ. Tawlūd has been used for

Palace in Massawa, built by Arakel in 1874/75, as shown on a 1-*bərr* note of Ḫaylä Śəllase I (detail)

settlements only since his time. In 1885 A.'s palace became the seat of the Italian governor. (The palace, damaged in the 1990 battle, is considered a national cultural heritage today.)

A. energetically promoted the idea of occupying Ethiopia with a handful of well-armed soldiers; in summer 1875 he assembled troops and prepared for one of four simultanous Egyptian military campaigns against *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. A.'s troops occupied the Asmära area in September. Ca. 2,500 men under A. and Commander Arendrup *pasha*, occupying Ḥamasen and Säraye, faced little resistence until they reached the Märäb on 14 November. Yoḥannəs's army under *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda attacked them at Gʷäda Gʷəddi, at the edge of the highlands south of ᶜAddi K̲ʷala. Relying on the support of *däǧǧač* Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən and *däǧǧač* ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel Sälomon of Ḥamasen, among others, the Emperor's troops dramatically and rapidly defeated the Egyptians in the morning of 16 November. The written protest of Yoḥannəs, addressed to A., of November 18 against this violation of international law, did not reach him (Rubenson 2000:194) as he had died on the battlefield with most of his troops.

Src.: WILLIAM MCE[NTYRE] DYE, *Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia*, New York 1880, 138–41; JOHANNES AXEL KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega. Traduction Française*, Uppsala 1915 (Archives dʿÉtudes Orientales 5:2), 167f.

Lit.: ErDizBio 21; RICHARD HILL, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Oxford 1951, 58f.; GEORGES DOUIN, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail*, Cairo 1933–41, III, 3B, 770f., 858; ZEWDE GABRE-SELLASSIE, *Yohannes IV of Ethiopia: a Political Biography*, Oxford 1975, passim; SVEN RUBENSON (ed.), *Internal Rivalries and Foreign Threats 1869–1879*, Addis Abeba – New Brunswick – Lund 2000 (Acta Aethiopica 3), 168, 194; ID., *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, London ²1978, 313, 318ff.

Wolbert Smidt

Aramis

A. (**አራሚስ**) is a small dry river in the ᶜAfar administrative region of Ethiopia. A small nomadic ᶜAfar settlement close to the ↗Awaš river is also named A. Both the river and the village are located on the Western side of the Awaš, within "zone 5" of the ᶜAfar regional administration. The Awaš River flowing from the highlands of Ethiopia into the main Ethiopian rift floor towards the Ethio-Djibouti border bisects the Middle Awaš Paleoanthropological Study Area. The A. stream is centred in the study area.

A. site lies about 250 km northeast of Addis Abäba. It is about 70 km south of Hadar, where "Lucy" (↗*Australopitecus afarensis*) was discovered. The most recently discovered 5.7 million-year-old human ancestor, ↗*Ardipithecus ramidus kadabba* is found at about 35 km southwest of A.

A. is rich in Pliocene sediments deposited in the floodplain of ancient rivers. The paleoanthropological research project that has been going on for over 20 years in the Middle Awaš area found the first specimen of the 4.4 million-year-old human ancestor, ↗*Ardipithecus ramidus*, at A. in 1992. Subsequent survey in the area produced more localities bearing the same early human ancestor. Dozens of individuals of *Ardipithecus ramidus* have been found at A., but many of them are known only by teeth. The A. area is unique in having the maximum concentration of this particular early human ancestor. The most complete skeleton of *Ardipithecus ramidus* was found here between 1994 and 1996. There are thousands of other mammal fossils accompanying these remains, and these fossils represent dozens of species new to science. The evidence from the fossilized animals show that the A. area used to be covered with trees. The antelopes, Columbus monkeys, and rich botanical record shows that the past environment was very different from the harsh dry ᶜAfar desert we see today at A.

Lit.: TIMOTHY DOUGLAS WHITE – GEN SUWA – BERHANE ASFAW, "Australopithecus Ramidus, a New Species of Early Hominid from Aramis, Ethiopia", *Nature* 371, 1994, 306–12; ID., "Corrigendum: Australopithecus Ramidus, a New Species of Early Hominid from Aramis, Ethiopia", *Nature* 375, 1995, 88; ID.,

"Ardipithecus Ramidus, a Root Species for Australopithecus", in: FIORENZE FACCHINI (ed.), *The Colloquia of the XIII International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, Forlì, Italy, 8–14 September, 1996*, Forlì 1996, 15–23; GIDAY WOLDEGABRIEL – TIMOTHY DOUGLAS WHITE – GER SUWA et al., "Ecological and Temporal Placement of Early Pliocene hominid at Aramis, Ethiopia", *Nature* 371, 1994, 330–33; YOHANNES HAILE-SELASSIE, "Late Miocene Hominids from the Middle Awash, Ethiopia", *Nature* 412, 2001, 178–81; GIDAY WOLDEGABRIEL – YOHANNES HAILE-SELASSIE – PAUL RENNE et al., "Geology and Palaeontology of the Late Miocene Middle Awash valley, Afar rift, Ethiopia", *ibid.* 175–78; GIDAY WOLDEGABRIEL – PAUL R. RENNE – TIMOTHY DOUGLAS WHITE – GER SUWA et al., "Age of Early Hominids", *Nature* 376, 1995, 559.

Berhane Asfaw

Araray

A. (**አራራይ**) is one of the three categories of melody (↗*Zema*) or mode (*səlṭ*) which constitute the Ethiopian Christian musical system, the creation of which is traditionally ascribed to St. ↗Yared. A. is used for virtually all occasions in the annual liturgical cycle and is for this reason termed the "daily *zema*". However, it is particularly closely associated with the music for holiday vespers (*wazema*) rituals, where it plays a prominent role (s. VdMe II). In terms of its metaphorical significance, A. is linked to the Holy Spirit, an association derived from traditional accounts of the life of St. Yared.

A repertory of short melodic patterns in A. also constitutes one of the three divisions of the indigenous Ethiopian notational system. Each A. melody is represented by a sign (↗*Məlakkət*) derived from the Gəʿəz syllabary.

A. is considered by church musicians (↗*Däbtära*) to be a "pleasurable" mode and is characterized by its wide range and high tessitura. Its musical content is somewhat difficult to describe because of the problems encountered in translating Ethiopian intonation into Western notation. Like the ↗*ʿəzəl* mode, A. uses a pitch-set that may be expressed in Western staff notation as a pentachord with a variable third degree, C–D–E/F–G–A.

Lit.: *abba* TITO LEPISA, "The Three Modes and the Signs of the Songs in the Ethiopian Liturgy", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 162–87; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY – PETER JEFFERY, *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant: an Anthology*, 3 vols., Madison 1993–97; VdMe II, 75–98.

Kay Kaufman Shelemay

Aratu

A. (**ኣራቱ**) is an archaeological site in Eritrea near ↗Ḥalḥal (15°93'N, 38°28'), 2.5 hours from Kärän on the road to Naqfa. A. is so far the northernmost excavated Aksumite site, amidst an extended area of ruins (probably several km²). The main buildings are situated near the top of a natural hill. Investigations were conducted at A. in 1907, by the Italian official Abele Piva.

A. is an urban site with evidence of buildings and plenty of ↗pottery in Aksumite style, mostly red wares with dark core and sherds of light coloured amphorae. Investigations by Piva brought to the light the remains of a large Aksumite building on a stepped podium in the area named "the Bed of Samaratchon". The platform of the main building consists of 5 large and 2 smaller well worked slabs of granite-like stone, one slab dislocated; some of the slabs have a small raised rim. The building included a squared room with three "altars" in local granite ranging between 2.05 m x 1.20 m and 2.10 m x 1.56 m in size. Below the eastern edge of the platform a small opening leads to an underground room, which is spanned by a vault made of two layers of burnt bricks (bricks size ca. 22 x 22 x 6,5 cm). In front of this structure a courtyard with small drainage channels has also been recorded. Two stone outlets lie in dislocated position near the building, a third one appears to be still in situ on the north side of the building.

Aksumite coins of kings Ouazebas (late 4th cent.) and ↗Armaḥ (early 7th cent.) were also collected here.

↗Aksum; ↗Aksumite culture

Lit.: GIOTTO DAINELLI – OLINTO MARINELLI, *Risultati scientifici di un viaggio nella Colonia Eritrea*, Firenze 1912, passim; ERIC GODET, "Répertoire des sites préaxoumites et axoumites d'Ethiopie du nord. IIème partie: Erythrée", *Abbay* 11, 1980–82, 73–113; ABELE PIVA, "Una civiltà scomparsa dell'Eritrea e gli scavi archeologici nella regione di Cheren", *Nuova Antologia* ser. 3, 16, 1907, 323–35.

Rodolfo Fattovich

Arʾaya

A. (**አርአያ**, lit. 'Example', the name of the main character), published in Asmära, 1941 A.M. [1948/49 A.D.]), an Amharic novel with 30 chapters and 216 pages, was the longest to have been written at the time of publication. The author, ↗Gərmaččäw Täklä Ḫawaryat, describes his work on the cover and in the preface as **ልብ፡ ወለድ** (*↗ləbb wälläd*, 'fiction'), **ታሪካዊ፡ ልቦለድ** (*tarikawi ləbbolläd*, 'historical fiction'), or **ያንድ፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ፡ ታሪክ** (*yand ityopyawi tarik*, 'the story [or history] of one Ethiopian'). The book was reprinted in 1947 A.M., 1951 A.M., 1960 A.M., and 1964 A.M. [1954/55, 1958/59, 1967/68, and 1971/72 A.D. respectively]. It has also been translated into Chinese.

A., the main character, is a rural young man who had already understood the value of modern education when he completed his basic church education at the age of 13. He considers the church education too spiritual, less useful and less practical than European education of the time. He travels from Tägulät to Harärge and Dərre Dawa, where he joins the French Mission School, and from which, with the help of a French widow, he goes to France returning to Ethiopia after 15 years.

In the first part Gərmaččäw presents an international pool of characters: Monsieur Duval, the bourgeois Freemason; Pontignac, a young Frenchman; Tatoh Minh, the Asian; and a Russian professor of history. Various ideas for making Ethiopia progress are presented through their voices. Issues of world peace, the roles of European missionaries and their alleged contribution to African, Asian and American (the Indians) civilizations; ideologies, discussions on the eastern and western outlook on religious and secular life, the case of Japan illustrating the swift modernization of society, abound in the recurrent debates in the novel.

A. relates much about Ethiopia. Replete as the novel is with new ideas of administration, development and colonialism, it also records occasions like the *əgg mänša* scene at the palace (a ceremony for paying one's respect, usually to a person of high official or hereditary status). The vegetation, wild life and physical features of some regions, and cities like Addis Abäba and Dərre Dawa are described in remarkable detail. The description of events, locale and personages cannot simply be taken as fictional.

A. suggests some kind of "restricted democracy" which permits the continuation of the appointment of government officials at the provincial, *awragga* (district) and *wäräda* (subdistrict) levels, but advocates the election of local administrators and advisors, mayors, and village heads by the people, to allow them to play major roles in shaping their destiny. Mass education is presented as the most important prerequisite to bring about these swift transformations with the guidance of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I. Modernization is, however, to be based on the best and most progressive traditions of the country.

Unable to work in the new government office he was assigned to, A. goes to Wäbära to work on a land he inherited from his father. Since his plan is interrupted by the Italian invasion he joins the guerrilla struggle. His best accomplishment is his triumph in the struggle for liberation.

A. comes out strongly as a work that in a sense toils to find models of swift transformation for the war-ridden Ethiopia of the post-Fascist era. In many ways, these ideas and notions of progress show A.'s overenthusiastic ideals rather than his crystallized and well-considered thoughts. Moreover, these ideas are presented in various incidents without due regard to weaving them into the structure of the novel.

It is generally assumed that A. depicts the life of the author's father, *bägərond* ↗Täklä Ḫawaryat Täklä Maryam. In an interview Täklä Ḫawaryat gave to a Russian journalist in Hirna (the then province of Harärge) in 1967, he declared: "A. is me".

↗Amharic literature

Lit.: [Anonymous], **አርአያ፡ አዲስ፡ መጽሐፍ** (*Arʾaya – addis mäṣḥaf*, 'Arʾaya – a New Book'), *Addis Zämän*, 14 *Miyazya* 1942 A.M. [22 April 1950 A.D.]; ASSÄFA MÄNGÄŠA, "'Araya' Summarised", *The Lion Cub* [Journal of the Ethiopian Students' Society in Great Britain] 6, Winter 1954; [Anonymous], "Girmachew Tekle-Hawariat – Life and Works", *Mänän*, April 1966; DAVID TALBOT, "Ethiopian Novel for Russian Readers", *The Ethiopian Herald*, 13 January 1960; FEKADE AZEZE, *The Intellectual in the Ethiopian Novel, 1930–74*, Ph.D.

thesis, University of Sheffield 1988, esp. 144–81; KAO CHUN-CHIEN, "First Ethiopian Novel in Chinese", *The Ethiopian Herald*, 1 October 1963.

Fekade Azeze

Arʾaya Dawit

A.D. (**አርአያ ዳዊት**, b. 1893, d. 1972), Ethiopian artist, was born in Lemmän Śəllase, Sälale *awraǧǧa*, Däggäm *wäräda* in Šäwa. Being a self-taught artist, he took much from the traditional Ethiopian ↗painting. Most of his works are devoted to various motifs of religious life (e.g., "The Pilgrims") and the role of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, especially in the traditional ↗education ("Priest's School").

A.D. paid particular attention to everyday life in his painting, having created such genre paintings as "The Hairdressers", "The Blacksmiths", "The Farmer" etc.

A.D. took part in a number of national and international exhibitions. Most of his works are currently preserved in the School of Fine Arts in Addis Abäba.

Lit.: TAYE TADESSE, *Short Biographies of Some Ethiopian Artists*, Addis Ababa 1991, 10; *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Internationale Datenbank*, CD edition 2000.

[Red.]

Arʾaya Śəllase Dəmṣu

Ras A. (**አርአያ ሥላሴ ድምጹ**, or Arʾaya Dəmṣu, b. ca. 1810, d. 1889) was a maternal uncle of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. He had aspired to rule over Təgray after the death of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu at the battle of ↗May Ǝslamay in Šire in 1829. But *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam incorporated Təgray with Səmen Ṣälläməmt, Wägära, Wälqayt and Ṣägädе. *Bäʿalgada* Arʾaya, as A. was known at the time, rose to fame in rebellion against *däǧǧazmač* Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam when he seized the government of Təgray for a while in the 1840s, at the time of the arrival of the French scientific mission to Ethiopia led by Théophile ↗Lefebvre.

Subsequently A. was detained in prison for 15 years by *däǧǧazmač* Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam. He was released from prison and given the command of Təgray by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II in 1855. Soon, however, he was imprisoned once again and remained at Mäqdäla till he was freed by the British ↗Napier Expedition in 1868.

A. held high commands under his nephew *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, successively as governor of Ǝndärta, Akkälä Guzay and Dämbəya. Finally, despite his age, which was nearly eighty, he died fighting gallantly against the ↗Mahdists on the bank of the Atbärä, when they seized the body of the Emperor two days after the Battle of Mätämma.

Src.: THÉOPHILE LEFEBVRE, *Voyage en Abyssinie exécuté pendant les années 1839–1843 …*, Paris 1845–51, vol. 1, 320, 352f., vol. 2, 1–9, 31–40; CARL WILHELM ISENBERG – JOHANN LUDWIG KRAPF, *Journal of the Rev. Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf, missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, detailing their proceedings in the Kingdom of Shoa and journeys in other parts of Abyssinia, in the years 1839, 1840, 1841 and 1842*, London 1842, 501; LUIGI FUSELLA (ed.), *ያጤ ቴዎድሮስ ታሪክ* (*Yaṭe Tewodros tarik*, 'Chronicle of Emperor Tewodros'), Roma 1959, 78 [tr.: ID., "La cronaca dell'Imperatore Teodoro II di Etiopia in un manoscritto amarico", *Annali IUO* 6, 1954–56, 61–121].

Lit.: SVEN RUBENSON, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, London 1976, 102f., 124f., 173, 270, 322, 341, 366; ZEWDE GABRE-SELLASSIE, *Yohannes IV of Ethiopia: a Political Biography*, Oxford 1975, 49, 60, 83, 249, 272.

Zewde Gabre-Sellassie

Arʾaya Śəllase Yoḥannəs

Ras A. (**አርአያ ሥላሴ ዮሐንስ**, "horse name" Abba Däbləq, b. 1869/70, d. 10 June 1888, Mäqäla) was a son of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV from his wife Məśṭirä Śəllase, a daughter of a Muslim ʿAfar chieftain whom he married after she was Christened. A. was nominated Crown Prince.

A. was the first husband of ↗Zäwditu (later Empress), the daughter of *aṣe* Mənilək II, having married her in January 1883. He was given the command of a ↗Wällo province at the time of his wedding. Because of a revolt raised in Wällo due to the death of *däǧǧazmač* ʿAmdä Ṣadiq, chief of Täkʷəlädäre, in a quarrel with A.'s followers, Yoḥannəs IV decided to appoint *ras* ↗Mikaʾel ʿAli, the traditional claimant to the lordship of Wällo. *Ras* A. was transferred to Bägemdər and Dämbəya in May 1886. In 1887-88, when the country was facing the Italian threat, he was commander of 40,000 troops near ʿAdwa.

A. died in his youth from smallpox, when the Emperor was returning from a campaign against the Italians at Säʿati (↗Dogʿali). His only son, by a *wäyzäro* Nägäśt, a lady from Wällo, was *ləʿul ras* ↗Gugsa Arʾaya.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA (ed.), *A Chronicle of Emperor Yohannes IV*, Wiesbaden 1977 (AeF 1), 155; ZEWDE GABRE-SELLASSIE, *Yohannes IV of Ethiopia: a Political Biography*, Oxford 1975, passim; MahHorse 247.

Zewde Gabre-Sellassie

Arʾayo

A. (**አርአዮ**, also called **አርአያ፡ ክርስቶስ**, Arʾaya Krəstos), was the 13th *wagšum* in the line of office of the local rulers of ↗Wag and ↗Lasta (fl. 1697–ca. 1720s). He came to power by deposing his uncle *wagšum* Aṣer I (fl. 1680s– ?) in his old age, some time before 1697. Previous to this he lived as an outlaw in ↗Wäfla because of a disagreement after he killed the son of Aṣer I.

A. was first mentioned by the chronicler of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I in 1697, when he was accused of giving shelter to a former official of the king. He was not on good terms with the court of Gondär and the chronicler later used derogatory terms in reference to him. This was a sign of unease at the court regarding his rebellious attitude. As a punishment, Iyasu decreed that salt-traders should not pass through Lasta. This excluded the region from the main salt-trade route and A. lost his revenues.

A. faced a strong challenge from the descendants of *wagšum* Aṣer I. To strengthen his regional power-base, he was married into the family of the rival *wagšum* line, the "Zatta" line. He consolidated his power in areas previously conquered by his uncle and expanded his territory. To increase his revenues he raised the amount of honey tax, which his adversaries exploited to gain support from the disgruntled population.

A. was later deposed by *wagšum* ↗Dämä Krəstos, son of Aṣer I. The family power-struggle between the descendants of Aṣer I and A. continued to rock the office of the *wagšum* throughout the reign of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II. Between 1746 and 1747, four *wagšums* assumed the office. The rivalries were exploited by Iyasu II to extend his political control over Wag and Lasta. He invaded the region in 1746 and officially appointed and dismissed the local rulers, thereby establishing an imperial control that his predecessors had not enjoyed over the *wagšum* since the 17th cent.

Src.: BassÉt 47; GuiIohan 183ff., 196.
Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "Wag and Lasta: an Essay in the Regional History of Ethiopia from the 14th Century to 1800", in: *PICES 7*, 213–31, here 221; WUDU TAFETE KASSU, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, c. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 71–74, 83f., 88.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Arba Gugu

A.G. (**አርባ፡ ጉጉ**) is a former *awraǧǧa* of the ↗Arsi region which acquired a zone status in 1991. It used to cover six *wärädas* extending to the north-eastern Highlands as far as the limits of Č̣ärč̣är. This high region separates the ↗Awaš graben in the north from the ↗Wabi Šäbälle basin in the south. It was supposedly the core of the kingdom of ↗Däwaro which was submerged by the first Oromo migrations in the 16th cent.

Between the censuses of 1970 and 1984 the population of the former *awraǧǧa* doubled and by 2000 it had increased by 63 %. The basaltic high plateaus dominated by Mount Gugu (3,626 m A.S.L.) are densely populated by cultivators (105 inhabitants per km²). Cereal fields have expanded at the expense of forests, forcing remnants on to mountain slopes or into deep valleys. Nucleated settlement was reinforced by the villagization policy of the years 1985–86.

This province remains isolated and deeply rural, even if a few gravel roads link the capital Tänsaʾe Bərhan/Abomsa (14,437 inhabitants) with Asälla. Before the 1975 Agrarian Reform, the farmers had to relinquish more than half their harvests to the landlords. The reform of the ↗*gäbbar* system gave the farmers fixation of tenure and the freedom to sell their harvests. These measures, which contributed to the improvement of the peasants' condition, were the cause of a sudden increase in the population between 1970 and 1984.

Under the Empire, many Arsi adopted Orthodox Christianity whilst others embraced Islam. The missions which were founded as early as the beginning of the 20th cent. on the borders of A.G. and Č̣ärč̣är have thrived and the Protestants in particular have gained converts.

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1998; ID., *Statistical Abstract 1999*, Addis Ababa 2000; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988.
Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "The Islamicization of the Arssi Oromo", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 767–77; JOHN M. COHEN, *Integrated Rural Development. The Ethiopian Experience and the Debate*, Uppsala 1987; JOHN M. COHEN – NILS-IVAR ISAKSSON, *Villagization in the Arsi Region of Ethiopia* (*Report prepared by SIDA Consultants to the Ethio-Swedish Mission on Villagization in Arsi Region, December 1–14, 1986*), Uppsala 1987; JOHN M. COHEN – DOV WEINTRAUB, *Land and Peasants in Imperial Ethiopia, the Social Background to a Revolution*, Assen 1975; ALAIN GASCON, *La Grande Éthiopie, une utopie africaine. Éthiopie ou Oromie, l'intégration des hautes terres du Sud*, Paris 1995; *Guida*; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Galla of Ethiopia. The Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero*, London 1955 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa. Part II: North Eastern Africa); MESFIN WOLDE MARYAM, *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972; MHasOr.

Alain Gascon

Arba Mənč

Located on 37°45'N and 5°75'E, A.M. (**አርባ ምንጭ**, lit. 'forty springs') is the administrative capital of ↗Gamo Gofa province and of the *wäräda* Arba Mənč Zuriya. It is located in the south-east of the Gamo Mountains close to Lake ↗Abbayya and Lake ↗Čamo. Its location on the lakes next to the lush A.M. Forest (840 hectares) in the Näčč Śar National Park, make it a naturally attractive place. A.M. refers to the "Forty Springs" which are found two miles south-east of Siqälla (the lower town), nourishing a band of jungle as far as the Kuluffo (or Kulufa, Kulufu) river. Despite this pleasant site, the town is of recent origins.

Founded by *dağğazmač* Aʾəmro Śəllase Abbäbä, the governor of the province, the town was built on agricultural land confiscated from the ↗Gamo in the 1960s, following the establishment of a community development farm (1955) by the Ministry of Community Development of the Imperial Ethiopian Government (Jackson 1970:23ff.), which settled farmers, distributed land and used mechanized means of cultivation for growing cotton and other crops. The administrative capital of Gamo Gofa moved from Čänča (1958–59) to the headquarters of the farm known as Limat for a few months and then moved on to its present location, Šäča. The parts, Šäča – administrative and residential centre, Siqälla (also known as Garo) – residential, commercial and educational centre, and Ləmmat – the commercial plantation, horticultural and academic area, Sar Säfär – residential settlement of plantation labourers, together form A.M.

The development of community settlement farms and private cotton plantations and the introduction of an efficient lake transport network on both lakes (Snailham 1967:1013) in 1965, made migration and movement of people much easier. By the mid 1970s A.M. had already become a multi-ethnic bustling economic centre (Olmstead 1997:85–88). A.M. and the farms around it attracted labourers from the surrounding countryside and from other places such as Konso and Wälaytta and coffee-traders from Amarro Kelle. It was connected by air and road with Addis Abäba. The Näčč Śar National Park also attracted visitors. The number of state-controlled and private plantations around A.M. grew to 16. In areas between these farms, settlers were brought from Mänz and Märḥabete in Šäwa and were armed by the authorities as part of the territorial army. The development of the farms encroached upon the rights of the former owners of the land and as a result ↗Očollo and Qogo representatives appealed to the Emperor to stop the confiscation of land by provincial authorities he had appointed.

After 1975 most of the plantations were nationalized. Labourers were still needed in the state-owned plantations, but found it easier to earn a living fishing and cutting wood from the Näčč Śar National Park. A 1991 estimate indicates that "…there are over 5,000 wood cutters that make their living from the 840 hectares of forest land" (Wolde Gossa Tadesse 1992:2). A 1996 report on crocodiles in the lakes also explains the decline in the crocodile population in Lake Čamo as being a result of certain methods of fishing (Assegid Gebre – Kumara Waqjira 1996).

A.M. currently has a crocodile ranch, a textile factory, a teacher training-institute, a water-technology institute, two secondary schools, a modern hospital, a high-tension electric power supply and daily road transport connecting it to Addis Abäba, Awasa and its various sub-districts. A four-day a week air service connects it with Addis Abäba.

Modern irrigation schemes and traditional practices guarantee a good harvest and a constant supply of fruit and vegetables both for A.M. and for markets in the centre. A.M. sends

coffee, fish, bananas, beeswax, handmade cotton textile, raw cotton, industrial textiles and cowhide, goatskin, *ənsät* sisal and grains to markets in Addis Abäba (Jackson et al. 1969:70). The town, which had a population of 4,000–7,000 in the 1960s, had, according to the 1994 census, a population of about 40,000 residents.

Lit.: ARNOLD WIENHOLT HODSON, *Seven Years in Abyssinia*, London 1927; JUDITH V. OLMSTEAD, *Women between Two Worlds*, Urbana 1997, 85–88; RICHARD THOMAS JACKSON, *Land Use and Settlement in Gamu Gofa, Ethiopia*, Kampala 1970 (Makerere University Occasional Paper 17), 23ff.; RICHARD THOMAS JACKSON – P.M. MULVANEY – TIMOTHY PETER JAMES RUSSELL – J.A. FORSTER, *Report of the Oxford University Expedition to the Gamu Highlands of Southern Ethiopia*, Oxford 1969; RICHARD SNAILHAM, "Exploring the Southern Lakes of Ethiopia", *Geographical Journal* 39, 1967, 1010–18; ASSEGID GEBRE – KUMARA WAKJIRA, "Impact of Fishing Methods on Crocodile of Lake Chamo", *Crocodile Specialist Group Newsletter* 15[1], 1996 [internet edition], 5; WOLDE GOSSA TADDESSE, "Plea from Arba Minch", *Walia, Journal of the Ethiopian Wildlife and Natural History Society* 264, 1992, 2.

Wolde Gossa Taddesse

Arbaᶜət

A. (**አርባዕት**; '[after] four [verses]') is the term used for the specific elements of the ↗*Dəggʷa* and of the ↗*Ṣomä dəggʷa*, traditionally inserted after every four lines of a psalm, chant or a biblical composition. A. is also the name of the melodic patterns of such elements, which served as the basis for the A. that are contained in the ↗*Məᶜəraf* that future ↗*däbtäras* have to memorize in the *qal bet*.

The A., which can be sung according to three models, ↗*gəᶜəz*, ↗*ᶜəzəl* and ↗*araray*, 33 in number, plus seven others called *täräf arbaᶜət*, 'remains of the A.'. They are used in the ↗*Mäwäddəs* (Sunday office) with Ps 5, 41, 44, 47 and 50; in the ferial Vespers with Ps 50; in ↗Lent, during the *Səbḥatä nägḥ*, when *aśərqot* is said, and at the minor hours: at Tierce with Ps 85 and at None with Ps 102. All the A. are preceded by an indication as to their melodic model, generally noted in red; besides, they are grouped by the days of the week. The oldest manuscripts of the *Dəggʷa* contain a collection of the A.

Src.: VelMe I, 47–51 (text); VelMe II, 244-49 (tr.).
Lit.: *liqä səlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƎNÄH, **ጥንታዊ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ትምህርት** (*Ṭəntawi yäᶜityopya śərᶜatä təmhərt*, 'The Ancient Ethiopian Order of Teaching'), Addis Abäba 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.]; HABTEMICHAEL KIDANE, *L'ufficio divino della Chiesa etiopica. Studio storico-critico con particolare riferimento alle ore cattedrali*, Roma 1998 (OrChrA 257); VelSoDe I; VelSoDe II.

Habtemichael Kidane

Arbaᶜətu Ǝnsəsa ↗ Aksum ↗ Gondär

Arbore

Arbore language

That the language of A. belongs within a "Macro-Somali" (now "Omo-Ṭana") group was first recognized by Sasse (1974). Other members of this group are ↗Đáasanač, ↗Bayso, Rendille, Boni and the various Somali dialects. Omo-Ṭana itself is a major division of Lowland East Cushitic. A.'s nearest relatives (jointly classified as Western Omo-Ṭana) are Đáasanač and – especially – the probably extinct Kenyan language of the Elmolo fishermen of Lake ↗Turkana. The sub-grouping is justified (Hayward 1984:8–42) in terms of uniqely shared lexicon and certain common grammatical innovations, amongst which should be noted the generalization of the absolutive forms of the 1st pers. sg. and 2nd pers. sg. personal pronouns to subject function, thereby replacing the earlier Proto-Lowland East Cushitic forms, e.g., 2nd pers. sg. **ati/u* 'thou' : **ki/u* 'thee', but A. *ke* 'thou' and 'thee'.

A. well exemplifies a number of typical Lowland East Cushitic features such as: a three-term number system (basic unit : singulative : plural) in nouns, within which "polarity" figures, i.e., gender alternations across the various number forms of a lexeme; a morphosyntax thoroughly deployed in distinguishing topic and contrastive focus; great morphophonological complexity in

its verbal derivation and inflection. Of historical interest is the language's preservation of at least a dozen verbs of the archaic "Prefix Conjugation", often attributed to Proto-Afroasiatic itself.

Lit.: RICHARD HAYWARD, *The Arbore Language: a First Investigation. Including a Vocabulary*, Hamburg 1984 (Kuschitische Sprachstudien 2).

Richard Hayward

Arbore ethnography

The people who also call themselves the Hor (Hoor) live in four villages in the delta of the Limo River (also known as Dullay or Wäyṭo) at the northern end of Lake Stephanie (Bau or Č̣äw Baḥr) in South Omo Administrative Region. The name A. is used by the inhabitants of two of the four villages, Gandaraba and Kulama, whereas the inhabitants of Eegude and Murale refer to themselves as Marle, A. being the term traditionally employed by anthropologists and by the Ethiopian government.

The A. practise pastoralism, sorghum cultivation, seasonal fishing and hunting and engage in a wide regional network of bond friendship for the exchange of gifts. In 1996 their population numbered 3,840 (Central Statistical Authority 1996). Their economy of subsistence depends largely on the periodical floods of the river.

The age organization (↗Age group system) controls cattle, pasture and water. It distributes cultivable land after floods and guarantees law and order in the territory of the A. Each generation class (*herr*) comes to power after an initiation which is held once in about 40 years in rituals known as *ŋer* and *čiman*. Each generation class consists of four age classes (*ǧim*). The group containing the young people waiting to be initiated into a *ǧim* is called *morqo*. The same term is used for the four age classes organized and named, but waiting to form a generation class by undergoing initation at the close of the 40 years.

The Garle and Olmoque clans, who are senior and junior, jointly lead the political and ritual life of the A. and their neighbours, and the leaders of the age organization survey the smooth running of daily life among the A. The political chief is usually called *kymat*, the ritual *qæwot*, even though it does not imply that political and religious life and functions are strictly separated. Both the A. and their neighbours enter the sacred cattle-gates of *qæwots* (ritual chiefs) with gifts of heifers, bulls, honey, coffee, tobacco and herbs to receive blessings for human, animal and crop fertility, for rain and for victory against their enemies. The A. clans are of two sorts: those whose members have the right to wear metal bracelets and those whose members do not have this right. The former have a near monopoly of certain important ritual powers and these powers make them influential for all A. and, indeed, for many other people outside A. society. A. ritual leaders, the *qæwots* (of which there is one for each of the four villages), are the clan heads of the most influential bracelet-wearing clans.

Clans are fairly evenly distributed through all four villages. The clans are positioned in the form of a crescent around the central place of each village, the *nab*. The right position is reserved for the respective clan chief. Each house's door opens to the direction from which the clan traces its origin. In the east of each village there are resting houses in the form of men's club which are used by the *qæwot*, members of the retired generation set and the generation set in power. Each of them are entitled to use these houses for resting and playing games during the day. Village political and economic autonomy is stressed, but at the same time there is a sense of unity of the people as a whole. They see themselves and are seen by others as one people. They owe allegiance to a senior and junior *qæwot*, they share the territory they refer to as *wando*, the flat land, and the *hor*, the delta. There exist several oral traditions about the origin of the people. Some clans trace their origins to the ↗Boorana (Boran). Another tradition attributes the origin of the A. to two brothers, Marle and Arbore, who had been sent by ↗*waaqa* and erected the first two settlements on both sides of the river. Outside their villages, sections of A. also live in over 25 cattle camps, *furrič*, and about the same number of temporary settlements, *rer*.

Gina Sura, formerly political chief and son, photo courtesy of Anni Peller

Girls and unmarried women, *haratee*, are considered a potential of every family. The groom has to pay for his bride in the form of cattle, coffee, tobacco and honey. Marriage consists of a series of procedures and ceremonies, including a primary ritual involving the female genital ↗circumcision of the bride called *sud*, with attendance by most A. men and women of a honey wine feast, dancing by age mates of the bride and groom and final entering of the bride into the cattle gate of her parents-in-law to begin the quarantine period which follows circumcision. This is preceded by similar procedures, known in A. as *mor*, *simirte*, *kamo*, *ellem*, *gurbanto*, *iyyama*. The rite is concluded after usually one to two years when the head of the clan makes the first fire in the newly-constructed *mina ezzi* ('white house'). Here the marriage process is culminated by the highly ritualized consummation of marriage.

Marriage is exogamous with respect to other A. clans. While marriage is permitted, though rarely practised, with distant "enemy" groups (e.g., Maale, Samburu), it is proscribed in the case of neighbouring peoples (e.g., Hamar, Ṣamako).

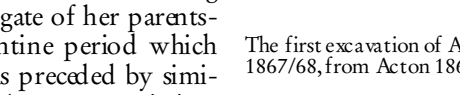
Src.: interview with HORA SURA (conducted by Anni Peller, March 2001); *http://www.arbore.de* (©Anni Peller); CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa 1996.

Lit.: AYALEW GEBRE, *The Arbore of Southern Ethiopia: a Study of Inter-Ethnic Relations, Social Organization and Production Practices*, Addis Ababa University 1995; CHRISTINA ECHI GABBERT, *Zwischen Pragmatik und Zeichengebung. Zur materiellen Kultur der Arbore von Gondoroba*, M.A. thesis, Institut für Ethnologie, Freie Universität Berlin 1999; YUKIO MIYAWAKI, "Maintaining Continuity in a Dualistic World: Symbolism of the Age Grade Succession Rituals among the Hoor (Arbore) of South-Western Ethiopia", *Nilo-Ethiopian Studies* 3–4, 1996, 39–65; ANNI PELLER, *Die Arbore*, unpublished project report, Institut für Ethnologie, Freie Universität Berlin 1994; MARCELLO RICCI, "Usanze funerarie degli Arbore, degli Amare degli Gheleba nel sud Etiopico", *RSE* 3, 1943, 214–22; WOLDE GOSSA TADESSE, *Warfare and Fertility: a Study of the Hor (Arbore) of Southern Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, London 1999 (Lit.); ID., "Property and Age Organization among an East African Pastoralist Group", *Revista de Antropologia* 44, 1, 2001, 149-84; ID., "Evading the Revolutionary State: the Hor under the Derg", in: WENDY JAMES – DONALD L. DONHAM – EISEI KURIMOTO – ALESSANDRO TRIULZI (eds.), *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and After*, Oxford 2002, 37-58.

Wolde Gossa Tadesse – Anni Peller

Archaeology

Ethiopia and Eritrea are very rich in archaeological evidence, dating from the Early Stone Age to the 19th cent. A.D. and reflecting the long history of the region. Both countries are still largely unexplored from the archaeological point of view. At present, only a few regions have been more extensively explored: central Eritrea; northern, eastern, central and southern Ethiopia. Moreover, most discoveries were casual and often only the occurrence of sites was recorded. So far, very few systematic surveys have been conducted. Few sites were properly excavated and very few detailed stratigraphic sequences are available. This situation was largely due to the difficulty of access to the highlands. Thus, for a long time archaeological research was restricted to the more-accessible areas along the main roads and many regions were not explored before the 1960s. Moreover, the research focused mainly on specific topics such as early prehistory, ↗rock-art, megaliths (↗Megalithic culture; ↗Stelae) and early historical and medieval monuments, and provided a fragmentary view of the past of the region. The Early and Middle Stone Age in the Rift Valley and Somali plateau and the Pre-Aksumite and Aksumite periods (ca. 1000 B.C.–1000 A.D.) on the northern Ethiopian plateau have been more extensively investigated. The late prehistory (ca. 10000–2000 B.C.) and the later periods (ca. 1000–1600 A.D.) on the plateau have been almost completely neglected, save for rock-art, megaliths and ↗rock-hewn churches. Islamic culture has been practically ignored by A.



The first excavation of Adulis during the Napier expedition, 1867/68, from Acton 1868:30

A. in Ethiopia has a long history, beginning in the early 16th cent. In the 16th to 18th cent. travellers and explorers such as Francisco ↗Alvares (16th cent.) Charles Jacques ↗Poncet (17th cent.), James ↗Bruce (18th cent.) described some monuments visible in northern Ethiopia and Eritrea, particularly at ↗Aksum.

A proper archaeological exploration of the Ethiopian highlands started in the 19th cent., as

part of a broader program of exploration of the country by European scholars aimed at collecting information about the different aspects of the region, from geography and environment to culture and history. In this period Henry ↗Salt, Eduard ↗Rüppel, Théophile ↗Lefebvre, Achille ↗Raffray and Gabriel Simon, and Theodore ↗Bent provided important descriptions of some major sites in northern Ethiopia and contributed to the rise of historical A. in the region.

In the first half of the 20th cent., professional archaeologists conducted systematic excavations and surveys in different regions of Ethiopia and present-day Eritrea. Pierre Marie Robert du ↗Bourg de Bozas, Henri Breuil and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin recorded the first evidence of Stone Age in southern and eastern Ethiopia and rock-art in eastern Ethiopia. Neville Chittick and François Azaïs described the megaliths (dolmens, tumuli, stelae) in eastern, central and southern Ethiopia. Abele ↗Piva, Roberto ↗Paribeni, Enno ↗Littmann, Daniel Krencker and Theodor von Lüpke (↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition), Giotto Dainelli and Olinto Marinelli, Salvatore M. Puglisi and Alberto Davico investigated Eritrea and Təgray. Alessandro Augusto Monti della Corte and Lino Bianchi Barriviera, Antonio ↗Mordini and David Buxton explored the medieval rock-hewn churches in northern Ethiopia. Alberto Carlo Blanc published collections of lithic industries from Ethiopia.

Beginning in the 1950s, large-scale excavations were conducted at the major sites as part of research projects aimed at reconstructing the different periods of regional prehistory and ancient history and local scholars were more directly involved with the research and conservation of the archaeological heritage. The most relevant aspect of this period was the effort of the scholars to reconstruct the past of the region in a culture-historical perspective.

In the 1950s and 1960s French scholars (Jules Leroy, Jean Leclant, Jean Doresse, Henri de Contenson, Francis Anfray and Roger ↗Schneider), co-operating with the Ethiopian Institute of Archaeology, contributed to outlining the early historical sequence in northern Ethiopia and Eritrea on the basis of fieldwork at Aksum, ↗Ḥawəlti, ↗Mälazo, ↗Yəḥa in northern Ethiopia, and ↗Mäṭära and ↗Adulis in Eritrea. In the same years two Italian residents, Vincenzo Franchini and Giuseppe Tringali, recorded prehistoric and historical sites and rock-art in Eritrea.

Since the mid-1960s, the study of the Stone Age was stimulated by the research of Jean Chavaillon at ↗Mälka Qonṭure, the International Omo Project under the direction of Yves Coppens, F. Clark Howell, Glynn Ll. Isaac and Richard E. F. Leakey in the valley of the ↗Omo river, Fred Wendorf in the Rift Valley and J. Desmond Clark in the ᶜAfar region. In the early 1970s, research in the historical archaeology of northern Ethiopia was also intensified. H. Neville Chittick and Lanfranco Ricci conducted large-scale excavations at Aksum. Joseph W. Michels conducted an exhaustive survey of the region from Aksum to Yəḥa. Claude Lepage resumed the systematic investigation of the rock-hewn churches in northern Ethiopia. A greater attention was paid to the megaliths of eastern, central and southern Ethiopia by Roger Joussaume and Francis Anfray, and to the rock-art by Paolo Graziosi and Pavel Cerviček. Finally, in the 1960s and early 1970s, Gérard Bailloud, Joanne C. Dombrowski, Colette Roubet, James P. Gallagher, Hugues Faure and David W. Phillipson contributed to the knowledge of late prehistory in the country.

In the mid-1970s human paleontology become a dominant area of research after the discovery of the earliest ↗hominds in the ᶜAfar region by Donald C. Johanson and Maurice Taieb.

The war in Eritrea in the 1960s and the political instability during the *Därg* regime in the 1970s and 1980s progressively closed the country to archaeological investigations. In the 1980s, archaeological research was practically suspended, except for some paleoanthropological research in the Omo Valley. In 1993, archaeological and paleoanthropological research was resumed by Rodolfo Fattovich and Kathryn A. Bard, and Phillipson at Aksum, Joussaume and Jean Chavaillon in central and southern Ethiopia, Steven A. Brandt in south-western Ethiopia, and Clark, Johanson, and Timothy D. White in the ᶜAfar region.

In 2000-03 archaeological investigations have been carried out in Aksum area by Helmut Ziegert at May Melaša around the northern ᶜEzana stele, at Bərik ᶜAwdi palace and cemetry, quarries and copper processing covered by slope deposits from the time of conversion to Christianity; and in the Old City at Azay Wändəmhunäy for stratigraphical relations of settlement, palaces and cemetry of the early Christian centuries.

Ideological factors had a relevant influence in the history of the investigations in Ethiopia and Eritrea. At the time of the monarchy, historical A. was largely supported because it glorified the ancient origins and long history of the ↗Solomonic dynasty. Stone Age A. was not well accepted in this period, as it could weaken the biblical view of history defended by the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. During the regime of the *Därg*, early prehistory and human paleontology were emphasized and identified with "Ethiopian A.", as they could provide the nation with prestige as the cradle of mankind. Today a new interest in late prehistoric and historical A. is growing up in Ethiopia and Eritrea as part of a debate about a cultural policy aimed at generating a national identity in these countries. A. is now considered the main means to reconstruct the cultural history of the individual ethnic groups and their mutual interaction.

Finally, for a long time A. was considered in Ethiopia a marginal sector of Ethiopian Studies, which until recently focused mainly on the study of the Ethio-Semitic Christian civilization. Therefore, the interest of scholars focused on the ancient historical remains in the northern regions, where the cradle of Christian culture was located, and on the medieval rock-hewn churches. Up to recent times the research was also affected by the dominant "paradigm" of a Semitic – mainly South Arabian – origin of Ethiopian civilization, and the archaeological evidence was used to support this hypothesis. African A., traditionally emphasizing the study of Stone Age and rock-art, was the background to prehistoric A. in the region. Therefore, prehistoric investigations were devoted mainly to the study of the early prehistory and rock-art, rather than late prehistory. Only recently, some efforts have been made to investigate the late prehistory in order to understand the origins of food production on the Ethiopian highlands.

Despite these limitations in the research, A. in Ethiopia and Eritrea is providing relevant evidence to outline the main trends of the cultural history in these regions.

At present, the remains of hominids, dated to about four million years ago, have been discovered in the ᶜAfar region (eastern Ethiopia). The earliest evidence of lithic tools, going back to 2.3 million years ago, was collected in the Omo valley. The possible traces of one of the earliest spatially organized settlements, dating back to Oldowan times (ca. 1.8 millions years ago), have been recorded at Mälka Qonṭure in the middle Awaš valley (central Ethiopia). These results have confirmed that the Horn of Africa was a region where very important human physical and cultural evolutionary steps occurred.

Excavations at Bərik̲ ᶜAwdi: measuring and drawing findings, Ziegert's archeological expedition, March 2001, photo courtesy of Marlies Wendowski

Later Stone Age microlithic industries, dating to the Early and Middle Holocene (ca. 10000–4000 B.C.), have been recorded on the Ethiopian plateau and in Somalia. These industries suggest that hunting-gathering people with different stone-tool making traditions occupied the region at this time.

Food-producing people appeared in the region during the Middle Holocene (ca. 4000–1000 B.C.). Domestic cattle and possibly wheat and barley were introduced into the highlands from the western lowlands between ca. 3500 and 1500 B.C. Most likely, there were some independent attempts to domesticate local plants, as people living in eastern Ethiopia were pre-adapted to food production since the Late Pleistocene. *Ənsät* was probably domesticated in southern Ethiopia at an early date.

At least two major centres of peopling appeared as a consequence of food production. They were located along the north-western Ethio-Sudanese lowlands and on the eastern Ethiopian plateau. The Ethio-Sudanese lowlands were occupied by pastoral and agro-pastoral people with an indigenous cultural tradition, partly connected with the middle Nile Valley populations. Pastoral people with an Afro-Arabian tradition documented by Ethiopian-Arabian rock-pictures, occupied the eastern Ethiopian plateau. By the late 3rd millennium B.C., this population progressively moved to

southern Ethiopia, northern Somalia and Eritrea. The rock-pictures in Ethiopian-Arabian style also suggest that people with similar cultural traditions occupied eastern Ethiopia and central ↗Arabia in the mid-3rd to 2nd millennia B.C.

An Afro-Arabian exchange circuit most likely emerged in the 7th millennium B.C., as a consequence of the obsidian trade from Africa to Arabia. In the mid-3rd to mid-2nd millennia B.C. this circuit probably included the whole region from the north-western Ethio-Sudanese lowlands to the eastern Rift Valley, Djibouti, Aden and northern Yemen. At this time, the people living along the Ethio-Sudanese lowlands were the intermediaries between the northern Ethiopian plateau and southern Arabia and the Nile Valley, connecting the Horn of Africa to Egypt. In the mid-2nd millennium B.C., the interaction between the Horn of Africa and southern Arabia increased with the development of an Afro-Arabian cultural complex along the opposite shores of the Red Sea, from the southern Saudi Arabian coast to the Eritrean coast and Aden. At present, the archaeological evidence suggests that the southernmost limit of Egyptian trade, ↗Punt, was located in the western lowlands and northern Ethiopian plateau. In the early 1st millennium B.C., after the formation of the South Arabian states, Eritrea and northern Ethiopia (Təgray) were included into the Sabaean area of influence, and an Ethio-Sabaean culture appeared in the region.

On the basis of archaeological evidence, the process of state-formation in northern Ethiopia can be divided into four stages. Chiefdoms appeared in the Eritrean-Sudanese western lowlands and perhaps on the highlands in Eritrea in the late 3rd–2nd millennia B.C., as a consequence of the inclusion of these regions in the interchange circuit between Egypt and the Horn of Africa. An Ethio-Sabean early state arose on the plateau in the mid-1st millennium B.C., when the region was included in the area of South Arabian political and economic expansion. After the decline of the Ethio-Sabean state in the 4th–3rd cent. B.C., most likely petty kingdoms arose on the highlands (but the archaeological evidence of them is still very scarce) and a form of urban society probably survived in central Eritrea. Finally, a new kingdom with its capital at Aksum arose on the plateau at the end of the 1st millennium B.C. and dominated the region up to the 8th/9th cent. A.D.

No real effort has been made to investigate the archaeological evidence for the expansion of the Christian state in the Middle Ages, except for the study of the rock-hewn churches. These churches suggest a cultural continuity between the Aksumite and post-Aksumite periods, up to the 13th cent. A.D. Their geographical distribution points to a progressive expansion of Christianity southwards in the first half of the 2nd millennium A.D. The later development of the Ethiopian state, in the 14th–17th cent., has not yet been properly investigated by the archaeologists. Very few archaeological investigations on Early Islamic evidence have been conducted so far. The scarce evidence suggests that Islamic communities were settled along the Red Sea coast, the western Eritrean-Sudanese lowlands and the south-eastern plateau between the 8th and 12th cent. A.D.

The dynamics of peopling in southern and western Ethiopia before the mid-2nd millennium B.C. are still unknown in terms of archaeological evidence. Only the megalithic stelae with carved decorations in central and southern Ethiopia have been investigated in a more systematic way. This research suggests that the stelae in central Ethiopia date to the early 2nd millennium A.D., and those of southern Ethiopia go back to the late 1st millennium A.D.

The origins of the ↗Nilo-Saharan populations along the Ethio-Sudanese borderland are still obscure. Archaeological investigation in the western Eritrean-Sudanese lowlands suggests that the ↗Kunama in western Eritrea are a very ancient indigenous population that occupied the area since the 5th millennium B.C.

These results, though very incomplete, demonstrate the great contribution A. can offer for a reconstruction of the history of the Horn of Africa.

↗Aksumite culture; ↗Architecture; ↗Pre-Aksumite culture; ↗Post-Aksumite culture

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Histoire de l'archéologie éthiopienne", *Tarik* 1, 1963, 17–21; STEVEN ANDREW BRANDT — RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "Late Quaternary Archaeological Research in the Horn of Africa", in: PETER ROBERTSHAW (ed.), *A History of African Archaeology*, London 1990, 95–108; ID., *Lineamenti di storia dell'archeologia dell'Etiopia e della Somalia*, Napoli 1992; HELMUT ZIEGERT, "Preliminary Report of the Hamburg Archaeological Mission to Axum (HAMA)", *AE* 17, 2001, 135-46; ROGER ACTON, *The Abyssinian Expedition and the Life and Reign of King Theodore*, London 1868, 30 (ill.).

Rodolfo Fattovich

Architecture

Architecture of the Aksumite period

The A. of the kingdom of ↗Aksum has its roots both in indigenous and in South Arabian traditions. During the course of history in the Aksumite kingdom, ideas for plan, construction and detail were contributed by contacts with the eastern Mediterranean world, further away with Persia and perhaps even India.

Influence from South Arabia is corroborated by an altar of Sabaean type from the ↗pre-Aksumite or "Ethio-Sabaean" period found at Mäqälä (↗ʿAddi Gälämo). It is the representation or model of a type of A. which was to become a prototype for an élite residence throughout the whole history of the Aksumite kingdom: a square building with four corner towers. The buildings invariably rose on a tiered and rebated podium of considerable height, access being provided by massive flights of steps. Remains of internal staircases suggest one or more upper storeys. In the later period, the square plan is elongated to rectangular shape (↗Qoḥayto, ↗Adulis), but the sequence of alternating salients and re-entrants remains the predominant feature. These buildings constitute the "central pavilion" within a rectangular enclosure formed by ranges of subsidiary buildings. Examples are the palaces of Taʾaḵa Maryam (central pavilion 24 m x 24 m, enclosure 120 m x 80 m), ↗Ǝnda Mikaʾel and ↗Ǝnda Səmʿon at Aksum, the "villa" of ↗Dungur and the "villas" of ↗Mäṭära.

Podia and walls were mostly built of rough stone masonry bound by mud-mortar, strengthened at the corners by massive ashlar blocks. There exists evidence for both internal and external plastering. Sometimes walls were reinforced by wooden beams inserted into slots at both wall-faces. They were connected by cross-members of round beams, whose projecting ends form the characteristic "monkey-heads". As part of the cogged joint between the two wooden members, "monkey-heads" have primarily a structural function. in their whole they form a striking decorative element on both faces of a wall. Baked bricks of square format were used on relatively rare occasions for walls and floors, in tombs also for arches and vaults. At ↗Aratu an apparently domestic structure is provided with a brick vault. Pillars were mostly of wood, stone pillars are square with chamfered edges, base and capital are mostly of simple stepped design.

Pottery house models of round and rectangular plan, with thatched roof, probably depict dwellings of ordinary people. These ↗houses, very likely, looked like the modern ones. Proof of their existence has yet to be furnished by excavation.

Mäṭära is the only town site which has been excavated to a considerable extent. There exists a quarter with mansions ("villas") as described above, neighboured by two quarters of densely packed contiguous dwelling-units of rubble masonry. Interspersed within these are a few dwellings of small "villa" type, indicating a fairly complex stratification of society. Residential areas of Aksum itself were investigated only by a few archaeological soundings. Palaces, free-standing houses and apartment-like contigous dwellings are reported.

Of the pre-Aksumite temples, the large one in ↗Yəḥa and the smaller shrines in ↗Ḥawälti are the best representatives. The temple in Yəḥa is well preserved, a masonry cube with up to 52 courses of marginally-drafted yellowish limestone blocks, the lower courses slightly stepped inwards. The size is ca. 18.5 m x 14.9 m and ca. 15.2 m high. The blocks are finely cut and set without mortar. The side and back walls are two blocks thick, keyed together by some transverse blocks, while the façade is much thicker, with an exterior alcove for the door and two interior niches. There may originally have been two storeys, and a small room in the south-east corner perhaps was a staircase well. Large square stones in the floor may indicate the position of columns. There are high windows in the façade and a waterspout in the north wall, perhaps indicating a floor at that level. There was a pillared vestibule to the west and inscriptions or a frieze of ibex figures seem to have been incor-

Dungur villa, view upon the broad stairs, 2001, photo courtesy of Marlies Wendowski

porated somewhere in the design. Later, a church was built inside the ruins.

Temples of the pre-Christian era at Aksum have not yet been the subject of archaeological research. They can be assumed to be of the same simple rectangular plan as those of the pre-Aksumite period (Yəḥa, Ḥawəlti). From the churches of the Christian era a few have been excavated. Their general layout follows the "classical" Aksumite recessed plan, built on a stepped podium. They were galleried basilicas, greatly influenced by the contemporary early Christian apsidal basilicas of the eastern Mediterranean. The cathedral of Maryam Ṣəyon (↗Aksum Ṣəyon) measured 60 m by 42.5 m. For the "Aksumite" cubit a length of 48 cm can be derived from these measurements (DAE II, 136ff.).

The famous ↗stelae of Aksum are funerary monuments (Munro-Hay et al. 1989:161). The carved specimens represent the A. of a palace as shown in ill. The tombs (↗Graves) themselves vary widely in their design, ranging from simple rock-cut shaft tombs to the ashlar masonry of ↗Näfas Mäwčča, whose central room is covered by a giant capstone of about 140 m³. This and the "giant stele" rank among the largest monoliths ever used in A.

↗Archaeology

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Première campagne de fouilles à Matara", *AE* 5, 1963, 87–166; ID., "Deux villes Axoumites: Adoulis et Matara", in: *PICES* 6, 745–65; ID., *Les anciens Éthiopiens*, Paris 1974, 94–126; ID. – GUY ANNEQUIN, "Matara, deuxième, troisiéme et quatrième campagne des fouilles", *AE* 6, 1965, 49–92; DAVID R. BUXTON – DEREK MATTHEWS, "The Reconstruction of Vanished Aksumite Buildings", *RSE* 25, 1971–72 [print. 1974], 53–77 (ill.); DIETER EIGNER, "The Ruin Littmann no. 8 at Qohaito", in: WALTER RAUNIG (ed.), *Äthiopien*, München 1999 (Mare Erythraeum 3), 41–56; DAE vol. 2; DEREK H. MATTHEWS — ANTONIO MORDINI, "The Monastery of Debra Damo, Ethiopia", *Archeologia* 97, 1959, 1–58; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY – DAVID W. PHILLIPSON (eds.), *Excavations at Aksum: an Account of Research at the Ancient Ethiopian Capital Directed in 1972–74 by the Late Dr. Neville Chittick*, London 1989 (Memoirs of the British Institute in Eastern Africa, 10); STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *Aksum – an African Civilization of Late Antiquity*, Edinburgh 1991, 44–50, 104–43; HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, ***TO ΠΑΡΑ TOIC BAPBAPOIC EPΓON ΘΕΙΟΝ***. *Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum*, Bonn 1994, 32–35 (Lit.).

Dieter Eigner

Architecture of the Solomonic period

After the Empire of Aksum had declined, the political centre of its descendant, a new feudal

Traditional profane architecture in Lalibäla, 1950s, photo by Hans Helfritz

monarchy, moved southwards. Around this period, before and at the time of the Zagʷe dynasty (12th–13th cent.), the monumental stone construction at least of secular buildings seems to have ceased (while the ↗Lalibäla and other rock-hewn churches still imitate the style of big built structures). The A., as well as skills and methods of constructions, developed according to the environmental conditions, availability of materials and economic needs. In this process some elements of the Aksumite A. and building techniques were preserved in traditional buildings of Təgray and highland Eritrea, and to a lesser extent in central Ethiopia. In the central and southern parts of Ethiopia the most common type of ↗houses was round, constructed of wattle and daub and covered with conical straw roofs.

Few examples of secular A. are known from the period prior to the 17th cent. The Jesuits report about ↗forts built by Turks in Dəbarwa and Ḥərgigo in the time of *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl (1563–97), who also is said to have a "tower of admirable construction" (**ማኅፈድ፡ ዘአዳም፡ ስነ፡ ጎንጹሀ**, *Maḫfäd zäʾaddam sənä ḫənṣeha*, s. CRHist 117) at his residence in ↗Gubaʾe.

The typical examples of Ethiopian A. of the post-Aksumite period are ↗church buildings. Square or oblong churches remain not uncommon, especially in Təgray and Lasta, both built and rock-cut. Big churches were constructed in other places as well, e.g., a quadrangular church ↗Märṭulä Maryam in Ǝnnäbse (Mota, Goǧǧam), for which queen ↗Ǝleni is said to have invited Egyptian craftsmen (s. BeckHuntAlm 103–07). The famous churches ↗Aksum Ṣəyon of Aksum and the rebuilt church of ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase (s. Annequin 1976:226) of Gondär are examples of Gondärine rectilinear plans.

The round churches are not attested at all before ↗Solomonic dynasty times, and none certainly until the 15th cent. A round church in Amhara, Šäwa or Goğğam was build like a normal dwelling house (ቱኩል, *tukul*), sometimes of bigger size, with mud walls supported by woven branches, conical roof, supporting wooden poles inside and a fence outside the building (Ethiopian tradition attaches symbolical meaning to every detail of the church structure). It contains a square sanctuary (መቅደስ, *mäqdäs*), topped by a round drum supporting the roof beams at the centre, with two further concentric areas delineated by pillars or walls, the ቅድስት (*qəddəst*) and the ቅኔ ማኅሌት (*qəne maḫlet*). Classical examples are ↗Däbrä Sina at Gorgora, the ↗Zäge churches and others on the islands in Lake ↗Ṭana. Most churches have some paintings on the walls, and some are very elaborately decorated in this way. Easy to destroy or burn down, like ordinary houses, the churches were equally easy to restore.

Two-storey round or square stone houses are till now common in Təgray and other places, both for domestic purposes or as church gatehouses (though the DAE photos of 1906 show Aksum as consisting mainly of round houses). They were often built within enclosures, with gates and usually have an external staircase.

The A. of the ↗rock-hewn churches of both Təgray and Lalibäla is always rectilinear, and solidly based on Aksumite style with some extra features not so far confirmed at the old capital – peripteral colonnades (Mädḫane ᶜAläm in Lalibäla, s. Buxton – Matthews 1971–72; ↗Gännäta Maryam in Wällo), domes, arches (though horseshoe-shaped ones in brick are already known from Aksum 4th cent. A.D.). The so-called palace of Yəmraḥannä Krəstos beside the church dedicated to him near Lalibäla is a simple low rectangular structure, which, when Alvares saw it, consisted of "two painted chambers" (BeckHuntAlvar 203). It seems to be a rare case of survival of domestic Zagʷe A.

Oriented basilica-plan churches of stone and wood in Ethiopia, such as ↗Däbrä Damo, Ǧammadu Maryam, ↗Yəmraḥannä Krəstos, Betləḥəm in Gayənt, ↗Däbrä Libanos of Ḥam (Šəmezana), Qirqos Agobo, Giyorgis Zarema (s. Lepage 1973a, 1973b; for carbon-14 dating of wood samples taken at some of the churches s. Lepage in PICES 8) offer evidence of a very rich tradition based on Aksumite origins. It employed such features as corner blocks, "monkey heads", transverse wall beans, Aksumite-style doors, window frames, but also some other features unknown in Aksum. The type of truss roof surviving in some of these churches is an exceptional feature, and domes of different types are also employed. From the reign of *aṣe* Naᶜod (1494–1508), at least, who built at ↗Amba Gəšän, we have records of round churches in Ethiopia (BetHuntAlm 99; s. also Heldman 1992:235).

Domestic A. of the 1520s is described by Francisco Alvares. He saw "good large houses of one storey, with flat roofs" in ↗Dəbarwa, and houses with "good walls and flat roofs" at ↗Yəḥa (BeckHuntAlvar 98f., 140f.). These must have been square or rectangular. He mentions "very good" houses at Aksum, better than anywhere else in Ethiopia, but frequently mentions the houses elsewhere as "good" (perhaps judging these houses to have been as comfortable as the domestic A. with which he was familiar in Europe). He writes that there were no houses of more than one storey (BeckHuntAlvar 148–66).

Since the 15th cent. the presence of foreign craftsmen (many of them Portuguese) trained in construction and masonry is attested. They facilitated and enriched the construction skills and methods used by Ethiopians. They definitively influenced the development of the unique Gondärine style. In ↗Gondär in the 18th cent. Poncet noted houses built after the European fashion, apart from the round houses made of mud and branches covered with conical straw roofs. When Pedro ↗Paez built a two-storey palace for *aṣe* Susanyos at ↗Gorgora, the Ethiopians were apparently amazed and called it ቤት፡ ላዕለ፡ ቤት (*bet laᶜəlä bet*, 'a house above a house', s. BeckHuntAlvar 98, 101, 155), but the Portuguese influence seems to be found in the structures built in Ethiopia long after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1634.

With the decline of the Gondärine kingdom, in ↗*Zämänä masafənt* period, the most prominent kind of structure became the compound of a regional king, a distant descent of ↗*kätäma*, royal camp. Hence the type of ↗*gəbbi*, the royal palace including the household buildings, was gradually elaborated. This kind of structure is well-known from the places of residence of provincial rulers and *aṣe* Mənilək's palace at the mount of Ǝnṭoṭṭo. In the next years until the Italian invasion of 1935, the main construction activities were concentrated in ↗Addis Abäba.

In the south of Ethiopia the common type of the round (thatched) buildings with conical roof diversified into a large variety of construction types, ranging from small dwellings with straw roofs up to large "royal palaces", such as the residence of the kings of Käfa at ↗Andarača. Some peoples in the South are reported to have a tradition of building fortified stone settlements. These construction traditions, as well as the one in predominantly Muslim regions of Ethiopia, first of all in ↗Harär, remain mostly unresearched (s. Hecht 1982).

↗Asmära; ↗Houses

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 103–07; BeckHuntAlvar 98f., 101, 140, 148–66, 203; CRHist 117; WILLIAM FOSTER (ed.), *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century as Described by Joseph Pitts, William Daniel, and Charles Jacques Poncet*, London 1949 (Publications of the Hakluyt society, ser. 2, no. 100).

Lit.: GUY ANNEQUIN, "De quand datent l'église actuelle de Dabra Berhan Sellase et son ensemble de peintures?", *AE* 10, 1976, 215–26; DAVID R. BUXTON – DEREK MATTHEWS, "The Reconstruction of Vanished Aksumite buildings", *RSE* 25, 1971–72 [print. 1974], 53–77; DAE I–III; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Ethiopia: The Unknown Land. A Cultural and Historical Guide*, London 2002; JEAN DORESSE, *Ancient Cities and Temples: Ethiopia*, London, 1959, ²1967; ID., *L'Empire du Prêtre-Jean*, Paris 1957, 329–32; ELISABETH-DOROTHEA HECHT, "The City of Harar and the Traditional Harar House", *JES* 15, 1982, 56–78; JEAN LECLANT, "Haoulti-Melazo (1955–1956)", *AE* 3, 1959, 43–99; HENRI DE CONTENSON, "Les fouilles à Haoulti-Melazo en 1958", *AE* 4, 1961, 39–60; ID., "Les fouilles à Axoum en 1958 – Rapport préliminaire", *AE* 5, 1963, 1–40; ID., "Les fouilles à Haoulti en 1959", *ibid.*, 41–86; ID., "Les monuments d'art sud-arabe découverts sur le site de Haoulti (Ethiopie) en 1959", *Syria* 39, 1962, 64–87; MARILYN HELDMAN, "Architectural Symbolism, Sacred Geography and the Ethiopian Church", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22, 3, 1992, 222–41; CLAUDE LEPAGE, "L'église de Zaréma (Éthiopie) découverte en Mai 1973 et son apport à l'histoire éthiopienne", *Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres Juillet-Octobre* 1973a, 416–54; ID., "Recherches sur l'art chrétien d'Éthiopie du Xᵉ au XVᵉ siècle. Résultats at perspectives", *Travaux de la R.C.P., Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* 230, 4, 1973b, 41–44, fig. 2–12; ID., "Bilan des recherches sur l'art medieval d'Éthiopie quelques resultats historiques", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 47–55; JACQUELINE PIRENNE, "Haoulti et ses monuments, nouvelle interpretation", *AE* 7, 1967, 125–40; MARCEL GRIAULE, "Règles de l'Eglise (Documents éthiopiens)", *JA* 221, 1932, 1–42; GEORG GERSTER, *Churches in Rock*, London 1970; FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Deux villes Axoumites; Adoulis et Matara", in: *PICES* 6, 745–65; ZAWDE BERHANE, "A Note on the History of Traditional Building Materials of Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 725–31; AHMED ZEKARIA – BAHRU ZEWDE – TADDESE BEYENE (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Centenary of Addis Ababa, November 24–25, 1986*, Addis Ababa 1987.

Stuart Munro-Hay; Red.

Ardaʾət

A. (**አርድእት**, 'The Disciples') is a text which belongs to the magical and apocryphal literature. It includes a list of the divine names and exists in Ethiopia in two versions, one used by Christians and the other by the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel.

The Christian version contains the revelation and teaching of the secret names of Jesus and his twelve apostles, who accomplish mirades thanks to these names. Long magical prayers are also found in this text. The Christian text exists in two principal versions, a short one, translated into French by Basset (1896), and a long one, translated into English by Littmann (1904). Its use in terms of the liturgy is not defined, but it serves as an amulet or a prayer book for private devotion. It is recited also for the ↗healers of the sick, and monks recite it, dividing it into seven sections, one for every day of the week.

In the Betä Ǝsraʾel tradition, on the other hand, this book enjoys a liturgical status, because it is part of the readings prescribed for the Sabbath of Sabbaths, as well as for initiation. It is used during the aspersion of the mother and of her child (40 days after ↗birth, if the child is a boy, or 80, if it is a girl), and in the naming ceremony. This version also includes a narrative of the Exodus and the passage through the Red Sea, the revelation of the secret names of God, prayers for deliverance from the human and diabolical powers, as well as an allusion to the sufferings sustained by the community of the Betä Ǝsraʾel during the numerous persecutions which they have suffered.

The oldest manuscripts of the Christian tradition come from the end of the 15th cent. It is therefore presumed that it must have been written around the time of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (1434–68), which saw the composition or the translation of many magical texts (Littmann 1904:3). It is not known if this Christian version of the A. was composed in Ethiopia, or if it is a translation. Wurmbrand (1964:iv–v) considers the Betä Ǝsraʾel version as the original. If so, the Christian version would only be a revision, with some additions and deletions. Only a critical study of the numerous Christian and Betä Ǝsraʾel mss. will resolve the issue of the A.'s date and provenance.

↗Magic

Src.: AARON ZEEV AEŠCOLY, *Recueil de textes falachas: introduction, textes éthiopiens (édition critique et traduction)*, Paris 1951 (Université de Paris. Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 55), 29–37; RENÉ BASSET, *Enseignements de Jésus-Christ à ses disciples et prière magique*, Paris 1896 (Les apocryphes éthiopiens traduit en

français VII); ENNO LITTMANN, "Arde'et: The Magic Book of the Disciples", *JAOS* 25, 1904, 1–48; MAX WURMBRAND, **አርድእት**: *the Falasha "Arde'et"* (*the Book of the Disciples*), Tel-Aviv 1964; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ አርድእት** (*Mäṣḥafä ardəʾət*, 'The Book of the Disciples'), Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1995/96 A.D.].

Lit.: STEVEN KAPLAN, "The Literature of the Beta Israel (Falasha): A Survey of a Biblical-Hebraic Tradition", *Hristiansky Vostok* 1, 1999, 115–16; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, *Music, Ritual, and Falasha History* (Ethiopian Studies Monograph 17), East Lansing 1986, 42, 51, 205.

Habtemichael Kidane

Ardipithecus ramidus

A.r., the earliest human ancestor, was found in the ↗ᶜAfar region of Ethiopia in sediments dated to 4.4 million years ago. The genus *Ardipithecus* and the species *ramidus* were named by White, Ger Suwa and Berhane Asfaw (1994). Both the genus and species names are derived from the ᶜAfar language. The genus name *Ardipithecus* is derived from the ᶜAfar word *àrdi*, which means 'ground', and the species name *ramidus* is derived from *ramid*, meaning 'root'.

All the specimens referred to this hominid derive from a place called ↗Aramis. A.r. was found with several forest-dwelling animals, including colobine monkeys, different ungulates and small rodents. This has led researchers to conclude that this primitive human ancestor lived in a wooded environment. The discovery of A.r. in such an environment was contrary to the popular understanding of palaeoanthropologists that the earliest ↗hominids evolved and lived in the savanna. The discovery of A.r. in a wooded setting revealed that the occupation of the savanna by hominids was a later phenomenon.

Lit.: GIDAY WOLDEGABRIEL – TIMOTHY DOUGLAS WHITE – GER SUWA et al., "Ecological and Temporal Placement of Early Pliocene Hominid at Aramis, Ethiopia", *Nature* 371, 1994, 330–33; TIMOTHY DOUGLAS WHITE – GER SUWA – BERHANE ASFAW, "Australopithecus Ramidus, a New Species of Early Hominid from Aramis, Ethiopia", *ibid.* 306–12; ID., "Corrigendum: Australopithecus Ramidus, a New Species of Early Hominid from Aramis, Ethiopia", *Nature* 375, 1995, 88; ID., "Ardipithecus Ramidus, a Root Species for Australopithecus", in: FIORENZO FACCHINI (ed.), *The First Humans and their Cultural Manifestations. The Colloquia of the XIII International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, Forlì, Italy, 8–14 September, 1996*, Forlì 1996, 15–23.

Berhane Asfaw

Ardipithecus ramidus kadabba

A.r.k. is a hominid subspecies of the genus *Ardipithecus*, named by Yohannes Haile-Selassie in 2001. The subspecies name *kadabba* is taken from the ᶜAfar language (*kaḍḍabba*) and means 'basal family ancestor', 'grandfather'. The type specimen of this hominid sub-species is a right mandibular corpus with the third molar and five associated teeth, found in 1997 by the Middle Awaš paleontological research team in the ᶜAfar region.

The remains of A.r.k. are radiometrically dated back to between 5.2 and 5.8 million years ago. The diagnosis of the subspecies was based on the dental morphology of the type specimen, which showed a mosaic of primitive and derived features shared with chimpanzees and ↗*Ardipithecus ramidus*, respectively.

Associated post-cranial elements (toe bone) referred to A.r.k. indicate that this subspecies probably walked on two legs when on the ground, hence documenting the earliest definitive record of bipedality. Based on carbon isotope analyses and associated mammalian fauna, A.r.k. is inferred to have lived in a wooded and mesic paleoenvironment.

Lit.: YOHANNES HAILE-SELASSIE, "Late Miocene Hominids from the Middle Awash, Ethiopia", *Nature* 412, 2001, 178–81; GIDAY WOLDEGABRIEL – YOHANNES HAILE-SELASSIE – PAUL R. RENNE et al., "Geology and Palaeontology of the Late Miocene Middle Awash Valley, Afar Rift, Ethiopia", *ibid.* 175–78; TIMOTHY DOUGLAS WHITE – GER SUWA – BERHANE ASFAW, "Australopithecus Ramidus, a New Species of Early Hominid from Aramis, Ethiopia", *Nature* 371, 1994, 306–12.

Yohannes Haile-Selassie

Arʾəñ ↗ Arabäbni

Arén, Gustav

A. (b. 20 April 1914, d. 31 July 1998), Swedish Lutheran theologian and missionary, studied classical languages and theology at the University of Uppsala and served in Ethiopia at different times from 1945 to 1985. His last assignment was as principal at the Mekane Iyesus Seminary in Addis Abäba (↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Iyesus).

In his works (1978, 1999) A. dealt primarily with Swedish Lutheran missionary undertakings in Eritrea and Ethiopia from 1866 to 1936 (↗Swedish Evangelical Mission). There he placed emphasis on the role of Eritrean and Ethiopian co-workers. Rich historical and cultural material accompanies the author's writings. His activities are well documented, partly in the A. Collection, Uppsala, and partly in a personal portrait in Arén 1999.

Src.: GUSTAV ARÉN, *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia. Origins of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus*, Stockholm 1978 (Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia 32); ID., *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia. In the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers 1898–1936*, Stockholm 1999 (Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia 75).

Ezra Gebremedhin

Arero

The town of A. (**አሬሮ**, also known as Mäta Gäfärsa), is located on the Yabello–Nagallee road east of the Dila–Moyale international road connecting with Kenya. A. is on the summit of a hill (1,500 m A.S.L.) overlooking the Dawa Parma valley.

The town of A. was established as a military post, following *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis occupation of the ↗Boorana area. During *aṣe* Mənilək II's reign, A. was the main post (↗*Kätäma*) there, and for a long time, it served as the capital of the province. The British traveller Philip Maud (1904) characterized the town at the turn of the 20th cent. as "a stockade village", since A. was an important cattle market serving for the population of the entire province. During Italian occupation A. was the seat of the *vice residenza* belonging to the *residenza* of ↗Yabello. In the post-war period A. became the administrative centre of a *wäräda* which is known by the same name, while the entire *awraǧǧa* (in Sidamo province) with its capital in Yabello was also called A. According to the 1994 Census, A. had a population of 4,099.

Src.: PHILIP MAUD, "Exploration in the Southern Borderland of Abyssinia", *Geographical Journal* 23, 1, 1904, 552–79; ARNOLD HODSON, *Seven Years in Southern Abyssinia*, Westport 1927.
Lit.: PankHist I, s. index; *Guida* 111, 562.

Mulatu Wubneh

Arero Rammata

A.R. (b. ca. 1910, d. ca. 1977) was a distinguished Oromo traditional scholar. Among his main achievements are the record of 360 years of the history of his people and a study of the lunar-stellar chronography systems. His system, combining lunar phases with seven constellations, allowed him to date any event fairly precisely throughout the year. He used the mathematical principle of permutation to check and verify his records.

A.R. was very influential as a critic and a teacher, and acted as an advisor to the elected leaders of the ↗Boorana in southern Ethiopia. His historic chronology served as a model for the conduct of political leaders, the lives of the historic figures of the 17th and 18th cent. serving as examples to be emulated or cautionary legends to be avoided.

A.R. died in his 60s, but his thoughts have had an impact on at least two different fields of knowledge, mathematics and archaeology. Mathematicians use his ideas to examine the nature of mathematical thought in non-Western societies. Archaeo-astronomers have applied A.R.'s chronography to the investigation of the ancient lunar-stellar calendar found among the Namoratunga archaeological remains in North-West Kenya, probably used by the ancient Cushitic ancestors of the Oromo as early as the 2nd cent. B.C.

Lit.: ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada: Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York 1973, 190–96, 241.

Asmarom Legesse

Ares ↗ Mäḥrəm

ARESAE

The A. (Association française pour le développement de la recherche scientifique en Afrique de l'Est), better known under its abbreviation, is a private association, independent and without commercial aims, under the French bill of 1 July 1901. Its aim is the encouragement of scholarly research in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Djibouti, Sudan, the Chad and bordering countries.

The A. has been founded in 1968 by Joseph Tubiana, the successor of Marcel ↗Cohen on the Amharic chair at the École nationale des

langues orientales in Paris (↗INALCO). In 1992 its seat has been established at the INALCO.

The A. is organizing about three conferences a year, publishing the texts in a collection (*Conférences & Documents*). Approximately every two months since 1973 A. has been distributing a scholarly information paper: the *Nouvelles de l'aresae*. One to two times a year a subtitle is added (*Libre pratique*) and book reviews, notes for discussion or short articles are published. Finally, books are published in two series, the *Bibliothèque Peiresc* and the *Contributions à la connaissance des élites africaines*, among them, Joseph Tubiana (1988) and other Ethiopianist contributions.

The A. is, together with the association Pour mieux connaître le Tchad (PMCT), the most important partner of the Cercle Peiresc, an informal association administrating the *Bibliothèque Peiresc* at the INALCO.

Src.: JOSEPH TUBIANA, *Ethioconcord. A Computerized Concordance of the Ethiopian and Gregorian Calendars*, Rotterdam 1988.

Alain Rouaud

Arethas

A. (Greek **Αρεθας**, Arabic al-Ḥāriṯ b. Kaʿb, Gəʿəz **ኀሩት** Ḥirut) was the *sayyid* ('chieftain') of the Arab tribe Balḥāriṯ in ↗Nağrān. He was put to death, together with his Christian fellow-believers, by the king of Ḥimyar, Ḏū Nuwās (↗Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar), a convert to Judaism, who captured Nağrān in 518 or 523 A.D. and faced its inhabitants with the dilemma of either apostasy or death. Many of them chose a martyr's death. A. thus became a saint whose feast is celebrated on 24 October.

The Ethiopic story of the martyrs of Nağrān was translated from the Arabic version of a Greek text which goes back to the 6th cent. The Ethiopic *Sankəssar* commemorates A. on 26 *Ḫədar*.

Src.: BudSaint 289–93; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA (ed.), *Historia dos Martyres de Nagran, Versão ethiopica*, Lisboa 1899.

Lit.: IRFAN SHAHÎD, *The Martyrs of Najrân. New Documents*, Bruxelles 1971 (Subsidia Hagiographica 49); STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *Ethiopia and Alexandria. The Metropolitan Episcopacy of Ethiopia*, Warszawa – Wiesbaden 1997 (Bibliotheca nubica et aethiopica 5), 77–89 (Lit.); HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, ***TO ΠΑΡΑ TOIC BAPBAPOIC ΕΡΓΟΝ ΘΕΙΟΝ***. *Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum*, Bonn 1994 (Lit.); JACQUES RYCKMANS, *La persécution des chrétiens himyarites au sixième siècle*, Istanbul 1956 (Uitgaven van het Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 1).

Ute Pietruschka

Arfan Qallo ↗ Qottu

Arganonä Maryam

A.M. (**አርጋኖን፡ ማርያም**, 'The Organ of Mary', also *Arganonä wəddase*, 'The Organ of Praise', *Arganonä dəngəl*, 'The Organ of the Virgin') is a voluminous work in praise of the Blessed Virgin. The lengthy title given to it by its author aptly describes its contents: **አርጋኖን፡ ውዳሴ፡ ወመሰንቆ፡ መዝሙር፡ ወእዝራ፡ ስብሐት፡ ዘአስተብፅኦ፡ ድንግልናሃ፡ ወነጊረ፡ ዕበያ፡ ወአክብሮ፡ ስማ፡ ወሰብሐ፡ ድንግልናሃ፡ ወገንይ፡ ለንግሣ፡ ለቅድስት፡ ወንጽሕት፡ ወቡርክት፡ ማርያም፡ ዘበዕብራይስጢ፡ ማሪሃም፡ ድንግል፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ሐመረ፡ ወርቅ፡ እሞገደ፡ አስራም፡ እንተ፡ ዘትትሀወክ**, 'An Organ of Praise, a Violin of Song and a Harp of Glory for the Beatification of her Virginity, for the Proclamation of her Exaltation, the Admiration of her Name, the Glorification of the Virginity of, and the Paying of Homage to the Reign of the Holy, Pure and Blessed Virgin Mary, Who is Mariham the Virgin in Hebrew [sic, for Coptic], the Mother of God, Who is the Golden Ark that is not shaken by a Wave of Flood'.

Tradition ascribes the composition of the A.M. to ↗Giyorgis of Sägla, the author of several works, notably the ↗*Sǎʿatat* and the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśṭir* (Colin 1987:21). This tradition can be corroborated by internal evidence, revealing striking similarities between the language of the A.M. and that of the *Mäṣḥafä sǎʿatat* and *Mäṣḥafä məśṭir*. These works show that Giyorgis's essays are, unlike others composed locally, sprinkled with (Greek) loan-words in Ethiopic transliteration. More importantly, Giyorgis is famous for his style of simile and metaphor – comparison and contrast of his subject with natural and other objects – and his use of consecutive sentences that begin with the same words. His command of the Gəʿəz language is exemplary. His knowledge of ↗Gəʿəz literature, both the scriptures and the other works, has no equal among Ethiopian writers.

Giyorgis's reverence for the blessed Virgin is sometimes extreme. He seems to be one of the major promoters of her cult in the Ethiopian Church. The *Mäṣḥafä məśṭir* and the A.M. differ on one point: Mt 1:25, "And he knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born son", is interpreted differently in the two sources. According to the A.M. (Leander

1922:47), her appearance changed as the child in her womb developed, making it difficult for Joseph to recognize who she was. As she was pure, her colour changed whenever the child in the womb changed, just as a crystal glass takes the colour of the liquid put in it. According to the *Mäṣḥafä məśṭir* (Yaqob Beyene 1990:210ff.), Joseph did not know that Mary's conception was divinely arranged until he saw signs, such as what happened to Salome when she wanted to verify with her fingers that Mary was indeed virgin after she gave birth to her first-born son. But these different interpretations supplement rather than contradict each other.

Following the tradition of the mss. available to him, Leander has divided the A.M., when preparing his edition, into seven parts for the seven days of the week. However, it is quite possible that the author of the work did not initiate the tradition. For example, the division between Monday and Tuesday comes in the middle of a story. Furthermore, the manuscripts are not unanimous in transmitting the divisions.

Src.: PONTUS LEANDER, *'Arganona Ueddasē*, Leipzig 1922; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *Legends of Our Lady Mary the Perpetual Virgin and Her Mother Ḥannā*, Oxford – London 1933, 297–304 (text), 6–13 (tr.); GERARD COLIN, *Vie de Georges de Sagla*, Louvain 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]); EMML vol. 1, 215, no. 204; SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Die Marienharfe (*'Arganona Weddasē*). Nach der Ausgabe von Pontus Leander übersetzt", *OrChr* 24, 1927, 120–45, 338–55; *ibid.* 25–26, 1929, 79–108, 248–78; *ibid.* 27, 1930, 202–31; *ibid.* 28, 1931, 60–89, 209–39; YAQOB BEYENE, *Giyorgis di Saglā: il libro del Mistero* (*Maṣḥafa Meṣtir*), Louvain 1990 (CSCO 515, 516 [SAe 89, 90]), 210ff. (text) = 127f. (tr.).
Lit.: GETATCHEW HAILE, "A Hymn to the Blessed Virgin from Fifteenth-Century Ethiopia", *Worship* 65/5, September 1991, 445–50.

Getatchew Haile

Arǧo

A. (ዐርጎ) is the capital (8,782 inhabitants, s. CSA 1999) of an *awrağğa* of the same name and of Ǧimma Arǧo *wäräda* in ↗Wälläga province (in modern Ethiopia, East Wälläga Administrative Zone, Oromiyaa *kəllə*). Situated at a height of almost 1,000 m (2,439 m A.S.L.), the city overlooks the deep ↗Diddessa canyon.

An old ↗*kätäma*, founded at the time of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək's conquests, A. is organized around the *gəbbi*. A. was an important market, made accessible by a ford, now replaced by a bridge. A. was also a common stop on caravan routes and in 1938 it could boast ca. 5,000 inhabitants. Later, with the rise of Neqemte as the capital of Wälläga and Gimbi, another coffee-plantation city, A. entered a period of decline, which continued until the construction of the bridge over the Diddessa. The trucks heading to Addis Abäba from the rich coffee plantations of ↗Illubabor would henceforth avoid A. and take the Ǧimma road instead. Undoubtedly, the new Ǧimma–Soddo road, connecting Bure, Neqemte, Ǧimma and Soddo (in Goǧǧam), will help to alleviate the traffic congestion of the capital.

In 1991, at the time of the "Tewodros offensive", the Wäyyane, after having crossed the Abbay by the bridge at Bure, headed to Neqemte across the bridge at A., to arrive at Ǧimma. From there, marching eastwards, they reached the capital, thus tricking the Ethiopian army that had expected them from the north.

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY [CSA] (ed.), *Ethiopia. Statistical Abstract 1999*, Addis Ababa March 2000; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988; *Guida* 503.
Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, *Etiopia occidentale* (*dallo Scioa alla frontiera del Sudan*), Roma 1933, 2 vols.; MARC FONTRIER, *La chute de la junte militaire éthiopienne* (*1987–1991*), Paris – Montréal 1999; ALAIN GASCON, "Les 'bastides' d'Éthiopie. Les villes fortes de Menilek dans le sud de l'Éthiopie et l'urbanisation contemporaine", in: BENOÎT ANTHEAUME – FLORENCE PINTON (eds.), *Tropiques. Lieux et liens*, Paris 1989, 435–44; ID., *La Grande Éthiopie, une utopie africaine. Éthiopie ou Oromie, l'intégration des hautes terres du Sud*, Paris 1995; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Galla of Ethiopia. The Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero*, London 1955 (Ethnological Survey of North-East Africa 2); MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972; MHasOr.

Alain Gascon

Argobba

Argobba language

A. (**ኦርጎባ**, also Argobañña), an Ethio-Semitic language, which is very close to ↗Amharic, consists of at least four dialects. The scarcely known Southern dialect, now assimilated to ↗Oromiffa, was spoken till the mid-20th cent. in some villages south of Harär. The best-known dialect known under this name is that spoken in the region of ↗Ankobär along the Rift Valley (Wolf Leslau worked with informants from Ç̈änno and other places; s. Leslau 1997). Some basic facts about the different dialect of Šäwa-Robit were described by Zelealem Leyew (1994). Currently these two dialects are giving ground to Amharic. The Muslim faith of the speakers may contribute to the preservation of a language endangered by Amharic. A fourth group of A. speakers lives in Šonke (South Wällo), 150 km north-west of Šäwa-Robit. This nearly unknown dialect is said to be the most specific one. Here the impact of Oromiffa is very strong. As to the speakers of A., the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 2000:10) reports about 14,000 mother-tongue and second-language speakers. The ethnic group of A. contains about 62,000, most of them (47,000) now speaking Amharic. (For an ethnographical and historical survey s. Stitz 1974:66ff., 183f. [map]).

The sounds of A. are nearly the same as in Amharic except for *ḥ* [*ḥ* or *x*], e.g. *haṭəm* 'bone' (Amh. *aṭənt*), *hambäsa* 'lion' (Amh. *anbäsa*), which is (in most cases) not derived from **k* as in Amharic, e.g. *hawa* 'he gave' < Gəʿəz *wähabä*; *h* can even be lengthened (*hh* [*ḥ:* or *h:*]) as in *əhhewwa* 'he was given' (s. below). The shift of final *-t* to *-d* as in *bed* 'house' (Amh. *bet*), as well as the intrusive *-n-* in some words such as *əngğ(e)* 'hand' (Amh. *əğğ*), show links to ↗Gurage idioms (Ǝnnämor *bi:d*, *angäd*, Wällane *ənğ*, Səlṭi *ənğe*).

The personal pronouns exhibit some variety (Leslau's dialect form is followed, if different, by that of Šäwa-Robit): *äy(y)*, *a(ā)n* 'I' (Amh. *ane*), *ank* 'you [masc.]' (Amh. *antä*), *anč* 'you [fem.]' (Amh. *ančči*), *kəssu*, *əwwat* 'he' (Amh. *əssu*), *kəssa*, *əyyat* 'she' (Amh. *əssʷa*), *ənna*, *ana* 'we' (Amh. *ənnña*), *ənna(n)kum*, *ankum* 'you [pl.]' (Amh. *ənnantä*), *kəssäm*, *ällaḅ* 'they' (Amh. *ənnassu*). The demonstrative pronouns for near objects are sg. masc. *hud*, fem. *huy*, pl. *hulläm*, those for distant objects sg. masc. (*h*)*od*, *wod*, fem. *oy*, pl. (*w*)*olläm*. For the Šäwa-Robit dialect are find: *īni* 'this', *omisī* 'that' (Siebert 1994).

The dental of the passive-reflexive T-stem of the verb is assimilated in all forms except the imperative, as in perfect *ənnekkäsa* 'he was bitten' (Amh. *tänäkkäsä*), imperative *tänäkäs*. The dental is assimilated to an initial *h* as well, *əhhelläbäd* 'she was milked' (Amh. *tallläbäč*), present form *təhhelläb-älläd* (Amh. *tətalläb-alläč*) from the root (basic stem) *hallläbä* 'he milked' (Amh. *alläbä*). Some endings of the perfect (0_1) are 3rd sg. masc. *säddäb-a* 'he offended' (cp. Amh. *säddäbä*), 3rd sg. fem. *säddäb-äd* (Amh. *säddäbäč*), 2nd pl. *-kum* (Amh. *-aččəhu*), 1st sg. *-ku* (Amh. *-ku/hu*), in Šäwa-Robit *-Ø*, *-eč̈*, *-exu*, *-exum* respectively.

The perfect, imperfect and converb of type B are characterized by a (long) *e* vowel after the first radical, e.g. *neggäda*, *yəneggəd* 'he traded/trades' (Amh. *näggädä*, *yənäggəd*). In all verb classes the converb (gerund) shows an *-(ə)t/(>)d* suffix: 3rd sg.masc. *sädbədo*, 1st sg. *sädbəč* (cf. Amh. *sädbo*, *säddəbe*) from *säddäba* 'he offended'. This dental element is known in Amharic only in final weak verb classes (e.g. 3rd sg. masc. *sämto*, 1st sg. *sämməče* from *sämma* 'he heard'). A different converb form is reported from Šäwa-Robit: *bäyˀo/bäyˀe* 'he/I having eaten'.

In general, all verb forms are quite similar to those in Amharic. There are, however, verb classes with *ḥ* (< classical Ethiopic **ḥ*, **ḥ*, **ḫ*), which is lost in Amharic, e.g. *hanğa*, *haya*, *rē* 'see' (Amh. *ayyä*), *sähaqä* 'he laughed' (Amh. *saqä*), *fälləha* 'he boiled' (Amh. *fälla*).

The vocabulary is either identical with Amharic or to a great extent very similar, as *hağəs*, *hagəs* 'new' (Amh. *addis*), *hand* 'one' (Amh. *and*), *ähʷa*, *ofa* 'water' (Amh. *waha*), but cf. *zah(i)* (or with *x*) 'white' (<Cushitic, Amh. *näč̈*), *diyyu* 'all' (Amh. *hullu*), *äh* 'brother' (Amh. *wändəmm*). The standard ten-word list (first form from Leslau 1994, second from Zelealem Leyew 1994 and Siebert 1994) is as follows:

'one'	*hand*	'tongue'	*arada, arat*
'two'	*ket, xäˀet*	'tooth'	*sən, sin*
'three'	*sost, säˀost*	'sun'	*č̣ähed*
'fire'	*əsad, əsat*	'moon'	*č̣äräqa*
'water'	*ähʷa, əhʷa/ofa*	'blood'	*däm*

Lit.: WOLF LESLAU, *Ethiopic Documents: Argobba, Grammar and Dictionary*, Wiesbaden 1997 (AeF 47) [Lit.]; ZELEALEM LEYEW, "Argobba – the People and the Language", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports* 22, 1994, 1–13; RALF SIEBERT, "Argobba: Sociolinguistic Information and a 320 Item Wordlist", *ibid.* 14–20; BARBARA F. GRIMES (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas ¹⁴2000, 10; VOLKER STITZ, *Studien zur Kulturgeographie Zentraläthiopiens*, Bonn 1974 (Bonner geographische Abhandlungen 51).

Rainer Voigt

Argobba ethnography

At present the A. (Arg^{w}abba) of Ethiopia are located in Wällo, Šäwa and Harärge. In south-eastern Wällo and north-eastern Šäwa, the A. who, excluding those living out of the rural homelands, number around 30,000 are found along the escarpment plops of the eastern Rift Valley system that define the edge of the Ethiopian plateau from Qallu in the north to Məngar in the South. In Wällo, these include the Qallu *awraǧǧa* (*wärädas* of Qallo, Ǝssoyyä Gola, Täk^{w}ələdäre, Harṭumma, and Däwwäh Rahmädo) while in Šäwa they consist of the Yəfat-Ṭəmmugga *awraǧǧa* (*wärädas* of Qäwät, Gämza, Ǝfratanna Gille, Fursi and Mafud), and the Tägulät-Bulga *awraǧǧa* (*wärädas* of Ankobär, Asagərt, Agärä Maryam and Käsäm). According to the new administrative division (after 1991), these areas consist of the Bitaha/Wata A., Faləmma/Karra Logoma or Ǝfrata/Gədəm/Qäwät A. and the Yəfat A., spread in Amhara, ᶜAfar and Oromiyaa national regions. In these regions, the A. inhabit a long chain of settlements within which some villages are connected to each other while others are scattered among Christian Amhara or Muslim ↗Oromo areas, but all are on the eastern margins of their homeland flanked by the Muslim ᶜAfar (whom A. usually and popularly refer to as Adal).

The escarpment slopes of south-eastern Wällo and north-eastern Šäwa are synonymous with warm conditions. During the day and in the dry months, the sun heats unsparingly through mid-afternoon temperatures that can rise up to around 40° C, while at night, the slopes of the eastern escarpment are cold.

Here the A. terrace marginal spaces using ox-drawn ploughs, and apply contour ridging and hedging in order to minimise soil erosion and maximise their agricultural productions along the very edge of cultivable places. A. grow sorghum, maize, peas, beans, lentils and *čat* twice a year but some also raise sheep and goats and practice trading. The A. largely live on legumes and grains and some slaughtered stock and dairy products. Their diet is high in carbohydrates and fibres and low in protein foods. Among specific A. dishes are *ətorr* (beef barbecue), *q^{w}alima* (flesh food sausages) and *alleṭaṭo* (chicken dumpling accompanied by layered bread). During years of rainfall shortages and outbreak of droughts, of which there have been numerous ones, food availability declines.

The Harärge A., who number around 5,000 and inhabit several villages in the *wärädas* of Fädis, Bisidimo and Hundanä, are historically connected with those of Wällo and Šäwa. Like them, they cultivate and terrace the edge of the Rift's escarpment, trade among themselves and with the Oromo agriculturalists of the Harär surroundings and are in contact with the Somali pastoralists of the region. In Wällo, Šäwa and Harärge rural A. settlements are usually found on hill tops and mountain retreats referred to as ↗*amba* where residences are either stone- and wood-made square houses or huts thatched with earth and hay roofs. Each village has, at least, one mosque, a weavers workshop, a public square, a market place and a *zāwiya* for the drilling of children in Qurʾānic schooling. All A. are Muslims. There are no outsider groups other than ↗blacksmiths and ↗potters. Hence the A. make their own objects and implements except those made from iron and day materials. In towns, the A. congregate in their own neighbourhoods known as *gända* or *duda.*

The A. of south-eastern Wällo and north-eastern Šäwa call themselves and their central Southern Ethiopic language by the same name. In south-eastern Wällo, the A. language survives in some settlements. In contrast, the A. language in north-eastern Šäwa has totally given ground to Amharic, a language to which it is strongly related linguistically, while in Harär, unlike in Wällo, it has entirely succumbed to Oromiffa. Although in both Wällo and Šäwa some A. still use an indigenized Arabic form of Amharic locally known as *ᶜağäm* or a mixed form of

Amharic and A. called *šägura*. A. in these areas has, with the exception of very few villages in south-eastern Wällo, given ground to Amharic and/or Oromiffa. While the A. who live amongst the Christian Amhara of Šäwa use Islam to distinguish themselves as A., the Wällo A. use language as a distinct marker of their ethnicity in relation to Oromo identity. In Harär, the A. have lost their language but speak Oromiffa, ᶜAfar, and some try *gē sinān* (↗Harari).

In light of these developments, kinship and household family relationship are central concepts that, following Muslim traditions, delineate preferential marriage as being between a young man and his father's brother's daughter. Yet many A. also marry outside kin circles but strongly discourage marriage with non-A. and non-Muslim in order to maintain their cultural and religious exclusiveness. Unlike those of Wällo and Šäwa, the Harärge A. intermarry with the Oromo and men bring in more women critical to an increase of the patrilineage and survival of the group whereas A. women may not marry Oromo men. A. are monogamous, although polygamous marriages are practised by wealthier individuals. Women may own and inherit property but genealogy is exclusively traced patrilineally in which the interlocking network based on kinship and social relationship ranging from social visitations and community association to gifts and presentations provide a coherent inclusive system of social ties which, in effect, define A. individual roles and brings them together in a constantly changing array of events and occasions.

Islam, now, as ever, organizes A. livelihoods, and Muslim cultural features sharply distinguish them from their Christian neighbours. In as much as A. religion is Islamic it is also syncretic in terms of the existence of mythical and magical beliefs, witchcraft and sorcery practices and possessions through *ḥadrā* and *wädağa* at *ziyāra* or *wärra* of ↗Muslim saints' shrines in deeply embedded in people's lives. Through everyday head dresses and attires made up of *maᶜammamiya* (turban), *ğallabiya* (tunic), and *šərrəṭ* (wrap-arounds) they deliberately attempt to look peculiar and emphasize their ethnic and religious identity. Nowadays the increased availability of factory-made clothing, silver and gold coated artificial ornaments ranging from pendants to anklets, and cheap colognes have decreased the reliance on hand span and hand-

A street in ᶜUmarkule, southern Argobba, 1972, photo courtesy of Ewald Wagner

woven fabrics. In Harär, the A. have picked up Oromo modes of living and ways of wearing clothes and hairdressing.

The existence of ancient ruins of villages, mosques, cemeteries and of an A. Muslim population territorial continuum suggests that A. settlements used to be more widespread than at present. As a result of the connection that existed between the A. and the ↗Wälašmaᶜ and the fortunes of the Muslim sultanates which developed in north-eastern Šäwa between 1270–1415, there is evidence indicating that the present A. of Šäwa and Wällo are a remnant population of the Sultanate of ↗Ifat. The Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's invasion and the subsequent Oromo migration changed the demographic map of Ethiopia, and this is precisely why the A. are at present found interspersed among their Amhara and Oromo neighbours and live contiguous to ᶜAdal territories. The rise of Šäwa during the late 17th and 18th cent. became a prelude to the Amhara penetration into the escarpment slopes. Under *nəguś*↗Šahlä Śəllase and his successors the A. homelands were incorporated into the expanding Šäwan kingdom in the 19th cent. During the same century the erosion of Wälašmaᶜ authority and A. regional economy was facilitated through state taxation and gradual arrival of Christian Amhara settlers from the highlands. The finale was inaugurated by the opening of the Djibouti–Addis Abäba railway during the first two decades of the 20th cent., by passing traditional trade routes that crossed A. settlements and thus marginalising and turning them into backwaters. After the 1950s the A., who for centuries had established commercial posts on these trade routes and whose escarpment slopes were and continue to be threatened and sometimes sacked by constant ᶜAdal (ᶜAfar)

incursions in search of pasture lands, began to migrate and reposition themselves in towns and cities along the Däbrä Barhan – Däse and Adaamaa (Nazret) – Manda roads in significant numbers. As the A. means of livelihood shifted from cultivating to weaving and trading in these urban centres, alien cultural practices gained momentum as a result of contact with commercial products coming from richer markets outside A. village settlements.

Both the rural and urban A. are thus increasingly becoming dependent on cash resources and foreign products while consecutive yearly droughts and food shortages as well as the need for cash to pay government taxes are driving them into trade networks of market-produced goods and commodities beyond environment based on terracing and the fragmentation of their indigenous livelihoods. At present, the A. settlements therefore find themselves at an historical moment in which conflicting economic situation demand resolution in conditions where the choices to be made are difficult and possible outcomes uncertain in the environment of the escarpment.

Src.: BassHist 175; BeckHuntAlm; AL-ʿUMARI IBN FAḌLALLĀH, *Masālik el Abṣār fī Mamālik el Amṣār*. I. *L'Afrique moins l'Égypte,* tr. by M. GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES, Paris 1927; KrAmdS 36 (tr.), n. 203; PerrZarY; CHARLES E. XAVIER ROCHET D'HÉRICOURT, *Voyage sur la côte orientale de la Mer Rouge, dans le pays d'Adal et le royaume de Choa,* Paris 1841; CARL WILHELM ISENBERG – JOHANN LUDWIG KRAPF, *Journals of Rev. Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf, Detailing Their Proceedings in the Kingdom of Shoa and Journey in Other Parts of Abyssinia …*, London 1842.

Lit.: ABBEBE KIFLEYESUS, *The Dynamics of Ethnicity in a Plural Polity: Transformation of Argobba Social Identity*, ms., Evanston, Northwestern University 1988; ID., "Sufism and the Rural and Urban Reality of Argobba Mysticism", *Islam et Sociétés au Sud du Sahara* 9, 1995, 56–77; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "Islamic Principalities in Southern Ethiopia Between the Thirteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", *Ethiopianist Notes* 1, 1, 1977, 17–55; *ibid.* 1, 2, 1977, 1–43; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 5–42; SVEIN EGE, *Class, State and Power in Africa. A Case Study of the Kingdom of Shäwa (Ethiopia) about 1840,* Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 46); DOUGLAS CUNNINGHAM GRAHAM, "Report on the Manners, Customs and Superstitions of the People of Shoa, and on the History of the Abyssinian Church", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 12, 1843, 625–728; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Political Geography of Ethiopia at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 613–31; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Muslim Commercial Towns, Villages and Markets of Christian Ethiopia", in: SIEGBERT UHLIG – BAIRU TAFLA (eds.), *Collectanea Aethiopica,* Stuttgart 1988 (AeF 26), 111–30; ID., *A Social History of Ethiopia,* Trenton – New York 1990; ID., *The Ethiopian Borderlands. Essays in Regional History from Ancient Times to the End of the 18th Century,* Lawrenceville – New York 1997; VOLKER STITZ, "The Amhara Resettlement of Northern Shoa During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", *Rural Africana* 11, 1970, 76–81; ID., "The Western Argobba of Yifat, Central Ethiopia", in: *USCES* 185–92; TadTChurch; SIDNEY R. WALDRON, "Argobba", in: RICHARD V. WEEKES (ed.), *Muslim Peoples. A World Ethnographic Survey,* London ²1984, vol. 1, 49–54; AKLILU ASFAW, "A Short History of the Argobba", *AE* 16, 2000, 173–83; KEBEDDE GELETA, "A Survey on Argobba Sites in Northern Shoa", *ibid.* 185–94; TESFAYE HAILU, "History and Culture of the Argobba: Recent Investigation", *ibid.* 195–206.

Abbebe Kifleyesus

ʿĀrif

ʿĀ. (عارف) *aġa* was the Ottoman *muḥāfiẓ* (governor, chief officer of a governorate) of ↗Massawa in the mid-1840s and had succeeded Rustum *effendi* in that function. Since Massawa in his time was leased from Istanbul by the Egyptian ruler ↗Muḥammad ʿAlī *pasha*, ʿĀ.'s tenure in office was characterized by his attempts to regain control over the neighbouring areas. This created constant tensions and power struggles between him and the *nāʾib* of ↗Ḥərgigo to whom a certain degree of power had been delegated by the Ottomans and who constantly aspired to gain more autonomy and control over Massawa's hinterlands and trade routes.

As a result of the *nāʾib*'s interference with caravan movement in the region, ʿĀ. *aġa* burnt the village of Ḥərgigo and confined him to ʿAylat where he was under the custody of a *qāʾimmaqām* (lieutenant-colonel) and a garrison. These measures displeased *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, governor of the province of Təgray, who claimed his own authority over the *nāʾib*. Mounting tensions between the Egyptian-Ottomans and the Təgrayan governor culminated in *däğğač* Wəbe's traumatic raid on Massawa on January 9, 1849.

Lit.: PankHist I, 245; ErDizBio 23; DANTE ODORIZZI, *Il Commissariato Regionale di Massaua al 1° Gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911.

Jonathan Miran

Arimondi, Giuseppe Edoardo

A. (b. 26 April 1846, Savigliano, Italy, d. 1 March 1896, ʿAdwa) was an Italian officer who served as Commander of the Eritrean Troops and Commandant of "Tigré" (Təgray). A. played a signifi-

cant role in three major military campaigns during the last years of the 19th cent. On 21 December 1893, A. commanded a 2,402-man force that defeated an invading 10,000-strong ↗Mahdist army at ↗ʿAqordät. Italian losses totalled only 232 troops while the Dervishes lost some 2,000 men. A.'s impressive victory resulted in his promotion from Colonel to General. On 7 December 1895, A. participated in the Battle of ↗Ambalage, during which a victorious 30,000-strong Ethiopian army killed or wounded more than 2,000 Italians. He was killed in the battle of ↗ʿAdwa on 1 March 1896, while commanding the Central Column, which included the 1st Infantry Brigade, 1st Company of the 5th Native Battalion, and the 8th and 11th Batteries.

Lit.: GEORGE FITZ-HARDINGE BERKELEY, *The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik*, London 1935, 56, 120, 122, 143–53, 158ff., 279, 302, 373–79; PAMELA S. BROWN – FASSIL YIRGU (eds.), *One House: the Battle of Adwa 1896 – 100 Years*, Chicago 1996, 64.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Aringo

A. (**አሪንጎ**) was a settlement 45 km east of Lake Ṭana, which rose to prominence during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs. He resided there on at least five occasions and held two religious councils there, in 1653–54 and 1666–67. The town was perhaps even more favoured by his son, *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, who lived there on no less than a score of occasions. He did so, according to his chronicle, because he loved its priests, who were well-versed in history, music and poetry. Towards the end of the century, Iyasu was reportedly so enamoured with the place that he gave instructions, in 1698, that his crown should be kept there while he went on an expedition. Such royal patronage led to the development of the town, which, according to the chronicler, by 1691 had a *taʾəka* ('palace'). The French traveller Charles Poncet, who visited the settlement only a few years later, describes it as "a place of strength" and claims that its palace was "not less stately than that of Gondar". It was inhabited, during the Emperor's absence, by "four or five thousand men … left there to guard the crown" (s. Foster 1949:129, 136). The town was subsequently also frequented, according to the chronicles, by several later monarchs: Täklä Haymanot, Tewoflos, Dawit III and Bäkaffa. The latter, during his nine-year reign, visited the town on six occasions and in 1725 gave a commemorative banquet there for his father. The town, however, fell into disuse and was described by the French traveller Guillaume Lejean, in the early 1860s, as a place of ruins (Lejean 1872:27).

Src.: GuiIohan passim; GUILLAUME LEJEAN, *Voyage en Abyssinie exécuté de 1862 à 1864*, Paris 1873, 27.
Lit.: PankHist I, 139f.; WILLIAM FOSTER, *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, London 1949, 129, 136.

Richard Pankhurst

Aristocracy

A. is a term loosely equivalent to the Gəʿəz/Amharic **መኳንንት** (*mäkʷanənt*), which is most commonly translated as 'nobles'. The word itself is plural. Its singular, a popular male name, is **መኰንን** (*mäkʷännən*), 'nobleman' or 'governor'. The root verb is *kʷännänä* 'regulate, judge, punish, condemn' (LesCDic 187; KaneDic 1442), indicating a rather negative view of authority or power. The *mäkʷanənt* constituted Ethiopia's historic ruling class. While *mäkʷanənt* is the most general term under discussion, the notion of A. extends socially upwards to include *mäsafənt* and downwards to include ↗*balabbat*. The former constituted the highest ranks of Ethiopia's rulers, often enjoying royal blood. The latter, most frequently, were local nobles. The meaning of the word A. which most closely fits the purposes here, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, is "the collective body of those who form a privileged class with regard to the government of their country; the nobles. The term is popularly extended to include all those who by birth or fortune occupy

a position distinctly above the rest of the community …" The Ethiopian nobility enjoyed many different ↗titles, most of them of military origin, and supported itself by means of fiefs or ↗ *gʷəlt*.

The *mäkʷanənt* and the monarchy were closely tied together. In theory the Solomonic kings were absolute, which meant that all the positions held by the *mäkʷanənt* were held at the arbitraries of the reigning monarch. The same theory assigned to the kings the "ownership" of all the country's *gʷəlt*, which the kings, at their pleasure, assigned to individual noblemen or noblewomen or to corporate groups such as military regiments or churches. Seen from this theoretical angle, the *mäkʷanənt* were entirely dependent on, and subordinate to, the monarchy. Reality differed significantly from theory. In practice, the *mäkʷanənt* held their *gʷəlt* with some degree of independence and commanded local authority and recognition which the kings ignored at their peril.

The tension between theory and practice may be seen in two major episodes of the 17th and 18th cent. The 17th cent. opened with bitter wars of succession. Following a battle in which *aṣe* ↗Zädəngəl was killed, the victorious *mäkʷanənt* met on the battlefield. Some suggested abolishing the monarchy altogether. "Let us live," they said, "each in our own appointment and each in our own country, and let no one rule over us as king". This suggestion was vetoed by the highest of the nobles and before long *aṣe* ↗Susənyos was on the throne. 165 years later, in 1769, the ambitions of the *mäkʷanənt* toppled the Gondär monarchy. This time, rather than abolishing the monarchy the *mäkʷanənt* reduced it to insignificance, ushering in a period known as the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, which lasted almost a century. During the intervening years, from 1604 to 1769, monarchs practised the appointment and demotion of court officials and provincial governors (Amh. የሹምሽር, [*yä*]*šumšər* 'rotation of offices, ministerial reshuffle', KaneDic 618; coming from *šum* 'appointed' and *šər* 'demoted, discharged') and awarded and reconfirmed *gʷəlt*-holdings. The *mäkʷanənt* in practice enjoyed considerable autonomy vis-à-vis the monarchy.

The Ethiopian *mäkʷanənt* played a number of prominent roles. They filled most of the offices at the royal court. They served as judges and legal authorities. They held military positions. They served as provincial rulers. These functions often merged in particular individuals. Court officials might serve as judges and legal authorities and take part in military campaigns. Provincial rulers invariably acted as judges and led their subjects in times of war. There was a significant number of offices in the royal court, and the names of those offices sometimes functioned as titles: ↗*bitwäddäd* ('counsellor, royal confidant'); *wəsṭ azzaž* ('majordomo', ↗*azzaž*); and ↗*ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* (secretary to the king). But the titles most prized by and characteristic of the *mäkʷanənt* were military in origin: *ras*; *däğ–ğazmač*, *grazmač* (↗*Azmač*); ↗*fitawrari* and ↗*šaläqa*. Clearly, military leadership was the most prized role among the secular nobility, but some nobles pursued essentially civilian careers, e.g. serving as *azzaž*.

The military titles reveal another important characteristic of the Ethiopian A., its internal differentiation along hierarchical lines. The military titles were strictly hierarchical in the order given above, something which may be seen still more clearly in the sequence of titles running from *šaläqa* down through *mäto aläqa* (captain) to *assər aläqa* (sergeant) and *ammənst aläqa* (corporal). This hierarchy did not reflect a rigid stratification, but rather a continuous gradient along which movement was normal, both upwards and downwards.

In some respects the Ethiopian nobility may be defined as a *gʷəlt*-holding class. To be sure, some *gʷəlt*-holders were modest persons of purely local standing, farmers who also served occasionally as soldiers or minor government functionaries. The *mäkʷanənt* were those members of society who lived solely off their *gʷəlt*-holdings, which were sufficient to sustain them in a life devoid of manual labour. Evidence bearing on the *gʷəlt*-holdings of the *mäkʷanənt* is to be found in a corpus of documents dating to the early 13th cent. and the reign of *aṣe* ↗Lalibäla of the Zagʷe dynasty. The volume of these documents swells in the 18th cent., at which time other historical records also multiply, allowing us to see how Ethiopia's ruling class managed and transferred their *gʷəlt*-holdings. The *gʷəlt*-holding aristocrats defined themselves as such with respect to Ethiopia's farmers and herders. Artisans were beyond the pale, unworthy of notice. Most farmers held their land by ↗*rəst*-title, by inheritance from their parents. In this sense, *rəst* may be seen as a form of landed property juxtaposed to *gʷəlt*, and *rəst*-holding farmers

may be seen as subjects of the *gʷəlt*-holding aristocrats.

The historiography of Ethiopia has viewed the *mäkʷanənt* as possessing very few of the attributes of a social class. Given the absence of surnames or family and clan names among the Amharic- and Təgrañña-speaking population, historians have found it difficult to trace aristocratic lineages over more than about three generations. They have also generally viewed *gʷəlt*-holding as very closely tied to office-holding, thereby stressing its appointive character and the role of the kings in assigning and taking away *gʷəlt*. Estates, so characteristic of the European A., seemed not to exist in historic Ethiopia. These views now need correction. The rich documentation on land-holding in 18th-cent. Ethiopia has established that the *mäkʷanənt* did, indeed, bundle their holdings in such a way as to compose "estates". The documents also reveal that they found a variety of ways to transfer *gʷəlt* rights, not least by inheritance. Tracing one of these transferrals over a period of five generations, about a century, demonstrates clearly the existence of "families" over that stretch of time. Inheritance or bequeathal was only one of the various ways in which the Ethiopian aristocrats transferred their *gʷəlt* rights. They bought and sold *gʷəlt* titles. They gave them away. They used them as surety for loans. And they contested these rights in courts of law. The historical record contains several thousand sales of *gʷəlt* titles in the latter part of the 18th and the first half of the 19th cent. Such sales continue down into the 20th cent. The private transferral of *gʷəlt* suggests that we may have exaggerated its appointive character and ignored the extent to which it constituted a form of property in land. Much *gʷəlt* was juxtaposed to *rəst*, which thereby limited the rights entailed in holding it. *Gʷəlt* holders over *rəst* farmers could not dislodge their subjects, who were not their tenants, but rather independent land holders. Moreover, the holding of all *gʷəlt* was conditioned on the fulfilling of specific obligations – military, administrative, or ecclesiastical. Nonetheless, in their private transfers of it, in their creation of "estates", and in their transferring of those estates to their descendants, Ethiopian aristocrats did enjoy a greater degree of autonomy from political authority and a higher degree of "classness" than has generally been appreciated.

Gʷəlt supported a distinctive, leisured manner of living, accompanied by a distinctive set of attitudes and outlook on the world. While their compatriots labored in the fields, drew water and wood and herded livestock, the *mäkʷanənt* devoted themselves to pursuits which they held to be more refined. Noblemen hunted for sport and played games like chess. Many of them pursued military careers, while others were judges and advocates. Noblewomen ran their households, ostentatiously avoided manual labor, and sometimes were active managers of family land-holdings. Nobles of both genders were exposed to literacy and inculcated with the value of refinement. Aristocratic refinement in Ethiopia meant elegance in speech, containing one's emotions and attention to dress. Deference, extravagantly expressed, was a central value. All *mäkʷanənt* enjoyed deferential treatment from commoners and those nobles of lesser standing, while they, in their turn, demonstrated deference to their superiors.

Nevertheless, unlike comparable aristocracies in Europe, they had no corporate expression of their autonomy. There was no institution in Ethiopia corresponding to the parliament through which European nobles pressed their views on their monarchs. Nor were the lower boundaries between the A. and the commoners always clearly delineated. Nobles and commoners often shared common lineages. Nevertheless, class markers did exist. Ethiopian aristocrats reserved to themselves the right to produce and consume mead (↗*Ṭäğğ*). At different times and places they reserved to themselves the right to slaughter cattle and to use iron beds. They monopolized the use of silk, an imported luxury good. Nobles never travelled on foot. They did not drink directly from streams. They refused to touch the plow. They had distinctive forms of dress, the በርኑስ (*bärnus*, Gəᶜəz, s. LesCDic 106; Amh. *bärnos* 'a dark wool cloak', cf. KaneDic 885), ራስ፡ ወርቅ (*ras wärq*, a special headdress or ornament, cp. KaneDic 383), and special borders to their tunics, ሸማ (*šämma*; ↗Clothing). Their upbringing was decidedly different from that of farmers and herders and was geared towards gentility and refinement. Their education exposed nobles to literacy (although few of them ever learned to read, and, prior to the 20th cent., none of them would have written) and to music.

The Ethiopian A. was decidedly multi-ethnic. During the early period of Solomonic dynasty its core was composed of Amharas, Təgrañña-

speakers and Agäw. Indeed, the Agäw contributed one of the most prestigious and long-standing noble lineages in Ethiopia in the office of the ↗*wag šum*. The early Solomonics were polygynous and had a policy of marrying women from peripheral ethnic groups in order to tie their leaders to the royal court. This policy meant a constant infusion of new ethnicities into the upper reaches of the A. In the early 17th cent. we find a very prominent Gurage, and, during the reign of *aṣe* Susənyos, the first Oromo appeared at the royal court. Through the 17th, and especially in the 18th cent. Oromo were increasingly drawn into national politics and became a constituent element of the *mäkʷanənt*. Nevertheless, the culture of the national A. was a Christian Highland one, which gave pride of place to the Amhara and the Təgrəñña-speakers. The language of official documents and of the liturgy was Gəᶜəz. The language of the royal court was Amharic and this was the vernacular ground on which the *mäkʷanənt* constituted themselves as a national class, even though Təgrəñña, Agäw and Oromiffa were the domestic languages of significant and influential segments of the A.

To some extent, we can view the clergy as constituting a separate A., parallel to that of the *mäkʷanənt*. In the first Solomonic period it seems clear that a significant number of monks were recruited from the secular A. Monasticism demanded of its adherents a severing of all worldly ties to family or property and a commitment to poverty and chastity. Nonetheless, the few glimpses we get into the internal relations of major monasteries suggests that they reproduced some of the hierarchy of the secular world outside them.

Still more important, and largely neglected by historians, are the endowed churches (↗*Däbr*), which were staffed with regular clergy, who married and acquired property in the same way that the *mäkʷanənt* did. Much of our documentation on the land holding of the *mäkʷanənt* comes from church sources and refers to church tenures. What proportion church holdings constituted of a normal aristocratic holding is impossible to say, but it was significant. Lands given to the church were, practically speaking, irrevocable and therefore, ironically, particularly well-suited to private transfer. It was very difficult for secular rulers to convert church lands back into secular lands, and this was the first component of stability. When they gave land to the major *däbr*-churches, the kings typically assigned a lion's share of that land for the support of the clergy, each of whom was assigned a role in the liturgy. In the original, founding land grants to the churches of Gondär, and after them to churches in Goğğam and Təgray, we find numerous secular aristocrats named as holders of clerical land. They, and their children or designated heirs, continued to enjoy these lands and the income which they produced, so long as they were able to find someone to serve at the Mass for them. Thus, church land was an important source of support for the *mäkʷanənt*. However, we should not ignore the existence of numerous wealthy clergymen, who equally enjoyed large holdings of *gʷəlt*, which they transferred and managed just as did the *mäkʷanənt*.

There appears to have been little intermarriage between the secular and religious aristocracies. Within the larger society the clergy tended strongly to be endogamous, the sons of priests marrying the daughters of priests. Moreover, the clergy held marriage customs very different from those of the secular nobles. The clergy practiced a strict monogamy, while the *mäkʷanənt* often were polygynous, male noblemen maintaining relations of more or less parity with a number of different women at one time. So the clergy and the *mäkʷanənt* constituted parallel hierarchies, similar in their vertical differentiation, which, in both cases, was related to the holding of *gʷəlt*.

This description of the historic Ethiopian A. is rooted in the 18th cent. and the Gondär period. It holds reasonably well if we look backward into the early Solomonic period and forward into the 19th cent. Only in the 20th cent. did things begin significantly to change. The 20th cent. brought new forms of wealth and changed the value of land. Coffee was the first commodity to do this and its impact was felt with the completion of the railroad to Addis Abäba in 1917. No longer was land simply of use as *gʷəlt*, which provided goods in kind, which, in turn, supported the households of the nobility. Now land could generate cash, and many of the *mäkʷanənt* were quick to seize the opportunities so presented. Great nobles like *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot of Goğğam grasped for money wherever they could find it and spent it lavishly on imported luxury goods like champagne.

Ḫaylu also invested his cash in such urban ventures as hotels and cinemas. He was but one of the most conspicuous examples of a trend of larger significance.

At the same time as some of the *mäkʷanənt* were transforming themselves into rustic capitalists, their historic position was increasingly under attack from a different source – the royal court. It was the ambition of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, Regent and Heir Apparent from 1916, Emperor in his own right from 1930, to centralize and modernize the state. He achieved little along these lines before the Italian invasion of 1935, but immediately upon his return to power in 1941 he set about erecting the structure of a modern state. This exercise was primarily directed against the historic political system, whereby a hierarchy of *mäkʷanənt* transferred power from the throne to the village. This millennial structure was replaced with a salaried bureaucracy, the members of which were distinguished not by their birth, or still less by their *gʷəlt*-holdings, but by their modern education. Thus, by the 1950s the *mäkʷanənt* were no longer such a factor of political significance. Nevertheless, while he proved diligent and persistent in attacking the political power of the nobles, Ḫaylä Śəllase showed little interest in attacking their social position. *Gʷəlt*-holding remained of significance well into the 1950s. Moreover, as the juridical basis of *gʷəlt* was increasingly undermined, many of the *mäkʷanənt* were able to translate their larger holdings from *gʷəlt* into *rəst*, making some of them at least a class of landlords.

The ↗Revolution of 1974 eliminated the *mäkʷanənt* as a class. *Gʷəlt* had already been abolished by Ḫaylä Śəllase in 1967. Now all inequalities in landholding were eliminated by the land reform proclamations of 1975. Similarly, the Revolution proved very hostile to the old forms of deference which had shored up the social position of the *mäkʷanənt*. While a handful of nobles went into political and military opposition to Ethiopia's new rulers, the bulk of the *mäkʷanənt* passed silently from the pages of history.

↗Churches and church administration; ↗Land tenure; ↗Nəguś

Src.: PerChron; GuiIohan; GuiIyas; HERBERT WELD BLUNDELL (ed., tr.), *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia, 1769–1840*, Cambridge 1922; LesCDic 106, 187; KaneDic 618, 885, 1442.

Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia: From the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*, Urbana 2000; ALLAN HOBEN, "Social Stratification in Traditional Amhara Society", in: ARTHUR TUDEN – LEONARD PLOTNICOV (eds.), *Social Stratification in Africa*, New York 1970, 187–224; ID., "Family, Land, and Class in Northwest Europe and Northern Highland Ethiopia", in: *USCES* 157–70; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Monastic Holy Man and the Christianization of Early Solomonic Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 1984 (SKK 73); MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Society and Technology in Ethiopia 1500–1800", *JES* 17, 1984, 127–47; ID., "Land Tenure and Agricultural Productivity 1500–1850", in: *Proceedings of the Third Annual Seminar of the Department of History*, Addis Ababa 1986, 115–29; GIRMAH BESHAH – MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso-Ethiopian Relations (1500–1632)*, Lisbon 1964; DONALD NATHAN LEVINE, *Wax and Gold: Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture*, Chicago 1965; TadTChurch.

Donald Crummey

Arius

A. (Gəʿəz: **አርዮስ**, Aryos, b. ca. 270, d. ca. 336), a controversial church leader, hardly played any direct role in Ethiopian church history. Neither A.'s own writings nor his actual doctrine reached Ethiopia in any depth. The teachings of his followers (Eusebius of Nicomedia, Asterius the Sophist, Sabellius) do not seem to have become known there either. Nevertheless A. himself, the "infidel" and "heretic", and events from his history, especially episodes from his protracted conflict with the patriarchs Peter, Alexander and ↗Athanasius (there is a tradition that the latter, being exiled by Arians, went to Ethiopia; s. Getatchew Haile 1992:1), are often mentioned in the ↗*Sənkəssar*, which from ca. 1400 became an important source on universal church history for Ethiopians. *Abba* ↗Giyorgis of Sägla devoted an entire chapter of his *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*maṣṭir* to the refutation of A.'s heresy. Although it provides an example of Giyorgis's logic and eloquence, this material does not reveal that he had detailed knowledge of Arian doctrine, which is presented very briefly: **ክርስቶስ፡ ፍጡር፡ ወኤቱ፡ ለመድኃኒተ፡ ዓለም፡ ዘተፈጥረ** (*Krəstos fəṭur wəʾətu lämädḫanitä ʿaläm zätäfäṭrä*, 'Christ is a created [being], who was created for the salvation of the world'), or simply **ፍጡር፡ ወኤቱ፡ ክርስቶስ** (*fəṭur wəʾətu Krəstos*, 'Christ is a created [being]'; s. Yaqob Beyene 1990:47, 51, 56, cp. 63). At least a portion of what *abba* Giyorgis relates as A.'s history is probably derived from the *Sənkəssar*'s 29 *Ḫədar* commemoration of Patriarch Peter (s. Yaqob Beyene 1990:30 [tr.], n. 2). The story of A.'s disgusting death (his intestines

are said to have come out of his belly) is presented in both *Mäṣḥafä məśṭir* and the *Sənkəssar* (Yaqob Beyene 1990:51; GuiSyn III, 554-57). It is not known, whether *abba* Giyorgis, in refuting the doctrine of A., addressed himself to a specific religious group in Ethiopia. It is less possible that any dissident could present his views in such an extreme form, although the mention of A. in *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*bərhan* of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, demonstrates, that a reference to A.'s doctrine could have been used in theological disputes (Conti Rossini – Ricci 1965:133).

Among other works in which A.'s story and the refutation of his doctrine, especially by the council of ↗Nicaea, are highlighted, one should include ↗*Mäzgäbä haymanot*, a late 16th cent. work, one of the first Ethiopian polemics against the Jesuits (*Sənkəssar*, the old source, was once again used; s. Cerulli 1960, esp. 88, n. 1). Apart from this, the name of A. and the term "Arian" seems to have been widely used as epithets against anyone who was seen as a heretic and heterodox by others, similarly to such terms as Melchite, Nestorian, Chalcedonian, or ↗*Ayhud*. In addition, rejection of A.'s theology is often pronounced in other works, induding liturgical texts (like ↗*Sǎʿatat*) and occurs repeatedly in ↗*andəmta* commentaries etc. A detailed refutation of A.'s doctrine is elaborated in the official theology of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church.

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI-XVII*. II. *La Storia dei Quattro Concili ed altri opuscoli monofisiti*, Città del Vaticano 1960 (Studi e testi 204), s. index; GuiSyn III, 554-57; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI – LANFRANCO RICCI, *Il libro della luce del negus Zarʾa Yāʿqob* (*Maṣḥafa Berhān*), vol. 2, Louvain 1965 (CSCO 261 [SAe 51]), 132ff. (text); YAQOB BEYENE, *Giyorgis di Saglā, il Libro del Mistero* (*Maṣḥafa Meṣtir*). *Parte prima*, Louvain 1990 (CSCO 516, 532 [SAe 90, 97]), ch. 3; 47, 51, 56, 63 (text), 30 (tr.); "Aryos", in: *AmhChurchDic*, vol. ሕይወት ፡ በቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን (*Ḥəywät bäbetä krəstiyan*, 'The Church Life'), 558-72.

Lit.: PATRICK J. HAMELL, *Handbook of Patrology*, New York 1968, 90; GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Mariology of Emperor Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob of Ethiopia*, Roma 1992 (OrChrA 242), 1; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens. Eine Bestandaufname*, Berlin — New York 1971, (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), s. index.

Denis Nosnitsin

Ark of the Covenant

The A.C. (ታቦተ ፡ ጽዮን, *tabotä Ṣəyon*, 'The Ark of Zion' or ታቦተ ፡ ሙሴ, *tabotä Muse*, 'The Ark of Moses') occupies a double role in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. It is represented in the form of the ↗*tabot* in every Ethiopian church, even if the *tabot* is plainly a tablet and not an ark-like box. As such, A.C. is symbolically present at the centre of Ethiopian Christian worship. This identification, although countenanced by the church, seems to be of uncertain origin. The ↗*Śərᶜatä betä krəstiyan* (Griaule 1932) prefers to depict the *tabot* not as the Ark but as the tomb of Christ. In a more concrete, if equally mysterious, form, there is an object, never seen, but kept under constant guard in Ǝnda Ṣəllat, a chapel over the treasury at ↗Aksum, that is claimed to be the A.C. brought by ↗Mənilək I from Solomon's temple in Jerusalem. Descriptions of it in the literature are confusing, varying between some sort of tablet (usually of stone) or a box. Study of the Gəᶜəz and foreign texts relating to this seems to indicate that the box-like form had appeared by the 17th cent., with the claim that it was the A.C. Earlier accounts limit the claim to the tablets of Moses, removed from the Ark in Jerusalem and brought to Ethiopia in Mənilək's baggage. No reliable evidence testifies to the existence of this object in Aksumite times, and the first mention of a claim to the A.C. in Ethiopia occurs in Abū Ṣāliḥ's work (13th cent; s. Evetts 1895:287f.).

In the course of the centuries a rich corpus of traditions was elaborated around the topic of the A.C. It is particularly interesting to observe that the earliest records of the story of the A.C. in Ethiopia differ from the earliest surviving copies of the classic Gəᶜəz story in the work ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (Bezold 1909). The earliest known *Kəbrä nägäśt* may date to the 15th cent., and the Jesuite Paez (Pais 1945, vol. 1, 25ff.) preserves the same story, induding the account on the A.C., from the early 17th cent. Alvares (1540, s. BeckHuntAlvar 147f.) does not mention the Ark at all, but Ṣägga Zäʾab (Uhlig – Bühring 1994:242ff.) and João de Barros (1562, decade 3, book 4, 88r–93v) both include only the tablets of Moses in their early versions of the tale. Alvares and Barros moreover add a story about the wood of the Cross, absent from the later version. It seems as if the A.C. was an addition of the 15th cent. at the earliest. The A.C. in some local traditions (which involve the queen of Azeb, the ↗Nine Saints and a dragon) collected by Kolmodin (1912), Conti Rossini (1911–12), Budge (1922) and Littmann (1904) can be expanded into two: the Ark of Mikaʾel

and the Ark of Mary (which comes to Aksum). There are tales in Ethiopia about the A.C. being lodged at different times at Lake ↗Ṭana (from Mənilək's I time to ʿEzana), Lake ↗Zʷay (fleeing from Ǝsato), at Däbrä Tabor (fleeing from Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī), at ↗Dəgsa in Bur (fleeing from the Catholics) and at ↗Yəḥa (recorded by Salt 1814). Whatever the truth is, the sanctuary chapel in Aksum is carefully guarded by the treasure-guardian. Ethiopia remains the only land claiming to be in possession of the original A.C.

↗Mäqdäs

Src.: ABŪ ṢĀLIḤ AL-ARMANĪ, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries*, ed., tr. by BASIL THOMAS ALFRED EVETTS, Oxford 1895, 287f.; MARCEL GRIAULE, "Règles de l'Eglise (Documents éthiopiens)", *JA* 221, 1932, 1–42; CARL BEZOLD, *Kebra Nagast. Die Herrlichkeit der Könige*, München 1909 (Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band 23, Abth. 1); ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE (ed., tr.), *The Queen of Sheba and her only Son Menyelek*, London [1]1922; Oxford [2]1932, lxvi–lxxi; PERO PAIS, *História da Etiópia*, 3 vols., Porto 1945–46, vol. 1, 25ff.; BeckHuntAlvar 147f.; DAMIÃO DE GÓIS, *Fides, religio, moresque Aethiopum sub Imperio Pretiosi Iohannis* (*quem vulgo Presbyterum Ioannem vocant*), Lovanii 1540, lii–liv; SIEGBERT UHLIG – GERNOT BÜHRING, *Damian de Góis' Schrift über Glaube und Sitten der Äthiopier*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 39), 242ff.; JOÃO DE BARROS, *Terceira decada da Asia de Ioam de Barros*, Lisboa 1563 (repr. Lisboa 1992), vol. 4, ch. 2, fol. 88r–93v; JOHANNES AXEL KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega, I: Textes Tigrigna*, Roma 1912 (Archives d'études orientales 5:1), 3–6 (text); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia", *RSO* 4, 1911–12, 611–16 (tr.); ENNO LITTMANN, *The Legend of the Queen of Sheba in the Tradition of Axum*, Leyden 1904; HENRY SALT, *A Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of that Country, Executed under the Order of the British Government in the Years 1809 and 1810*, London 1814, 433; JAMES THEODORE BENT, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, London 1896, 152f.

Lit.: RODERICK GRIERSON – STUART MUNRO-HAY, *The Ark of the Covenant*, London 1999 (Lit.); KEFYALEW MERAHI, *The Covenant of Holy Mary Zion with Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa, 1997; GRAHAM HANCOCK, *The Sign and the Seal*, New York 1993, 175, 197f., 212ff.; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Zion. The Ark of the Covenant*, forthcoming.

Stuart Munro-Hay

Arkä Śəllus

A.Ś. (**አርከ፡ ሥሉስ**) was a disciple of ↗Giyorgis of Sägla, who "composed a work in praise of Our Lady" and "lived during the reign of Bäʾedä-Maryam" (1468–78; KinBibl 65, no. 20).

One of the collections of *sälam* hymns bearing the name ↗*Ǝgziʾabəḥer nägśä* is called **እግዚአብሔር፡ ነግሥ፡ ዘአርከ** (*Ǝgziʾabəḥer nägśä zäʾarke*), suggesting that the name of the author was Arke (EMML no. 2081). The ms. Paris, BN Abbadie 133 – a collection of hymns called **ውዳሴ፡ ሰማያውያን፡ ወምድራውያን** (*Wəddase sämayawəyan wämədrawəyan*, 'The praise of the celestials and the earthly'), or **መዝሙራ፡ ፍሥሃን፡ ወጸሎተ፡ ትኩዛን** (*Mäzmurä fəśśuhan wäṣälotä təkkuzan*, 'Psalter of the jubilant and prayer of the distressed'), possibly a rearrangement of *Ǝgziʾabəḥer nägśä zäʾarke* (s. Getatchew Haile 1983:2, 72) – mentions a certain A.Ś. as author and contains his portrait with the following inscription: "The image of the blessed one, who spoke of the Divine and expounded this sermo, A.Ś. May his prayers and the blessing of his God rest over his son Laʾəkä Maryam" (CRAbb 128, no. 94, but cp. Getatchew Haile 1983:16; for a possible identification of Laʾəkä Maryam s. BudHist I, 378f., 392).

As hymns from the *Wəddase sämayawəyan wämədrawəyan* only appear in the more recent version of the ↗*Sənkəssar*, the earliest manuscripts of which are from the 17th cent., it is possible that A.Ś.'s literary activity took place only in the 16th cent., i.e. much later than traditionally believed (cp. Löfgren 1974:148f.). Otherwise, it is to be reminded that ʿArkä Śəllus (second name of a certain Arkäläḍəs) is the author of a list of monks belonging to the order of Ewosṭatewos of Däbrä Ṣärabi contained in the 15th cent. ms. VatAeth 46.

Src.: GreTisVat 194–99, ms. VatAeth 56, here 198; EMML vol. 6, 150, no. 2081; CRAbb 128, no. 94 [ms. Abbadie 133]; OSCAR LÖFGREN, *Katalog über die äthiopischen Handschriften in der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala*, Uppsala 1974, 148ff., no. 61; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Di alcuni scritti etiopici inediti", *RRALm* ser. 6, 3, 1927, 497–528, here 512–16 [2. "Arkālēdes e una lista di commemorazioni di discepoli del santo Ēwosṭātēwos"].

Lit.: BudHist I, 378f., 392; GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Different Collections of Nägś Hymns in Ethiopic Literature and their Contributions*, Erlangen 1983 (Oikonomia 19), 2, 16, 72; KinBibl 65, no. 20.

Osvaldo Raineri

Arkäläḍəs

A. (**አርከለድስ**, Arkälädis, or Arkälädes), a saintly monk, flourished during the second half of the 14th cent. (around 1350–70). We know neither the names of his parents nor his place of birth. He was brought up by his maternal unde, the monk ↗Gäbrä Krəstos. A. was ordained a deacon before he took monastic vows. After the

death of his uncle, A. withdrew to a mountain, where he cast out hostile evil spirits. Thereupon, he was joined by many disciples. After a vision, the saint moved to Mount Gʷänayəʾba where he built a church. He went to the desert only during the fasting seasons. After an illness he was told by God to join ↗ᶜAbiyä Ǝgziʾ, from whom he derived his monastic pedigree of the second generation. When he heard that the chieftain of Zana had sacked the fief of Mary (perhaps Maryam Ṣəyon of Aksum, s. Conti Rossini 1938:437), he managed to retrieve the booty by sending a snake to attack the brigands.

According to his Acts (probably written by little-educated monks of his monastery around 1400, s. Conti Rossini 1938:438), A. also miraculously caused a building to collapse over the heads of some of his disciples who had ignored his commandment forbidding them to eat and drink apart from their brother monks. A. is considered to have died on 28 *Ṭəqəmt* (ibid. 435).

According to Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke (KinBibl 65), one manuscript with his hagiography (↗*Gädl*) is preserved in the IES, another of the late 18th cent. is in the collection of the BritLib (Orient. 695, fol. 63v).

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note di agiografia etiopica. ᶜAbiya Egziʾ, ᶜArkalēdes e Gabra-Iyasus", *RSO* 17, 1938, 434–39; KinBibl 65, no. 21; WrBriMus 180, no. 271 [ms. Orient. 695, fol. 63v–74r].
Lit.: GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "Saints of Medieval Ethiopia", *Abba Salama* 10, 1979, 291f.; OSVALDO RAINERI, "ᶜArkalēdes", in: *EncSan* vol. 1, 257f.

Osvaldo Raineri

ᶜArke

ᶜA. (**ዓርኬ**) is a Gəᶜəz poetic form, usually of five lines with identical end rhymes, in composition similar to ↗*mälkəʾ*. As to their contents, the ᶜA. are short ↗*sälam* dedicated to the saints and normally they can be found at the end of the different lives included in the ↗*Sənkəssar* (s. GreSyn, the hymns placed after most of the commemorations). The ᶜA. summarizes the preceding text, praises the Saint who performed the miracle and requests his intercession.

The same name ᶜA. applies also to a collection of texts known as **ውዳሴ፡ ሰማያውያን፡ ወምድራውያን** (*Wəddase sämayawəyan wämədrawəyan*, 'The praise of the celestials and the earthly' or **ማኅበረ፡ መለእክት፡ ወሰብእ** (*Maḫbärä mälaʾəkt wäsäbʾ*, 'The Community of Angels and Men'; or by the Latin name *Encomium caelestium et terrestrium*). This work is in fact a simple collection of the different *sälams* transmitted by the *Sənkəssar* (cp. StrBritLib no. 107, I, II: **ዓርኬ፡ ዘመስከረም**, *ᶜArke zämäskäräm*, 'ᶜA. for [the month of] *Mäskäräm*').

According to the Ethiopian ecclesiastical tradition, the etymology of ᶜA. can be explained by the name of ᶜArkä [↗Arkä] Śəllus, a 17th-cent. monk who is supposed to be the compiler of the collection (cp. AmhChurchD vol. 4, 108).

ᶜA. has different types, of which three are popular. The first one begins with a salutation: **ሰላም፡ ለሚካኤል፡ ሊቀ፡ መላእክት**… (*Sälam lämikaʾel liqä mäläʾəkt*…, 'Peace be to Michael the Archangel…'). The second is a mere poem. The third one, **ስብሐተ፡ አቀርብ** … (*Səbḥatä aqärəb* …, 'I present the praise …'), is usually found immediately after the other two kinds of ᶜA. The content of this form is different from that of the previous two. It praises God, for He inspired the writer to praise Him, and also requests Him to accept the writer's prayer in spite of his/her sin.

All ᶜA. are meant to be sung after the texts or the miracle have been read/heard. Extracted from the *Sənkəssar*, A. is also included at the end of each or some *täʾammərat* (↗Miracles) of Saints and in homilies (↗*Dərsan*) on the angels.

↗Hymns; ↗Hagiography

Src.: GreSyn; EMML vol. 6, 150f., ms. 2081; StrBritLib 161f., ms. 107 [Or. 13309]; AmhChurchD vol. 4, 108.
Lit.: SAMUEL YALEW, *Narrative Structure of Täʾamməratä Mäläʾəkt*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2000; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Édition des spécimens poétiques recueillis par Juste d'Urbin et ajoutés a sa grammaire éthiopienne", *Aethiopica. Revue philologique* 3, 4, 1935, 118–24, here 119ff.; ALEMAYYEHU MOGES, "Geez and Amharic Study without Qene is Incomplete", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 99–116, here 107.

Samuel Yalew

Arms ↗ Weapons

Armaçəho

A. (**አርማጭሆ**) is a region in the Gondär massif of Amharaland, lying between 500 and 2,500 m A.S.L. A. stretches north-west from the Därma river to about 40 km from the Sudan border. It lies north of the ↗Atbara river and, in part, straddles the Guwang river valley, with the land sloping downward from east to west. The region is mainly *wäynä däga* with some *qʷälla*.

External and internal communications are hindered by the rugged and dissected surface, having rampart-like escarpments and torrential

rains from June until September. Annual rainfall, from east to west, ranges from 1,600 to 400 mm per annum. Climatic classification is warm temperate highlands in the east and tropical savanna with some tropical steppe in the west.

The land changes, going east to west, from intensively cultivated, to moderately cultivated, to largely open bush land. Cultivation is peasant mixed plough agriculture, including livestock husbandry, with some hoe horticulture in the westernmost lowland. In the *wäyna däga*, cultivators have removed the original forest cover and replaced it, only near homesteads, with stands of eucalypts. Ethnically, ↗Amhara dominate the region. ↗Kəmant live in the south-east and ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel settlements formerly dotted the region.

Lit.: ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988; FREDERICK C. GAMST, *Travel and Research in Northwestern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1965 (Notes for Anthropologists and Other Field Workers in Ethiopia 2); ID., *The Qemant: A Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia*, New York 1969; IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AND GEOGRAPHY INSTITUTE (ed.), *Location Map of Southern Begemdir*, March 1957 [annotated by F.C. Gamst, 1964–65].

Frederick C. Gamst

Armaḥ

A. was a king of ↗Aksum (7th cent.) known from his coins, from several of the late Gəʿəz kings lists, and from a single appearance in a manuscript colophon. The latter two may simply be reflections of the former, as coins of the king are common and the discovery of such coins may have influenced the use of the name in lists or provided a suitably ancient Aksumite name to add credit to a document.

A. has the distinction of having issued the largest of all Aksumite bronze coins and the only one to show a full-length seated figure. His silver coins also exhibit an unusual design (ill.), apparently an ecclesiastical edifice, possible the Holy Sepulchre. A. – conceivably the ↗*naǧāšī* contemporary with the prophet Muḥammad – may have been the last Aksumite king to issue ↗coinage. No gold pieces of his have come to light so far: perhaps, if he was one of the very last coin-issuing kings, gold production had already ceased by A.'s reign.

Silver and copper coins of Armaḥ, drawing courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

Lit.: STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *The Coinage of Aksum*, New Delhi – Butleigh 1984; ID., *Aksum. An African Civilization of Late Antiquity*, Edinburgh 1991; ID., *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum*, London 1999; ID. — BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995.

Stuart Munro-Hay

Armanya

A. (**አርማንያ**) is a village in north Šäwa (9°53' N, 39°49' E), 200 km north of Addis Abäba along the Asmära road. It is located on the eastern escarpment of the highlands, at an altitude of 2,000 m A.S.L., about midway between the towns of Däbrä Sina and Šäwa Robit. The name is said to have originated from the period of Christian conquest, referring to Armenia in religious texts, locally believed to be a place name in Jerusalem. The same name is also found in Ankobär *wäräda*, north of ↗Ḥarr Amba.

Before the Italian conquest, the current village was farmland. There was an army camp during the occupation, but after the war the area reverted

to farmland. About 1944 A. was made the capital of ↗Mafud *wäräda*, under Mänz and Yəfat *awraǧǧa*. Administrative offices, a school, a clinic and a market were established early in this period. With the administrative reorganization about 1967, Däbrä Sina became the capital of Mafud *wäräda* and A. became the capital of Wäyr Amba *məkəttəl wäräda*. After the Revolution of 1974 it declined further to the status of a rural *qäbäle*, but the "town" continued to expand as a centre of trade. In 1989 Addis Ababa University and the University of Trondheim established a field station at A.

Src.: interviews with Tädlä Wälde, Gəzaw Dämse, Akalu Yəfra, Wälde Mərmära, 13/14 *Hədar* 1993 A.M. [22/23 November 2000 A.D.]

Svein Ege

Armbruster, Charles Hubert

A. (b. 1874, London, d. 1957, Mallorca) is important for Ethiopian studies as a scholar of the ↗Amharic language. Trained as a classicist (honours, King's College, Cambridge, 1896), A. joined the British Central African Protectorate administration in 1897 and the Sudan colonial administration in 1900, in which service he entered Ethiopia in 1906. He was senior inspector in the legal department of the Sudanese service from 1909 to 1912, was subsequently, in Gondär, consul for Northwest Ethiopia and then Major (intelligence) in the Egyptian Expeditionary Force and retired from the colonial service in 1926 (cp. Ullendorff 1957, 1990:193).

In 1908 A. published his first work on the Amharic language: a grammar in three parts entitled *Initia Amharica: an Introduction to Spoken Amharic* (1908), later followed by an *English-Amharic Dictionary with Phrases* (1910), and an *Amharic-English Dictionary* of words beginning with *h–s* (1920), all from Cambridge University Press. Unfortunately, continuation of the latter dictionary, *s–p*, never appeared, seemingly having been deferred upon interruption by World War I and, perhaps, A.'s subsequent commitment to the study of the Nubian of Dongola, Sudan. His thorough grammar (1960) and dictionary (1965) of this language appeared only after A.'s death, under other editorship.

The 1908 grammar of Amharic was phonetically innovative, induding careful transcription of vowel and consonant allophones (for example, 18 vowels are written for the seven Amharic vowel phonemes), notation of epenthetic and elidable vowels, and stress marks, and, for its time, gave unusually thorough treatment of syntax. Details and irregularities of verbal morphology were presented in a 200-pages table of the principle parts of verbs, arranged alphabetically. Unlike prior such works, the grammar emphasized accurate presentation of casual-speech pronunciations of the language. As such it remains a valuable resource for Amharic pronunciation and grammar. A.'s dictionaries have continuing value also for their thoroughness, inclusion of phonetic detail and colloquial-language full-sentence examples of word usage.

Src.: for full bibliography s. Lockot II, no. 12334, index (Lit.); for reference to reviews of A.'s studies of Amharic s. WOLF LESLAU, *Annotated Bibliography of the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, The Hague 1965.

Lit.: EDWARD ULLENDORFF, [obituary notes], *The Times* 23 April and 1 May, 1957; ID., *From the Bible to Enrico Cerulli. A Miscellany of Ethiopian and Semitic Papers*, Stuttgart 1990 (AeF 32), 193 [obituary].

Grover Hudson

Armenians

Contacts between the Ethiopian and A. nations could have taken place as early as in the 4th cent., but there is no evidence to that. Indeed, King Tiridates III of Armenia was converted to Christianity in 301 A.D., and King ↗ʿEzana of Aksum, little more than a generation later, ca. 330 A.D. The A. and Aksumites were thus the two earliest nations to officially accept the Christian religion. Both peoples regarded ↗Jerusalem as the font of their faith and could have met there

on pilgrimage. Contacts between the two peoples might also have taken place in Cairo, in the churches and monasteries of the Egyptian desert and perhaps even in Cyprus, all of which were frequented by both A. and Ethiopians (Pankhurst 1977:273–78). A. and Ethiopian clerics both rejected the Council of ↗Chalcedon of 451 A.D., separating themselves from Western Christians.

Even though early contacts between the two countries are not proved, one could speak of an image of Armenia (Gəʿəz **አርማንያ**, Armanya), which circulated in the Christian community of Ethiopia at least since the early time of the Solomonic dynasty. The Acts of St. Gregory the Illuminator and of St. Ripsima the Martyr, who were believed to have converted A., were translated into Gəʿəz. Besides, Armenia and its King Tiridates (known in Gəʿəz as Deridates) were known to Ethiopian scholars from other texts, such as the ↗*Sənkəssar*, the ↗*Kəbrä Nägäśt*, the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*, the Acts of St. Alexius, known in Ethiopia as ↗Gäbrä Krəstos, etc. (s. LusStud 64–67).

Contacts between Ethiopia and Armenia could have found further expression around 1339. It is the time to which the hagiography of ↗Ewosṭatewos, the renowned Ethiopian monk, ascribes his travel to the latter country (which must have been the then "lesser Armenia", or Cilicia) with several of his disciples. Three of them, after their master's death, returned home, together with an A. monk. Historical evidence of on-going Ethiopian-A. relations, perhaps primarily via Jerusalem, is seen in the existence of several medieval as well as post-medieval A. manuscripts bound in covers made from Gəʿəz manuscripts. The A. tended to consider these useful in that they were much stouter than those of their own country. Early religious contacts between the two peoples also led, over the years, to the compilation of a few rudimentary Gəʿəz-A. vocabularies (Pankhurst 1977:275–78).

Several travelling A. merchants, over the centuries, were adopted by Ethiopian rulers as envoys and/or trade agents. Such traders acquired this position on account of their knowledge of the Middle East, their mastery of foreign languages and their apparently strict adherence to the Christian faith. Already in the early 16th cent. Empress Ǝleni's envoy ↗Mateus, who travelled on her behalf to India and Portugal, is believed to have been an A. (Pankhurst 1977:279–89). No less renowned was *ḫoğa* ↗Murād, an A. trader born in Aleppo, who journeyed to India and the East for no less than three Gondärine emperors, ↗Fasilädäs, ↗Yoḥannəs I and ↗Iyasu I. Murād's scarcely less famous nephew ↗Murād ibn Maẓlūm travelled for the last monarch to Cairo (van Donzel 1979). The Gondärine period also witnessed the arrival in Ethiopia of three notable A.: Bishop Hovhannes, who came on a religious mission in 1678 (Pankhurst 1977:306–90); the scholar Avedik Paghtasarian, who shortly afterwards wrote a book on "The Way to Travel to Abyssinia" (Pankhurst 1977:330f.); and the jeweller and travel writer Hovhannes Thovmadjian (Yoḥannəs Ṭovmačan), who arrived in 1764 and served for over a year as *aṣe* ↗Iyoʾas's treasurer (and mentions the presence in the Ethiopian capital of several other A.; Nersessian – Pankhurst 1982:79–104). A. trade agents in Ethiopian employ were subsequently praised by the 18th-cent. Scottish traveller James Bruce. He declares that they, "of all the peoples in the East", were "the most remarkable for their patience and sobriety". "Generally masters of most of the eastern languages", they were of "strong, robust conditions, and of all people, the most attentive to the beasts and merchandise they have in charge; exceedingly faithful, and content with little" (Bruce 1790:131).

A., as well as persons of mixed Ethiopian-A. descent, played a similar role in the early 19th cent. Prominent among them was the half-A. merchant-cum-envoy Wärqe Karapet. The son of Karapet Habeshi (in Ethiopia "Garabet"), a travelling A. merchant, he undertook diplomatic missions for three provincial Ethiopian rulers: *däğğazmač* ↗Säbagadis of Təgray, *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḥaylä Maryam of Sämen and *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa. Wärqe Karapet's sons Gäbru and ↗Marča Wärqe, who were educated in a missionary school in Bombay, subsequently entered the service of Emperor ↗Yoḥannəs IV. The latter appointed Mərča to the rank of *liqä mäkʷas*, or ceremonial impersonator of the king, and despatched him on an important mission to Britain in 1884. He was accompanied by his nephew *ləğ* Yoḥannəs Mäšäša, who also rose high in the Ethiopian monarch's esteem. Other 19th-cent. envoys, of fully A. descent, induded Betlehem, who served *däğğazmač* Wəbe, and Polos Margarean, from Sivas in Asia Minor, who travelled to Egypt on behalf of Mənilək II in 1875, and became known as *hayrik*, or 'father', of the A. community. A number of able A. craftsmen were also active in Ethiopia at this

time, most notably the jeweller Dikran Ebeyan, who, besides importing fire-arms, made ↗crowns and ↗jewellery for Yoḥannəs IV, as well as for Mənilək of Šäwa and *nəguś* Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam (Pankhurst 1977:34ff.; 1978–79:259–75, 294–312).

The most notable member of the A. community in Mənilək's time was the redoubtable entrepreneur and merchant Sarkis Terzian. Born in Arabkir, in Asia Minor, in 1868, he arrived in Egyptian-occupied Harär in 1883. Reportedly assisting Mənilək's occupation of the city in 1887, he was later much favoured by the Ethiopian ruler, for whom in 1889 he undertook the first of several journeys to Europe in quest of fire-arms. Beside being a large-scale importer of such weapons, he ran retail shops in ↗Addis Abäba and ↗Harär. These did much to popularize the use of enamel drinking-cups, known as *Sarkis kubaya*, or Sarkis cups. He was also involved in the mechanical grinding of grain, and operated an ox-drawn cart service between then terminal of the railway at ↗Dərre Dawa and the Ethiopian capital. In 1904, he imported Addis Abäba's first steam-roller, a British Aveling and Porter traction engine, which assisted greatly in laying down the city's first modern roads. Terzian was subsequently involved in setting up an arms factory at Aqaqi and thermal baths at Fəlwəha on the outskirts of the Ethiopian capital, while one of his nephews erected a saw-mill at nearby Mänagäśa (Pankhurst 1981:366–78).

The number of A. in the Ethiopian region increased substantially during the Mənilək period, when they became prominent at Harär, Dərre Dawa, Djibouti, as well as Addis Abäba. Sympathizing with Ethiopia, their homeby adoption, at the time of the dispute with Italy in the early 1890s, several of them were actively involved in Mənilək's acquisition of fire-arms and thereby incurred considerable Italian opprobrium.

The A. community, though operating without any governmental or consular support of their own, prospered and steadily increased in numbers, particularly after the ↗ʿAdwa war. The A. of Ethiopia consisted for the most part of entrepreneurs, traders and craftsmen and worked as ironware merchants, saddlers and tailors, as well as carpet-makers, many of them attached to the palace, jewellers, metal-workers and subsequently also photographers. There were also a significant number of A. in Ethiopian Government service, notably as purchasers of supplies, controllers, accountants, auditors and engineers. A. were also represented in the professions by doctors, dentists, pharmacists, engineers and mechanics, teachers and interpreters. No less than five of the latter were attached to the foreign diplomatic missions in Addis Abäba, i.e. those of Germany, Italy, France, the United States and Egypt (Pankhurst 1981:379–99).

Addis Abäba's A. community, at the end of Mənilək's reign, numbered over 150 and was thought by the Italian legation physician Lincoln de Castro to be the largest foreign group in the country. The capital by then had its own "A. quarter", with many fine houses set in capacious gardens, often with fruit-trees (Mérab 1921–29, vol. 2, 103f.; de Castro 1915, vol. 1, 218f.). The city's A. population by 1935 had risen to around 1,200, with a further 1,600 in the provinces. The community, after that of the Arabs, Greeks and Indians, was thus the fourth largest in the country (Zervos 1936:415, 497).

Krikorios Boghossian (b. 1868, d. 1938), an A. entrepreneur and businessman at the time of Mənilək and Ḫaylä Śəllase I, was among the most prominent representatives of the community at that time. Born in Bardizag near Constantinople, he became a copper-smith, before making his way to Ethiopia via the Gulf of Aden port of ↗Obok in 1895, reportedly a journey of 20 days. On arrival in Addis Abäba, he began importing decorations for the doaks worn on court capes and emerged as one of Mənilək's leading business agents. He was also a retail vendor of silks, perfumes, and hardware. Allegedly the first A. of his time to marry an Ethiopian wife, he played an important role in the establishment of Ethiopia's A. Council (Zervos 1936:195, 497f.).

Notable A. in business and the profession, during the Mənilək and Ḫaylä Śəllase periods, included Hagop Bagdassarian, who established the Addis Abäba mint, as well as a printing-press and a jewellery business; Krikor Howayan, an engineer, who built the capital's A. school; Bedros Boyadjian, one of the city's first court photographers; Levon Yazedjian, another early court photographer; Matig Kevorkoff, one of the capital's leading businessmen, who was on the Bank of Ethiopia's board of directors and funded the establishment of the city's A. school, which was for many years known by his name; Abraham Koeurhadjian, who acted as financial adviser to *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən and travelled on many international journeys for him; Minas Kher-

bekian, who was involved in Addis Abäba road- and bridge-building; the brothers Elias and George Djerrahian, who founded the capital's principal printing-press (↗Artistic Printing Press); Stephan Darakdjian and Yessaye Garikian, who independently set up two of the first major tanneries; Stefan Papazian, an artist, who designed some of Ḫaylä Śəllase's first postage stamps; Haig Patapan, who served as a foreign press correspondent; Kevork Nalbandian, a musician, who composed the first Ethiopian national anthem; and many others, prominent in Addis Abäba, as well as in several provincial centres, among them Harär, Dərre Dawa, Ǧimma, Gore, Gambella and Yərga ᶜAläm (Pankhurst 1981:379–99).

A., because of their monophysite Christian faith, traditionally often made use of Ethiopian Orthodox churches for their weddings and funerals and taught their children at home. All this changed, however, in the first decades of the 20th cent. An A. school was erected in Addis Abäba in 1918, and the first A. chapel in 1923. An A. Sports Club followed in 1930, and an A. church in 1935. An interesting event in the history of A.-Ethiopian relations was the visit of *ras* Täfäri to Jerusalem in 1924, when he gave asylum to forty A. orphans. Popularly known as the *arba ləǧočč*, they grew up as craftsmen, jewellers, tailors, shoemakers, watch-repairers and the like, and also formed an A. choir (Pankhurst 1981:399f.).

Src.: EMERI JOHANNES VAN DONZEL, *Foreign Relations of Ethiopia 1642–1700. Documents Relating to the Journeys of Khodja Murad*, Leiden 1979; BruNile 131; LINCOLN DE CASTRO, *Nella terra dei negus, pagine racolte in Abissinia*, Milano 1915; ETIENNE MÉRAB, *Impressions d'Éthiopie. Abyssinie sous Ménélik II*, Paris 1921–29; ADRIEN ZERVOS, *L'empire d'Éthiopie. Le miroir de l'Éthiopie moderne 1906–1936*, Alexandria 1936, 195, 415, 497f.

Lit.: LusStud 64-67; DIMITRI A. OLDEROGGE, "Ancient Relationships between Armenia and Ethiopia (from the History of the Alphabet)", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 195–203; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of Ethiopian-Armenian Relations", *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 12, 1977, 273–345; *ibid.* 13, 1978–79, 259–312; *ibid.* 15, 1981, 355–400; VRANT NERSESSIAN – RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Visit of Yohannes T'ovmačean, an Armenian Jeweller, in 1764–66", *JES* 15, 1982, 79–104.

Richard Pankhurst

Army

The army of the Aksumites

The organization of the Aksumite A. (the existence of a navy is also implicit, but we have no reliable details) is to some extent known to us through inscriptions. The king seems to have been supreme commander. The ↗*Monumentum Adulitanum* records: "I entered valiantly into battle … I fought … I vanquished and conquered, in battles wherein I personally took part". On the other hand, the king "sent an expedition by sea and land against the peoples living on the other side of the Erythraean Sea", and notes: "some I fought myself, against others I sent my armies".

DAE 4, 6 and 7 (cp. Uhlig 2001), and the Gäza Agmay inscription, note that King ↗ᶜEzana sent his two brothers Śəᶜazana and Ḥadefan to fight the ↗Beğa, while in the South Arabian inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqīs the *naǧāšī* GDRT and ʾḎBH are recorded as sending "sons of the *naǧāši*" called BYGT and GRMT with expeditionary forces of ↗Ḥabašāt and Arab allies. One of the al-Misᶜal inscriptions also mentions an unnamed son of the *naǧāšī* at Ẓafār with troops from al-Maᶜāfir. Evidently sometimes royal princes were employed as generals. Perhaps on occasion these were no more than figurehead leaders.

The Aksumite A. was based on **ሰራዊት** (*särawit*, sg. *särwe*), contingents of unknown numerical strength. We have only a few hints as to the possible size of the A. The most reliable is Procopius, who states that King ↗Kaleb sent 3,000 men to the Yemen to punish the usurper there, but they deserted to ↗Abraha. Later Arab writers increase the size of the armies imaginatively: 70,000 men were sent under ↗Aryaṭ (Ibn Isḥāq 1955; aṭ-Ṭabarī 1919), while the enemy had 5,000 men at Ṣanᶜāʾ. A further 100,000 men were supposedly sent later under Abraha. After Abraha's coup another 4,000 came, again with Aryaṭ. An inscription of Yūsuf claims that he took 11,000 prisoners.

Each contingent was designated by a name, such as Ḥara, Ḥalen, Damawa, Säbärat, Ḥadefan, Sabaha, Dakʷen, Laken, Fälḥa, Sera, Məṭin, Mäḥaza. In some cases these could refer to a district levy, carrying the regional name, but others resemble the *bisi*-title of the Aksumite kings, meaning 'man of …'; Ḥalen for *bisi* Ḥalen; Ḥadefan for *bisi* Ḥadefan; and Dakʷen for *bisi* Dakhu. If it is correct to view this title as originating from the clan name of the queen-mother, the troop might be raised from among that clan's people. It has also been suggested on rather uncertain linguistic evidence that the

troop-names referred to function, identifying commando, elephant-fighter, and infantry units. The various *särwe* were commanded by leaders designated (in inscription DAE 9) as *nägäśt*, the plural of ↗*nəguś* ('king'); perhaps this is just a special use of the term (or perhaps in the case of some regional *särawit* regional kings were themselves the leaders of their local contingents). A *särwe* could be sent by the king to a certain trouble spot, alone or grouped with others.

Camping places furnished with provisions requisitioned from the enemy are noted in DAE 8 and DAE 9, with beasts of burden, men and women (porters?). Water-carriers are also mentioned in DAE 9. After a campaign, on several occasions King ʿEzana offered statues and a throne, presumably carved with an inscription recounting the campaign, was dedicated. The plunder and the people killed or taken prisoner (50 of whom DAE 10 records were given to ↗Mäḥräm, the king's tutelary deity, as sacrifices, or perhaps as workers) were carefully listed in the Aksumite inscriptions.

↗Aksum; ↗Cavalry; ↗Infantry; ↗Weapons

Src.: DAE IV, nos. 4, 6–10, MUḤAMMAD IBN ISḤĀQ, *The Life of Muḥammad: a Translation of Isḥāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, tr. by ALFRED GUILLAUME, Oxford 1955, 20; PROCOPIUS, *History of the Wars*, ed. by HENRY BRONSON DEWING, vols. 6, Cambridge 1914, 191; AṬ-ṬABARĪ, *Chronique de Abou-Djafar-Moḥammed-Ben-Djarir-Ben Yezid Tabari,* ed., tr. by HERMANN ZOTENBERG, Paris 1919, vol. 2; SIEGBERT UHLIG, "Eine trilinguale ʿEzana-Inschrift", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 7–31.

Lit.: STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *Aksum. An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity*, Edinburgh 1991, 214–32 (Lit.); MAXIME RODINSON, "Sur une nouvelle inscription du règne de Dhou Nowas", *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 26, 1/2, 1969, 26–33; SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270*, Addis Ababa 1972, 95.

Stuart Munro-Hay

Army in 13th–20th centuries

In Amharic general terms meaning 'military service', 'army' are **ሰራዊት** *särawit* or **የጦር ሰራዊት** *yäṭor särawit*. In Gəʿəz, Təgre, Təgrañña and Amharic the word 'soldier' is connected with the root *gsgs* 'to walk rapidly', 'to leave early in the morning (in order to go somewhere)' hence **ገስጋሽ** (*gäsgaš*) 'one who sets out at dawn', 'fast traveller' was used in Amharic in former times as 'a soldier'. In modern Amharic the word **ወታደር** (*wättaddär*) is used.

In former times the soldiery constituted a privileged stratum among the rural population. A. was a burden neither to the crown and magnates nor to the state treasury due to the system of soldier payment. In the regions of the inherited land property (↗*rəst* regions) where the imperial control was performed indirectly, the *gäsgaš* was a farmer-hereditary owner. He came under the local administration, was freed entirely or in part from dues during the time of peace in exchange for the military service in the case of war. The soldiers were recruited from among the local population.

From at least the 15th cent. emperors had the disposition of their own military troops, usually smaller in number than those of the provincial governors and never outnumbering their total. These emperors' regiments were meant to defend the emperor and could be sent by him either to conquest or to put down the revolts in other provinces. In the regions governed directly by the imperial authority (*qälad agär* 'measured land') the land belonging to the imperial reserves was handed over to soldiers by the central government as a payment. In these areas the soldiery was a contingent under the emperor's control represented by members of the Amhara ethnic group who settled there after the conquest. *Aṣe* ↗Mənilək II at the end of the 19th cent. introduced the tax assigned to the army which was to be paid throughout the country without exceptions. This tax called ↗*ʿaśrat* was collected by the central authority and allocated to the upkeep of soldiers. Since then the army under the direct emperor's command was growing in number. In 1907 Mənilək established a number of armies belonging to the dignitaries appointed by him as ministers. They were obliged to support the soldiers and give them to the emperor on his demand.

Some traditional terms denoting the layers of Ethiopian A. differ according to the region and the time, i.e.: in the 19th cent. **ግንደበል** (*gəndäbäl*) is a term used to describe a farmer-soldier who is obliged to serve and transport army tents in times of war. In periods of peace they had to keep the mules or horses belonging to the central authority. We come across the term *gəndäbäl* in Šäwa at least from the 17th cent. up to the 20th cent. On 12 July 1935 *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I announced the recruitment of *gəndäbäl* from Šäwa to the Imperial Guard. They were bound to maintain the Guard's mules (two *gəndäbäl* kept one mule) and were given the

Cavalrymen in 1935, photo private collection of André Evalet

right to bear arms. The recruitment covered around 4,000 *gəndäbäl*.

Since 1920 *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I began to organize the army according to the European model. First he sent Ethiopians to European military schools and invited European instructors to Ethiopia. Next, in 1934 he founded the military academy in Ethiopia. He also introduced the European structure of the army hierarchy and the European officers titles. The members of the army organized like the European armies were paid a regular salary in money and were not maintained by land donations. The Ethiopian and European A. systems coexisted in Ethiopia until the 1974 revolution.

Src.: *śäḥafe tə'əzaz* GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE, **ታሪክ፡ ዘመን፡ ዘጸግሞ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ** (*Tarikä zämän zädagmawi Mənilək nəguśä nägäśt zä'ityopya*, 'Chronicle of Mənilək II, King of Kings of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], 99 (tr. as GueCop-Men); *blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **ዝክረ፡ ነገር** (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba ²1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 115–22.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Traditional Ethiopian Army and its Weapons", paper presented at the *Social Science Conference*, Nairobi 1969 [mimeographed]; BERHANOU ABÉBÉ, *Evolution de la propriété foncière au Choa (Ethiopie) du règne de Mènèlik à la Constitution de 1931*, Paris 1971; JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *The Role of Land Tenure in the System of Ethiopian Imperial Government in Modern Times*, Warszawa 1980.

Joanna Mantel-Niećko

Army under Ḫaylä Śəllase I

The contemporary A. is the oldest and largest of the three branches of the Ethiopian armed forces. Closely mirroring the multinational society out of which it was forged, it evolved parallel to, and indeed as a backbone of, the absolutist state that Ḫaylä Śəllase erected between 1930 and 1974. The A. was built with financial and technical assistance from foreign powers, most notably Great Britain and the United States of America.

The foundation of the A. was laid in the decade preceding the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935–36 as an integral part of the centralization of state power. Its nucleus was the Imperial Guard, which was established in 1929 with Belgian assistance. The officer corps was trained, first, at the St. Cyr military academy in France, and then at the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Military Training School at Holäta (↗Military Academies), founded in 1934 and managed by a Swedish military mission. Composed of 5,000 men organized into four infantry battalions, the nascent A. was pulverized by the Italians, who interrupted its historical evolution. In the first phase of the post-liberation period, the British undertook the task of reorganizing and modernizing the A. When they were replaced by the Americans in 1953, they had trained and organ-

ized a fighting force of about 18,000 men. Under American patronage, it expanded to more than 41,000, consisting of four infantry divisions. In 1958, the prestigious Ḫaylä Śəllase I Military Academy was opened in Harär and it soon dwarfed the Holäta School, which had been reopened in 1941. In its social make-up, the A. was a reflection of Ethiopian society; it was multiethnic, although the Amhara and Oromo predominated both in the rank and file and officer corps.

Politically, the A. had remained docile until 1960, when a segment of it unsuccessfully attempted to overthrow the Emperor. In 1974, however, the soldiers did depose the autocratic ruler, eliminate the monarchy and seize power. A new chapter in the A. history was opened.

Lit.: ERNEST W. LEFEVER, *Spear and Scepter. Army, Police and Politics in Tropical Africa*, Washington 1970; DONALD N. LEVINE, "The Military in Ethiopian Politics. Capabilities and Constraints", in: HENRY BIENEN (ed.), *The Military Intervenes. Case Studies in Political Development*, New York 1968; BAFFOUR AGYMAN-DUAH, *The United States and Ethiopia. Military Assistance and the Quest for Security, 1953–1993*, New York 1994.

Gebru Tareke

Aroid

A. refers to a language group of south-western Ethiopia, which includes ↗Aari, the ↗Hamar cluster (Hamär, with Banna and Karo) and ↗Dime and forms a sub-branch of the ↗Omotic language family. Bender first coined this name in the 1970s. It has also been called South Omotic or Eastern Omotic. These three languages are distributed side by side in the lower ↗Omo area, with the southernmost, Hamär, extending to the Kenyan border. Their classification has been controversial, mainly due to the paucity of reliable data. But since it has become clear that they show good phonetic correspondences and share high percentages of cognates, it is beyond doubt that they constitute a coherent group within the Omotic languages.

The influence of the neighbouring ↗Nilo-Saharan languages can be seen in such phenomena as the existence of the Advanced Tongue Root feature in the Hamär vowel system or the plural forms of the independent pronouns.

A. languages basically have a five-vowel system, except for Dime. Amongst the consonant phonemes, they have both ejectives and implosives. It seems that tone or accent is not distinctive in this group.

In sharp contrast to the North Omotic languages, A. does not mark the nominative case, but does mark the accusative and some other cases. The accusative marker is *-m*, while it is *-n* in North Omotic Verbs inflect according to number, gender and person. Converbs forms are found, as in most other languages of Ethiopia.

The basic word order is Subject–Object–Verb and there are many postpositions in use.

None of the A. languages is written and there are very few works on their oral literature.

Bender has been very active in the comparative work of A. and published several articles. But good lexicons and precise linguistic descriptions are still lacking. Sociolinguistic and linguistic-geographical works are also needed. Among the languages, Karo needs urgent research as its speakers are very few today.

Lit.: MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, "Comparative Aroid (South Omotic) Syntax and Morphosyntax", *AuÜ* 74, 1991, 87–110; ID., "Aroid (South Omotic) Lexicon", *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 38, 1994, 133–62; ID., *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*, München 2000; YOICHI TSUGE, "On the Consonant Correspondences of South Omotic Languages", in: SHUN SATO – EISEI KURIMOTO (eds.), *Essays in Northeast African Studies*, Osaka 1996 (Senri Ethnological Studies 43), 163–88.

Yoichi Tsuge

Aron of Däbrä Daret

A. (**ኦሮን**, also known as Aron Mänkərawi, 'A. the wonder-worker', or Ǝčče Aron), according to his Acts (*Gädlä Aron*), was born in the Gäbbəya [Gämbəya] region, in the locality of Säg^{w}ada, perhaps in the first half of the 14th cent. He was consecrated a deacon and spent many years in his region serving in "the place of Giyorgis" (*mäkanä Giyorgis*, Turaiev 1905:124). As he decided to become a monk, he joined the monastery of ↗Bäṣälota Mika^{ə}el at Däbrä Gol. There, having witnessed his exceptional piety and wisdom, the monks elected him as archdeacon (*liqä diyaqonat*) and bursar (*mäggabi*) of the community.

A. took part in the 14th-cent. controversy between the Ethiopian kings and monks. As the twelve monastic leaders (*mämhəran*) lead by the bishop ↗Ya^{ᶜ}aqob were about to denounce the king's marriage to the widow of his father, Bäṣälota Mika^{ə}el, who was among them, summoned A., who came to the royal court leading the other 72 monks from Däbrä Gol (Turaiev

1905:127). A. was severely bitten and tortured and exiled, and afterwards suffered further torture and exile repeatedly.

A. is said to have founded monasteries in those regions where he and his pupils wandered: Angot, Təgray, Tämben etc., till he stayed for seven years at Däbrä Qäṭin, near the Täkkäze river, where a rock-church was built (Turaiev 1905:136). A. soon became famous in the neighbouring regions of Mäqet and Asasa, Wadla and Dawant.

Being accused of having slandered *aṣe* ↗Säyfä Arᶜad, he was again subjected to a period of torture and exile (this time to Dara and Zängo, near Lake ↗Zʷay; s. Turaiev 1905:145). In the end, however, A. was pardoned by the monarch. He returned to Däbrä Qäṭin, but soon moved to Däbrä Daret (or Däbrä Faran) nearby. He had founded the churches of Arate, Däbrä Matayä and Däbrä Maryam at Guna before he died on 5 *Mäskäräm* and was buried at Däbrä Daret.

In the western part of Wadla there is a rock-hewn church called Däbrä Abunä Aron, which is said to have been built by the Saint and his pupils (Sauter 1963:272, no. 64). A monastery of the same name nearby, not far from Mäqet, also seems to be a foundation of A. (cp. Wright 1957:7ff.).

Src.: BORIS TURAIEV (ed., tr.), *Vitæ sanctorum indigenarum II. Acta S. Aaronis et Philippi*, 2 vols., Louvain 1905 (CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]), 111–58 (text), 113–69 (tr.); ID., *Vita Aaronis mirabilis* (*Thaumaturgi*), Petropoli 1902 (Monumenta Aethiopiae Hagiologica 2), 37–72; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Täklä Haymanot", *RSE* 29, 1982/83, 7–38.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos, capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo la 'lista rimata' (sec. XIV–XVIII)", *Orientalia* new ser. 12, 1943, 226–53, here 236–43; CerLett 57–64; KinBibl 65, no. 22; TadTChurch s. index; SAMUEL WOLDE-YOHANNES, *Il fondo umanistico dei modelli e degli ideali dei gadl. Ricerca linguistico-filosofica su alcuni testi del XV secolo etiopico*, Roma 1996; ROGER SAUTER, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92; BORIS TURAEV, *Issledovaniya v oblasti agiologicheskih istochnikov istorii Efiopii* ('A Study on the Hagiographic Sources on the History of Ethiopia'), St. Petersburg 1902, 130–54; STEPHEN WRIGHT, "Notes on some Cave Churches in the Province of Wallo", *AE* 2, 1957, 7–13.

Samuel Wolde Yohannes, Red.

Aron of Gälila

The monk A. (**አሮን**) of Gälila (Təgray) lived in the 14th cent. and was a member of the monastic movement known as ↗Ewosṭateans (*Däqiqä Ewosṭatewos*). In the *Sənkəssar* reading for 30 *Mäskäräm*, A. is mentioned together with ↗Absadi as one of the "great teachers" of ↗Däbrä Maryam, but the written documents produced in that monastery do not recall him. According to oral traditions, he is one of the "seven disciples" of Ewosṭatewos and the founder of a monastery on Mount Dämmo Gälila, south-east of Aksum. He is not to be confused with the homonymous founder of Ənda Abba Aron (s. KinBibl no. 23) in the Qʷärräro district of the Šire province of Təgray. There is no information about the existence of a *Gädlä Aron*.

Lit.: KinBibl 65, no. 23; BudSaint, 105; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'Evangelo d'oro di Däbrä Libānos", *RRALm* ser. 5, 10, 1901, 177–219, here 179 [n. 2]; ID., "Un santo eritreo: Buruk Amlāk", *RRALm* ser. 6, 14, 1938, 3–50, here 6; LusStud 9f.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Aron of Kətur ↗ Saints, local

Arqiqo ↗ Ḥərgigo

ᶜArse

ᶜA. (**ዐርሴ**), mentioned in chronides from 1695 to 1708, was an officer in *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I's army. He was a *qäññazmač* in 1695 and a *grazmač* in 1696. He is only known through appearing briefly three times in *aṣe* Iyasu's official history (GuiIohan).

Another chronicle (BassÉt 176) mentions a certain Qäbäro ᶜA. who was exiled to Afsa on 2 September 1708 for opposing the new king ↗Tewoflos. It is not clear whether it is the same person.

The name ᶜA. also appears in the short chronicles edited by Dombrowski, where a certain *abba* ᶜA., *ṣäḥafe tə'əzaz*, appears in the account for the year 1721 (DombrChr 273), and a *käntiba* ᶜA. is reported to have died in Lədäta on 6 October 1726 (ibid. 284).

Src.: GuiIohan 180, 194, 198; BassÉt 176; DombrChr 273, 284.

Dimitri Toubkis

Arsi

Arsi ethnography

The A. (**ኦርሲ**, Arssi, Arussi) constitute one of the largest branches of the ↗Oromo, inhabiting most of south-central and south-eastern Ethiopia. They occupy the Bale-Arsi highlands, the adjacent lowlands in the south, the Rift Valley, east-

An Arsi grave in its original shape, 1952/55, photo by Eike Haberland © Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (photo no. 27-Ha097-31)

ern Sidamo and western Harärge. The A. are known in old documents (BeckHuntAlm 111–30) as *warantiča* ('the warriors') because of their reputation in warfare, but they never used this name. Many A. still inhabit the ↗Bale highlands, which are generally regarded as the Oromo cradleland, although many of them have moved north and north-east over many generations. Here they integrated with and absorbed the pre-Oromo population (Sidama-Hadiyya), who are now totally Oromized after generations of cultural interaction, adoption and marriage (Abbas Haji Gnamo 1990; VSAe II; MHasOr).

The A. occupy one of the most fertile lands in the territory now called Oromiyaa, with a great variety of relief and topography, ranging from mountains such as ↗Čəlalo, Kakka, Batu, etc., to dry valley regions. The country is crossed and served by several main rivers and their tributaries. Historically, the A. constituted a pastoral society engaged in transhumance activity, which was facilitated by the interdependence of clans residing in the different climatic zones. Due to the imperial conquest, the consequent land alienation and the diminution of their herds during the 19th cent., they have become an agro-pastoral society in which cattle still plays important social and ritual roles. Highlanders largely depend on agriculture for livelihood, whereas pastoralism is still predominant in arid lands. Moreover, over many decades, mechanized agriculture has been practised in different parts, in particular Čəlalo province.

Today, the A. country is inhabited not only by the A. but also by the Šäwan Oromo (↗Tuulama), ↗Gurage and ↗Amhara. All these "newcomers" are often locally called ↗*näftäññä* ('armed settlers'), although many are people descended from poor farmers from the north. The Amhara arrived during and after the period of conquest at the end of the 19th cent. as soldiers and settlers. Throughout the 20th cent., particularly in the 1930s, this fertile land continued to attract many immigrants from the north, whom the government encouraged for economic, political and demographic reasons.

The A. are divided into two sociological, but not exogamous, moieties known as Sikko and Mando. These moieties are subdivided into at least 200 patrilineal and patrilocal *gosa* ('clans'), which are segmented into hundreds or thousands of lineages (*balbala*) and families (*warra*). The A. have a complex network of kinship relations, marriage-alliances and friendships and form one of the most cohesive Oromo groups. This cohesion and unity permitted them to put up the strongest and most protracted resistance against the Ethiopian imperial conquest in the 1880s and 1890s. This bitter resistance later exposed them to harsh treatment (↗Anole) and brutal administration at the hands of the victorious Ethiopian army and the subsequent governors.

Their descent system is exclusively patrilineal and the residence pattern is, although relatively flexible, patrilocal. Even after they lost control over a significant part of their land to the government and the newcomers, all major clans and lineages remained localized units. Historically, the clans are exogamous. However, some individuals have started, under the influence of ↗Islam, to arrange marriage within their clan or with their cousins.

In the political realm, the A., like all Oromo people, were organized under the *gadaa-qaalluu* system (↗*Gadaa*, ↗*qaalluu*; s. Asmarom Legesse 2000; VSAe II). Until the beginning of the 20th cent., when they were completely defeated and incorporated, the *gadaa-qaalluu* and the kinship structure provided the institutional mechanism for the harmonious functioning of the society. There are still thousands of A. in the Bale highlands who observe the *gadaa* ceremonies.

Despite some Islamic influences and early contacts with Islamized societies (Braukämper 1987), it was the imperial conquest and the consequent collapse or weakening of local institutions which accelerated the process of conversion. The A. embraced Islam *en masse*, beginning at the end of the 19th cent., to main-

tain cultural distance from the Christian rulers, thus preserving their identity through a process of change. From an early stage, their Islam was syncretic in nature and closely associated with the cult of *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn of Bale. His shrine in Anağina remains a centre of attraction and interaction for the A. as well as millions of Muslims in the Horn of Africa.

The A. are undergoing a rapid change in many domains due to their conquest and consequent incorporation within the empire and contacts with other cultures and peoples.

Src.: MARTIAL DE SALVIAC, *Un peuple antique ou une colonie gauloise au pays de Ménélik. Les Galla, grand nation africaine*, Paris 1901; BeckHuntAlm 111–30 [BAḪREY, *History of the Galla*]; GueCopMen.

Lit.: ABBAS HAJI GNAMO, *Les Oromo-Arsi, continuité et évolutions des institutions d'une société éthiopienne*, Ph.D. thesis, Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne 1990; ID., "La conquête impériale éthiopienne des Oromo Arsi 1882–1892", *Africa* 54, 1, 1999, 85–115; ID., "Le culte de Shaikh Hussein dans L'Islam des Arsi", *Islam et société au Sud du Sahara* 5, 1991, 21–42; ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Oromo Democracy: an Indigenous African Political System*, Lawrenceville – Asmara 2000; PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER – URI ALMAGOR, *Age, Generation, and Time: Some Features of East African Age Organisations*, London 1978; PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER – JAN HULTIN – ALESSANDRO TRIULZI (eds.), *Being and Becoming Oromo: Historical and Anthropological Enquiries*, Uppsala 1996; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "Vestiges médiévaux et renouveau musulman sur les hauts plateaux éthiopiens", in: FRANÇOIS CONSTANTIN (ed.), *Les Voies de l'Islam en Afrique orientale*, Paris 1987, 21–33; ENRICO CERULLI, *The Folk Literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia*, Cambridge, MA 1922 (Harvard African Studies 3); VSAe II 406–516; MHasOr.

Abbas Haji Gnamo

Arsi province

Prior to the 16th cent., the A. (till 1974: Arussi) territory was a part of ↗Däwaro and of the ↗Hadiyya sultanate. It was conquered by *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase after six campaigns from 1881 to 1886 and received the status of a province, which *ras* Darge governed until his death in 1900. The Italians (↗Italian war 1935–36) placed it under the governorate of ↗Harär and made it a *comissariato*. The restored imperial government promoted A. as a governorate-general and then in the 1960s added its western *awraǧǧa* (Kämbata) to Šäwa Governorate-General (cf. Perham 1948; Huffnagel 1961). The A. Governorate-General (1942–74) and then region (1974–91) was divided into three: ↗Č̣alalo (with the capital Asälla), ↗Arba Gudu (capital: Tənsa'e Bərhan [Abomsa]) and ↗Təǫo (Robi). A. continued as a province until the reordering of provincial administration in 1992 when, with the creation of the Oromiyaa *kəlla* ('state'), A. became a zone within it (↗Administrative division).

The A. zone coincides with the highlands which tower over a graben 1,000 m above the Awaš to the north and the Rift to the west. It is named after the A. Oromo, who form the majority of the population of the zone. These cereal plough-cultivators are mainly located in densely populated nuclei (111 inhabitants per km²) on plateaux above 2,000 m, overlooked by almost empty volcanic ranges: the Gugu Mountains (3,625 m) to the north, the Diddaa heights and mainly Mount Č̣alalo (4,139 m) to the centre, and Mount Qäča/Kaka (4,190 m) to the south. These mountains, with their forests, which suffered severe fire-damage in 2000, and their summits crowned with high-altitude pastures serve as a natural protection for the Bale Mountains National Park.

The rich harvests on the highlands provide food for the neighbouring capital. But until the 1975 Agrarian Reform, A. peasants did not draw much benefit from this. This was because *aṣe* Mənilək II was exasperated with their resistance and divided their land into huge concessions, which he distributed to reward his generals, thus reducing the peasantry to the state of ↗*gäbbar* through a system of precarious tenancy. The Č̣alalo Agricultural Development Unit (CADU), an integrated rural development project launched in the Č̣alalo *awraǧǧa* at the end of Ḫaylä Śəllase I's reign, failed for the lack of any reform of the tenure system. The CADU, managed by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), improved the agricultural techniques and living conditions of the A. But to their dismay, the Swedes soon found out that the machinery they had introduced was being used to evict the precarious tenants. The Swedish Government then threatened to pull out if Ḫaylä Śəllase did not implement an agrarian reform. Eventually, the ↗Revolution put an end to the traditional tenure system. The *Därg* extended the SIDA area of operation to the whole of the A. region (ARDU) and later to the Bale region (BARDU).

In 1979 Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam, after initiating the "Green" Revolution, decided to use the region as a showcase for the new socialist mechanized agriculture. Huge statefarms were extended at the expense of small farmers, who were

regarded as kulaks with a spirit of routine and were reduced to the state of salaried workers. In order to overcome the reluctance of the peasants, Mängəśtu launched in the A. region one of the most radical villagization campaigns in 1985–86. The authorities forced all families to pull down their huts and to build themselves houses on the roadside, reproducing an approved model, in order to form new villages (*addis mändär*) under the supervision of the single party. The Swedes preferred to leave the A. region rather than to condone such forced gatherings of population. In spite of these unfortunate episodes, the agricultural production has so far kept to a good level. The population of the former region has continued to rise. It increased from 850,000 inhabitants in 1970 to 1,660,000 inhabitants in 1984 and it was estimated at 2,640,000 in 2000. The western part (the *wäräda* of Č̣ələlo) is the densest and its population is growing faster than in other parts of the zone, as it is fuelled by the dynamics of the capital ↗Asälla (63,621 inhabitants), which has seen a four-fold increase of its figures since 1970. The A. area was in the forefront of the battle for Oromo identity. After they were defeated by the Šäwans, a great number of A. showed their opposition by converting to Islam. The Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church and the Catholic and Protestant missions cannot cope with the proselytism of the Evangelical and Pentecostal Churches.

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *Ethiopia. Statistical Abstract 1999*, Addis Ababa, March 2000; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988; MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *An Atlas of Ethiopia*, revised ed., Asmera 1971.

Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "The Islamicization of the Arssi Oromo", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 767–77; ØYVIND M. EIDE, *Revolution and Religion in Ethiopia. The Growth and Persecution of the Mekane Yesus Church 1974–85*, Oxford – Athens – Addis Ababa ²2000 (Eastern African Studies); JOHN M. COHEN, *Integrated Rural Development. The Ethiopian Experience and the Debate*, Uppsala 1987; JOHN M. COHEN – NILS-IVAR ISAKSSON, *Villagization in the Arsi Region of Ethiopia* (*Report Prepared by SIDA Consultants to the Ethio-Swedish Mission on Villagization in Arsi Region*, December 1–14, 1986), Uppsala 1987; JOHN M. COHEN – DOV WEINTRAUB, *Land and Peasants in Imperial Ethiopia, the Social Background to a Revolution*, Assen 1975; ALAIN GASCON, "Les 'bastides' d'Éthiopie. Les villes fortes de Menilek dans le sud de l'Éthiopie et l'urbanisation contemporaine", in: BENOÎT ANTHEAUME – FLORENCE PINTON (eds.), *Tropiques. Lieux et liens*, Paris 1989, 435–44; ID., *La Grande Éthiopie, une utopie africaine. Éthiopie ou Oromie, l'intégration des hautes terres du Sud*, Paris 1995; MARGERY PERHAM, *The Government of Ethiopia*, London 1948; FOOD AND AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS (ed., with H. P. HUFFNAGEL), *Agriculture in Ethiopia*, Roma 1961; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Galla of Ethiopia. The Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero*, London 1955 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa. North Eastern Africa, part 2); MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972; MHasOr.

Alain Gascon

Art ↗ Architecture; ↗ Handicrafts; ↗ Jewellery; ↗ Manuscripts; ↗ Painting

Art exhibitions

The first exhibition of Ethiopian art took place in 1868 in the Crystal Palace, London. The objects displayed there were brought to England by Sir Richard Holmes. Most of the artefacts (manuscripts, church paraphernalia, textiles, weapons) originated from Wällo and Bägemdər. They were collected by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II and kept in his fortress of ↗Mäqdäla (Dalton 1921).

In 1955, on the occasion of the 25th Jubilee of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I, an exhibition of Ethiopian antiquities (crosses, crowns, paintings, manuscripts) from the churches of Səmen and Bägemdər was displayed in Gondär in the palace of Fasilädäs. Some of the objects (mostly the illuminated manuscripts) were photographed by Otto A. Jäger (1957, 1960).

In 1963–64 Ethiopian artefacts (manuscripts, paintings on wood, crosses, church paraphernalia) formed part of an exhibition of Christian art from Africa held in Essen, Germany (Villa Hügel; s. Volbach 1963), Wien, Austria (Mu-

seum für Völkerkunde; s. Wessel 1964) and Paris, France (Petit Palais; s. du Bourguet 1964).

In 1966 in Warsaw, Poland, at the National Museum, a large collection of Ethiopian crosses belonging to the Polish traveller Wacław Korabiewicz was exhibited (Korabiewicz 1966).

During 1974–75 an exhibition of Ethiopian art promoted by the German ambassador to Ethiopia, Rudolf Fechter, with over 100 items, toured Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Sweden (Raunig 1975). In France, the same exhibition (Paris, Petit Palais) had been enriched (to over 300 items) by objects from French collections (Leclant 1974).

In 1978 the Peabody Museum of Salem (Massachusetts) hosted the Elisabeth Langmuir collection, composed of over 50 items (paintings on parchment and wood, crosses, church paraphernalia; s. Langmuir et al. 1978). In 1978, the Harry Rayfield collection (paintings on cloth and wood, processional and hand-crosses) was exhibited in the Art Gallery of New York University (Chojnacki 1978).

In 1983 an exhibition entitled "Ethiopia. Folk Art of a Hidden Empire", including artefacts given by Mr. and Mrs. Baumberger to the Mingei International Museum of World Folk Art and other objects from private collections, was held in conjunction with the Smithsonian Institution's Traveling Exhibition of a collection of objects from the Langmuir collection of the Peabody Museum of Salem (Perczel 1983).

In 1985 120 Ethiopian paintings executed between circa 1850 and 1980 from German and Swiss collections were shown at the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich (Girma Fisseha – Raunig 1985).

In 1993 an exhibition devoted to Ethiopian traditional medicine and the art of talismans was held in Paris at the Musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie (Mercier 1992).

An exhibition composed of about 120 Ethiopian artefacts (mss., paintings on wood, crosses, coins) and entitled "African Zion. The Sacred Art of Ethiopia" was shown in 1993 in Baltimore (Walters Art Gallery) and subsequently toured the USA for two years (Heldman et al. 1993).

In 1994 an exhibition of traditional crafts was held at the Michigan State Museum, East Lancing. It showed objects of basketry, pottery, wood- and metalwork, jewellery, textiles and popular paintings collected from the diverse ethnic regions of Ethiopia. In addition to the exposition a volume of essays dedicated to the useful arts was published (Silverman 1999).

In Paris, at the turn of 2000/2001, a large exposition of Ethiopian art (manuscripts, paintings on wood, canvas and parchment, crosses, church paraphernalia) was held covering the period 1300–1900. In addition to the chefs d'oeuvre belonging to the Bibliothèques Nationale and Mazarine, the Musée de l'Homme, the British Library and the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich, the exposition displayed items under the protection of the Cultural Association of Tigray, as well as others on loan from private collections. Many of them had never been on public view before (Mercier 2001).

Apart from these, a number of smaller exhibitions have taken place both in Ethiopia, Eritrea and abroad, without catalogues having been made available to broader public.

Lit.: *The Illustrated London News*, 20 June 1868, 609; *The Times*, 2 July 1868; O. M. DALTON [BRITISH MUSEUM, DEPARTMENT OF BRITISH AND MEDIAEVAL ANTIQUITIES], *A Guide to the Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities*, London ²1921, 154ff., 181f.; OTTO ARNOLD JÄGER, "Ethiopian Manuscript Painting", *EthObs* 4, 1960, 354–91 [description of 35 illuminated mss.]; ID., *Äthiopische Miniaturen*, Berlin 1957; WOLFGANG FRITZ VOLBACH (ed.), *Koptische Kunst. Christentum am Nil. Katalog der Ausstellung in der Villa Hügel*, Essen 1963, nos. 492–589; KLAUS WESSEL (ed.), *Christliche Kunst aus Äthiopien und Nubien*, Wien 1964; PIERRE DU BOURGUET (ed.), *L'art copte*, Paris 1964, esp. 318–60; WACŁAW KORABIEWICZ (ed.), *Masqal. Krzyz Etiopii*, Warszawa 1966 [repr. in English as: *The Ethiopian Cross*, Addis Ababa 1973]; WALTER RAUNIG (ed.), *Religiöse Kunst Äthiopiens. Religious Art of Ethiopia*, Stuttgart 1973; JEAN LECLANT (ed.), *Ethiopie millénaire. Préhistoire et art religieuse*, Paris 1974; ELIZABETH CROSS LANGMUIR – STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI – PETER FETCHKO, *Ethiopia, the Christian Art of an African Nation*, Salem 1978; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *The Rayfield Collection of Ethiopan Art*, New York 1978; CSILLA FABO PERCZEL, *Ethiopia. Folk Art of a Hidden Empire*, La Jolla, California 1983; GIRMA FISSEHA – WALTER RAUNIG (eds.), *Mensch und Geschichte in Äthiopiens Volksmalerei*, Innsbruck 1985; JACQUES MERCIER (ed.), *Le roi Salomon et les maîtres du regard, art et médecine en Éthiopie*, Paris 1992; MARILYN HELDMAN et al., *African Zion. The Sacred Art of Ethiopia*, ed. by RODERICK GRIERSON, New Haven – London 1993; RAYMOND AARON SILVERMAN (ed.), *Ethiopia: Traditions of Creativity*, East Lancing – Seattle – London 1999; JACQUES MERCIER (ed.), *L'Arche éthiopienne. Art chrétien d'Ethiopie, 27 septembre 2000 – 7 janvier 2001*, *Pavillon des Arts*, Paris 2001.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Artistic Printing Press

The A.P.P. (**አርቲስቲክ ማተሚያ ቤት**; *Artistik mattämiya bet*), founded in Addis Abäba in 1931,

was Ethiopia's first private printing-establishment. It was owned by Elias and George Djerrahian, two Addis Abäba-born Ethiopians of Armenian extraction, whose parents had emigrated from Egypt around 1905. The press, which reputedly began with 23 workers, was originally situated in the Djerrahians' house near the house of *ətege* in the north of the town, and shortly afterwards moved towards the Armenian quarter north of Ḫaylä Śəllase Avenue, whence it later moved again in 1966 to the vicinity of the Commercial School, its present site, where it installed lino- and mono-type. Prior to the Fascist invasion (↗Italian war 1935–36), the press printed for several organizations, including the Bank of Ethiopia, the Addis Abäba Lottery, the ↗British and Foreign Bible Society and the Adventist Mission. Works printed by A.P.P. after the Liberation included two important Amharic dictionaries, by Täsämma Habtä Mikaʾel (THMDic) and by Dästä Täklä Wäld's (DTWDic), a Gəʿəz-Amharic dictionary (KWKDic), as well as books by such writers as Haddis ʿAlämayyähu, ↗Märsəʾe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos, ↗Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl and ↗Käbbädä Mikaʾel. After the Ethiopian ↗Revolution of 1974, the establishment, which had a reputation for high-quality printing, was nationalized, together with other industrial enterprises. By that time it had a reputed share-capital of 1,200,000 *birr* and a staff of over 400 workers, many of whom were soon to turn to computer-printing.

↗Printing

Lit.: ADRIEN ZERVOS, *L'empire d'Éthiopie. Le mirroir de l'Éthiopie moderne 1906–1936*, Alexandria 1936; PIERRE COMBA, *Inventaire des livres amhariques figurant dans la collection éthiopienne à la bibliothèque de l'University College d'Addis Ababa. Avril 1959*, Addis Ababa 1961; STEPHEN WRIGHT, *Ethiopian Incunabula*, Addis Ababa 1967; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Foundations of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 3, 1962, 241–90; ELIAS DJERRAHIAN, *Memoires Elias Djerrahian*, Montréal 1991.

Richard Pankhurst

Arutano ↗ Sisgayo

Arwe

A. (**አርዌ**, or **ዋይናባ** Waynaba, Amh. **ዘንዶ** Zändo), is a name given to a mythical serpent that ruled the Ethiopian people until he was killed by a stranger, ↗Angäbo. In Gəʿəz legends, the stranger marries a princess (*nəgəśtä Azeb* 'the Queen of the South') who was to have been sacrificed to the creature and founds the dynasty from which Ǝbnä Ḥakim (↗Mənilək I), ancestor of the Ethiopian kings, derives. It is often assumed that this legend harks back to a time when a serpent cult existed in Ethiopia.

Versions of the legend vary in their details. Sometimes Christian elements are imported and the ↗Nine Saints, or some of them, are the heroes who kill the serpent. Sometimes the serpent is named **አገቦስ** Agäbos (e.g., in the Acts of ↗Afṣe). In the Acts of *abba* ↗Gärima it is said that because of the anarchy in the country after the death of the serpent-king A., the Nine Saints begged for a king of the line of David and God gave them King ↗Kaleb.

The people of Təgray still recite tales of the monster, associating it with the region of ↗Aksum. A fable recorded by Kolmodin (1914) from a chronicle at the church of St. Märqorewos at ↗Däbrä Dəmaḥ shifts the scene from Təgray to Eritrea. A woman of Mädäbay gave birth to a snake, Agäbos, and a daughter. Gäbgäb of Ḫamasen agreed to kill the snake in return for tribute. He constructed seven enclosures, snared with knives, and when the snake emerged it was cut into pieces. *Ṭef* sprang up from his blood. After seven generations, ↗Makədda, daughter of another Agäbos, should have succeeded, but the people refused to pay tribute to a woman. Makədda prayed at the spot where the serpent was buried and a new serpent was born. It grew rapidly, but was killed by Makədda when the terrified people finally agreed to accept her rule.

In the Ethiopian ↗chronography, e.g., in the legendary lists of kings, A. often appears in the very beginning (s. Conti Rossini 1909:286) while Angäbo, killer of A., appears as the first ruler after a 400-year reign of the serpent. The number of generations before Makədda or the "Queen of the South" can vary. Some texts allude to the ancient religious status of Ethiopia as partly following ↗Judaism, partly a serpent cult. The serpent story can similarly be found married with the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* legend, as in the Chronide of Mənilək II (GueCopMen I, 2f.), where the killer of the serpent is the father of Queen Makədda. The tale is sometimes illustrated as a prelude to the story of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in the comparatively modern "comic-strip" style of Ethiopian paintings.

Tales about serpents are widespread in Ethiopia. A southern tale of a serpent occurs in the Acts of ↗Iyasus Moʾa, when *abunä* Sälama "of

the South" (Zäᵓazeb), the Metropolitan, drives away a serpent from Lake ↗Ḥayq by the sign of the cross, or when Iyasus Moᵓa himself saves *aṣe* Yəkunno Amlak and his horse from the bites of a serpent and a leech in the lake. Many other such serpent tales circulate in southern traditions of Amhara, Goğğam, Šäwa, and Damot, as well as in later hagiographies.

↗Serpents

Src.: GueCopMen I, 2f. [no. 11]; STANISLAS KUR (ed., tr.), *Actes de Iyasus Mo'a, abbé du couvent de St-Etienne de Ḥayq*, Louvain 1965 (CSCO 260 [SAe 50]), 14f., 25; JOHANNES KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega. Annales et documents*, Uppsala 1914 (Archives d'Etudes Orientales 5:3), A4–A8; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (tr.), *The Queen of Sheba and her only Son Menyelek*, Oxford 1922 [²1932], lxvi–lxxi.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Les listes des rois d'Aksoum", *JA* 1909, 263–320, here 266 [n. 2], 269, 284, 286, 299; ID., "L'Omilia di Yohannes, vescovo d'Aksum, in onore di Garima", in: *Actes du XI^e Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Paris 1897 [repr. Lichtenstein 1968], 154f., lines 163f.; ID., "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia", *RSO* 4, 1911–12, 611–16 (tr.); CRAbb II, 24ff., no. 23 [ms. Abbadie 111]; ID., "Note di agiografia etiopica ('Abiya-Egziᵓ, 'Arkalēdes e Gabra-Iyasus)", *RSO* 17, 1938, 409–52, here 415; ENNO LITTMANN, *The Legend of the Queen of Sheba in the Tradition of Axum*, Leyden 1904 (Bibliotheca Abessinica 1); SERGEW HABLE-SELLASSIE, "Angabo", in: *DicEthBio* 22; ID., "Arwe", *ibid.* 25–26; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "A Short Note on the Traditions of Pagan Resistance to the Ethiopian Church (14th and 15th Centuries)", *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 137–50; RUDOLF KRISS – HUBERT KRISS-HEINRICH, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975, s. index.

Stuart Munro-Hay

Aryam

A. (**አርያም**, 'the highest heaven'), is the term for the place where God dwells ('the seventh heaven', s. LesDic 41). It also designates short hymns (numbering 56, plus four called **ተረፍ** [*täräf*, 'remaining'], = 60 in total) from the ↗*Dəggᵚa* or from the ↗*Ṣomä dəggᵚa*, inspired by scriptural verses and preceded by a variable number of Hallelujahs, sung to the praise of Christ, the Virgin Mary and the angels or saints. They are so named because it is said that St. ↗Yared is believed to have heard the angels singing them when he was in ecstasy.

They are used at certain feasts, unaccompanied by psalms, during the **ክሥተተ፡ አርያም** (*Kəśtätä aryam*, 'the revelation of the highest heaven'), a nocturnal prayer of probable monastic origin, now employed on different occasions, and the Minor Hours (Terce) of ↗Lent, as well as at the **ስዐሐተ፡ ነግህ** (↗*Səbḥatä nägh*) when **ኦሥርቆት** (*aśərqot*, a service related to the celebration of the new day's morning light) is said. The 56 basic A. are distributed among the days of the week and may be sung according to three musical modes, ↗*gəᶜəz*, ↗*ᶜəzəl* and ↗*araray*.

Src.: VelMe I, 52–59; VelMe II, 236–39, 250–57 (tr.).

Lit.: *liqä səlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƎNÄH, **ጥንታዊ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ትምህርት** (*Ṭəntawi yäᵓityopya śərᶜatä təmhərt*, "The Ancient Ethiopian Order of Teaching'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.]; HABTEMICHAEL KIDANE, *L'ufficio divino della Chiesa etiopica*, Roma 1998 (OrChrA 257).

Habtemichael Kidane

Aryāṭ

A. (اریاط) was an Aksumite general, known by this name only to Arab historians, who led an expedition via ↗Ḥaḍramawt to the Yemen. Despite a force of 70,000 men, according to aṭ-Ṭabarī, he failed to defeat the king of Ḥimyar Ḏū Nuwās (↗Yūsuf Asᵓar Yaṯᵓar, ca. 520). Aṭ-Ṭabarī adds that A. later returned with 4,000 men to punish a coup by general ↗Abraha who had succeeded in the conquest. He was killed by Abraha's slave, though not before he had struck Abraha with his lance, giving him the scar which earned him his name al-Ašram ('scar-face').

Procopius, a contemporary, confirms that an army was sent under a relative of ƎIlläAṣbaḥa (↗Kaleb) to punish Abraha, who had deposed Sumyafaᶜ Ašwaᶜ, Kaleb's viceroy. This army defected and its general (A.?) was killed. According to Abū Ṣāliḥ (1895:302), "Aryāṭ, who conquered Al-Yaman for the negus, king of Abyssinia, laid Ġumdān waste with other cities …".

↗Aksum; ↗Arabia

Src.: AṬ-ṬABARĪ, *Chronique de Abou-Djafar-Mohammed-Ben-Djarir-Ben Yezid Tabari*, ed., tr. by HERMANN ZOTENBERG, Paris 1869, vol. 2, 182–84; PROCOPIUS, *De Bello Persico*, tr. by HENRY BRONSON DEWING, London 1957; ABŪ ṢĀLIḤ AL-ARMANĪ, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some Neighbouring Countries*, ed., tr. by BASIL THOMAS ALFRED EVETTS, Oxford 1895, fol. 111b–12a, 302.

Lit.: DicEthBio 24 (Lit.).

Stuart Munro-Hay

ᶜAsäb

ᶜA. (**ዓሰብ**, Amh. Assäb, ᶜAfar: ᶜAsáb), located in ↗Dänkäl region of Eritrea, is the second-most important port of the country and the capital city of Däbubawi Qäyyəḥ Baḥri. Formerly it was the capital of ᶜA. *awraǧǧa*. ᶜA. lies near the strategi-

ʿAsäb, from Monfreid 1935:44

cally important ↗Bāb al-Mandab straits. It consists of two towns, ʿAsäb Kabir, the main port, and ʿAsäb Saqer, the old town of the Ankālá ↗ʿAfar clan, which was the seat of the *sulṭān* Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad.

ʿA. was an important port in the establishment of the Italian colony of Eritrea. The Egyptians were in control of the western coast of the Red Sea, when the Italians followed the British and French colonial expansion in the Horn of Africa. In November 1869 the Rubattino Shipping Company, through Giuseppe ↗Sapeto, signed an agreement with the *sulṭān* Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad, the *sulṭān* of ʿA., and *sulṭān* Ḥasan b. Aḥmad of the ʿAfar tribes of ʿAd ʿAli and bought a piece of land as a station and store. In March 1870, Sapeto signed another agreement (Greenfield 1965:92) and acquired additional land. After a few days, Sapeto displayed the Italian flag, indicating that the company had transferred its rights to the Italian state. In 1882 the Italian parliament accepted this transfer and declared the establishment of the ↗Colonia di Assab and later the Eritrean Colony. The plan was to connect ʿA. with Šäwa and other regions of Ethiopia (Yemane Mesghenna 1989:75–81; Toynbee 1935:295f.). The Italians were encouraged by the British, who saw in the development of Italian influence in the Red Sea a useful counter to the French, who by this time dominated ↗Djibouti (Herrmann 1938:19ff.; Trevaskis 1976:8).

ʿA. as a port was built by the Italians, who had the intention to make ʿA. the main outlet for the potential trade of the entire region and thus provide a shorter route for the whole hinterland of the Horn of Africa. In order to cement its policy in the region, the Italian government tried to get the support of the ʿAfar. However, the local ʿAfar protested against the Italians. Meanwhile, the Italian government succeeded in negotiating a treaty with Mənilək II for safe passage to and from the Šäwan markets (Longrigg 1974:113ff.). After 1936 the development of ʿA. was given a new impetus by the building of a road to ↗Däse (already stipulated by the 1928 Italo-Ethiopian treaty) and by a port reconstruction, which was stopped by the Italian defeat.

The latest development of ʿA. as a modern port goes back to the Ethiopian interest. ʿA. was further expanded by construction work, with aid from the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, during the regime of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. It also has Eritrea's only refinery, a modern salt factory that largely supplies the Ethiopian market and a growing fishing industry (KilHDic 99–102). This development motivated a large number of Ethiopian immigrants, especially from Wällo and Təgray, to seek jobs as dock-workers or work in the salt and fishing industries. The Ethiopian government under the *Därg* was even more eager than Ḫaylä Śəllase to detach ʿA. from Eritrea administratively, particularly as nationalist sentiments began to spread among the ʿAfar population in the 1970s. Ethiopian commerce from ʿA. increased to over 60%, which is why the Ethiopian government was studying ways to annex it to Wällo Province or to create it as a separate ʿAfar political unit. Ethiopia by its action was trying to revive the ↗Hoare-Laval Plan of December 1935, which sought to give Ethiopia an outlet to the sea.

Src.: GERHARD HERRMANN, *Italiens Weg zum Imperium*, Berlin 1938, 12; LUDWIG HUYN, *Abessinien*, Leipzig – Berlin 1935, 17; RICHARD DAVID GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia*, London 1965, 92. HENRI DE MONFREID, *Le drame éthiopien*, Paris 1935, 44 (ill.).

Lit.: OTHMAN SALEH SABBY, *The History of Eritrea*, tr. by MUHAMAD FAWAZ AL-AZEM, Beirut 1977; ID. [ʿUṮMĀN ṢĀLIḤ SABBĪ], *Ǧuġrāfiyat Īrītrīyā* ('Eritrean Geography'), Beirut 1983; MUḤAMMAD ʿUṮMĀN ABŪ BAKR, *Taʾrīḫ Īrītrīyā al-muʿāṣir: arḍan wa-šaʿaban* ('The Modern History of Eritrea: the Land and the People'), Cairo 1994; STEPHEN HEMSLEY LONGRIGG, *A Short History of Eritrea*, Oxford 1945, 113ff.; GERALD KENNEDY NICHOLAS TREVASKIS, *Eritrea: a Colony in Transition: 1941–1952*, Westport 1976, 8; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia, 1844–1913*, Lawrenceville 1995; ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, *Survey of International Affairs*, vol. 2: *Abyssinia and Italy*, London 1936, 14f.; YEMANE MESGHENNA, *Italian Colonialism: a Case Study of Eritrea, 1869–1934*, Maryland 1989; "Ethiopia's New Oil Refinery", *EthObs* 11, 1, 1967, 2–15; KilHDic 99–102.

Abdulkader Saleh Mohammad

Aśaʿəno

A. (**አሣዕኖ**) was a title of the governor of ↗Hadiyya in the 17th cent. The term is mentioned only once in the Chronicle of *aṣe* Susanyos (*Ḥadəyya aśaʿəno*, PerChron 60). It is a unique case in Ethiopian historiography, because both in Muslim and Christian writings the title ↗*gärad* was invariably used for Hadiyya rulers and governors. But in Hadiyya country "the sub-tribes possess different *garad* titles in combination with old group and locality names (for example, *ašen garad* …)" [Braukämper 1973:43]. It seems, that the term A. was derived precisely from the full Hadiyya term mentioned (for another explanation of the term *ašen gärad* s. Braukämper 1980:74, note 28).

Lit.: PerChron 60 (text); ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "The Correlation of Oral Traditions and Historical Records in Southern Ethiopia: a Case Study of the Hadiya/Sidamo Past", *JES* 11, 2, 1973, 29–50, here 43f.; ID., *Geschichte der Hadiya Süd-Äthiopiens: von den Anfängen bis zur Revolution 1974*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 50), 74 [n. 23], 140.

Sevir Chernetsov

Asäffa Gäbrä Maryam

A. (**አሰፋ፡ ገብረ፡ ማርያም**; b. 1919/20, d. 1968), born in Mečara, in Habro, in the district of Č̣ärč̣är in Harärge, was a stateman and writer. He received a modern education at a Canadian missionary school at Ibsa. During the ↗Italian war 1935–36 he worked as an interpreter for the Italians.

Prostitution, which flourished in the country during the war years, later even came out into the open. A. devoted his only novel **እንደወጣች፡ ቀረች** (*Əndäwäṭṭač qärräč*, 'She Left Home and Never Returned', 1949 A.M. [1956/1957 A.D.]) to this phenomenon. The main character of the novel, a young woman called Yäši ʿAläm, betrayed her husband and, according to the moralistic nature of Ethiopian literature, was punished by God for her sin: she suffered from alcoholism and tuberculosis and died of syphilis, far from her family and without friends.

During his life, A. occupied many important posts: he was Vice-Minister at the Ministry of the Interior, Minister of the Interior and Ambassador to India. In India he became very sick because of "agitated depression". He returned to Ethiopia for a cure, but all to no avail. A. shot himself on 21 *Ṭəqəmt* 1961 A.M. [31 October 1968 A.D.].

Lit.: ALBERT GÉRARD, *Four African Literatures: Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1971, 340f.; THOMAS LEIPER KANE, *Ethiopian Literature in Amharic*, Wiesbaden 1975, 42ff., 151f.; REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, *Black Lions, the Creative Lives of Modern Ethiopia's Literary Giants and Pioneers*, Lawrenceville 1997, 205ff., 213f., 220, 255.

Galina Balashova

Asälla

A. (**አሰላ**, 2,182 m A.S.L.) is one of the fastest developing towns of the ↗Arsi region. In 1938 it was a village of 500 inhabitants on the trail from Nazret (↗Adaama), in an area with cattle and wild herbivores in abundance (*Guida*). In 1970 its population was already 17,106 inhabitants and the town had been since 1944 the seat of the Governate-General of "Arussi" (as Arsi was spelt by the Amhara administration of the time).

Although it lost its Rift, Gurage and Kämbata *awraǧǧas*, in the early 1960s, the capital of Arsi expanded further. This is because A. housed the headquarters of the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), which launched in 1965–67 the Č̣əlalo Agricultural Development Unit (CADU), an integrated regional development programme for the ↗Č̣əlalo *awraǧǧa* (of which A. is the capital). The Swedes improved the main road, built schools and other public services, fodder silos and workshops and brought in running drinking water. The city was home to those deriving a profit from CADU (expatriates, technicians, civil servants, drivers, hotel keepers), as well as to those who had suffered from it, namely evicted tenants.

In its early days, the Revolution guaranteed security of tenure with the 1975 Agrarian Reform and allowed the SIDA to expand its programme

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1998; ID. (ed.), *Statistical Abstract 1999*, Addis Ababa 2000; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988.
Lit.: JOHN M. COHEN, *Integrated Rural Development. The Ethiopian Experience and the Debate*, Uppsala 1987; ALAIN GASCON, "Les 'bastides' d'Éthiopie. Les villes fortes de Menilek dans le sud de l'Éthiopie et l'urbanisation contemporaine", in: BENOÎT ANTHEAUME – FLORENCE PINTON (eds.), *Tropiques. Lieux et liens*, Paris 1989, 435–44; ID. (ed.), *La Grande Éthiopie, une utopie africaine. Éthiopie ou Oromie, l'intégration des hautes terres du Sud*, Paris 1995; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Galla of Ethiopia. The Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero*, London 1955 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa. North Eastern Africa, part 2); MESFIN WOLDE MARYAM, *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972; MHasOr.

Alain Gascon

on a wider scale to the rest of the Arsi region and later to the Arsi and ↗Bale regions together. The Ethiopian Government, which had declared the "Green Revolution" in 1979, developed cereal production with countless large mechanized state farms. The surplus was exported to Addis Abäba, which was then connected to A. by a surfaced road. By 1984 the population had doubled and reached 36,720 inhabitants. The villagization programme put a stop to Swedish aid and the population growth slowed down: in 1994 the figure was 47,391 inhabitants. There is no doubt that A. suffered from the collapse of coercive socialism, losing its rank as regional capital for the title of zone capital within the *kəlləl* of Oromiyaa. According to the 2000 estimates A. has recovered its vitality and boasts 63,621 inhabitants, which represents a fourfold increase in 30 years.

The capital of Arsi is one of the best examples of the mushroom-towns which emerged in the 1960s in southern Ethiopia along with the development of commercial farming and of the road network. It is an access point to the highlands of Mount Čələlo and it has been a stop en route to the Bale National Park since the opening of the Didda upper plateau road to the south. It does not have the charm of ↗Awasa, which lies on the banks of a lake, but the Swedes have left good equipment and urban buildings. In the future the attraction of Adamaa, which was promoted to capital of Oromiyaa, will hamper the influence of A. in the Rift area to the north.

↗Development issues/projects; ↗Urbanization

Asallafi

Before the 18th cent., the word A. (**አሳላፊ**) was not a title and just meant a servant waiting at his master's table. In rich households there was even a certain division of labour among these servants. Thus are find **ጠጅ፡ አሳላፊ** (*täǧǧ asallafi*, 'servant who serves *ṭäǧǧ*'; s. KaneDic 2179), **እንጀራ፡ አሳላፊ** (*əngära asallafi*, 'servant who serves *əngära*') and **ካራ፡ አሳላፊ** (*karra asallafi*, a servant who cleaned knives and presented them to persons eating *bərəndo* [Amh. 'raw meat, meat eaten raw']).

However, at the great royal court of ↗Gondär in the 18th cent. A. became a court title and was granted as such in 1724 to a certain Kurfad Mammo by *aṣe* Bäkaffa. In the reign of his son *aṣe* Iyasu II there were already two such court titles: **የቀኝ፡ አሳላፊ** (*yäqäñña asallafi*, 'A. of the Right') and **የግራ፡ አሳላፊ** (*yägra asallafi*, 'A. of the Left'). These were minor office-holders, however; they were not members of the State Council and were subordinated to a *ṭäǧǧ azzaž*, who himself occupied only the third place in the hierarchy of the Council.

Such was the situation at the royal court of Gondär in the 18th cent. Meanwhile, in the country there were a number of A. in various households, large and small, as it was before and after the 18th cent., and the degree of influence of these office-holders depended mostly upon their personal relations with their masters.

Src.: KaneDic 2179; GuiIohan 309 (text); GuiIyas 12 (text).
Lit.: BTafA 881; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Hierarchy at the Feast: the Partition of the Ox in Traditional Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 3, 173–82, here 177.

Sevir Chernetsov

Ašänafi Käbbädä

A.K. (**አሸናፊ፡ ከበደ**, b. 1938, Addis Abäba, d. 8 May 1998, Tallahassee, Florida) was a prominent Ethiopian composer and musicologist. He traced his own descent back to his paternal grandfather *liqä mäqʷas* Adanäw Goššu, a hero of the ↗ʿAdwa battle, and his great-grandfather *däğğazmač* ↗Goššu, who served as a mentor and teacher to *aṣe* Tewodros II. In his childhood, A.K. was deeply influenced by the artistic nature of his mother, Fantaye Näkärä (Fikre Tolossa 1993:21).

A.K. showed an interest in music while a student at the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Elementary School and the Harär Teachers' Training School. He taught music at Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (↗Addis Ababa University) and the Addis Abäba YMCA (Young Men Christian Association). He received his B.A. in Music (1962) from the University of Rochester's Eastman School of Music, USA, and returned to Addis Abäba to serve as Director of the Yared School of Music from 1963 to 1968. He received his M.A. (1969) and Ph.D. (1971) in Ethnomusicology from Wesleyan University, USA.

He worked as Assistant Professor and Director of the Ethnomusicology Program at Queens College, the City University of New York (1970–76), Professor of Music and Director of the Center for African American Culture at the Florida State University in Tallahassee (1977–98) and Executive Officer of Ethius, Inc., an International Arts Council for African and Afro-American Affairs.

He wrote a novel, *Confession* (1964), a book entitled *Roots of Black Music* (1982) and a number of articles on music and ethnomusicology. As a composer, one of his major objectives was to compose works using musical concepts distilled from many cultures expressing the humanity of humankind. One of A.K.'s objectives was to integrate musical idioms and techniques of musics from Ethiopia, the Far East – notably Japan, Eastern Europe, and North America. This approach is found in *Koturasia* for koto, violin and B flat clarinet. The title is derived from koto-Europe-Asia and refers to the intercultural blending of musical styles within a single composition; his compositions showed a preference for the clarinet, flute, ↗*wäšänt*, ↗*əmbilta*, shakuhachi, koto, violin, xylophone and voice.

A.K. enjoyed worldwide recognition. When he visited Budapest in 1967, its daily newspaper introduced him as the only African composer known to the European world. Hungarian critics nicknamed him the "Black Kodaly" after their acclaimed composer and educator Zoltan Kodaly (1882–1967). Upon his return to Ethiopia, the Emperor designated A.K. as "National Composer" and awarded him the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Foundation Grant for Outstanding Achievement in Cultural Affairs (Fikre Tolossa 1993:21).

Src.: ASHENAFI KEBEDE, *Confession: the Most Exciting, Heart-Breaking Story of an Ethiopian in the United States*, Addis Ababa 1964; ID., *Äthiopien; Musik der koptischen Kirche*, Berlin 1969; ID., *The Music of Ethiopia: its Development and Cultural Setting*, Ph.D. thesis, Wesleyan University 1971; ID., *Secular Verse and Poetry in Ethiopian Traditional Music*, International Institute for African Music 1977; ID., *Roots of Black Music: the Vocal, Instrumental, and Dance Heritage of Africa and Black America*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1982, Trenton, N.J. ²1995; ID., **የሙዚቃ፡ ሰዋስው** (*Yämuziqa säwasəw*, 'The Grammars of Music'), Addis Abäba 1966; ID., *The Music of Ethiopia: Azmari Music of the Amharas*, n.p. 1969 [sound recording]; ID., "Zemenawi muzika. Modern Trends in Traditional Secular Music of Ethiopia", *The Black Perspective in Music* 4, 3, 1976, 289–302; ID., "The Bowl-Lyre of Northeast Africa. Krar: The Devil's Instrument", *Ethnomusicology* 21, 3, 1977, 379–95; ID., "Musical Innovation and Acculturation in Ethiopian Culture", *African Urban Studies* 6, 1979, 77–87.

Lit.: FIKRE TOLOSSA, "Ashenafi Kebede: a Composer with Soul", *Ethiopian Review* May 1993, 20–22; CYNTHIA TSE KIMBERLIN, "The Scholarship and Art of Ashenafi Kebede (1938–1998)", *Ethnomusicology* 43, 2, 1999, 322–34 (Lit.); ID., "Four Contemporary Ethiopian Composers and their Music: Asnakech Worku, Nuria Ahmed Shami Kalid a.k.a. Shamitu, Ezra Abate Iman, and Ashenafi Kebede", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 96–117; DALE A. OLSEN, "In Memoriam Ashenafi Kebede (1938–1998)", *Society for Ethnomusicology Newsletter* 33, 1998, 4.

Cynthia Tse Kimberlin

Asaorta

The A. (Tgn., Tgr.: **ዓሳውርታ**, ʿAsawərta; spelled also Casa-orta) are one of the ↗Sāho-speaking groups in Eritrea. In addition to Sāho, the A. speak Təgre, Təgrañña, ʿAfar and Arabic according to their geographical location. Because of this ethnic and linguistic overlap, most of the Təgre-speaking groups in the ↗Saḥəl as well as in the western lowlands call all Sāho-speaking groups A., without making any distinction among them. It is sometimes misleading, because the Italian, as well as the British, colonial administration also used the terms A. and Sāho interchangeably (Pollera 1996:26f.; Trevaskis 1977:15).

The origin of the A. remains undear. The myths of the A. themselves suggest an Arabian origin and an inferred prehistoric movement

from Arabia to the Eritrean coast. All groups claim to be descended from an ancestor by the name of ᶜUmar as-Sawr. According to Muḥammad ᶜUṯmān Abū Bakr (1994:221f.), ᶜUmar as-Sawr came from Mecca, settled on the Eritrean coast and merged with indigenous Sāho population. This shows that the name A. is not an ancient one, but the name Sāho is used to include all the ethnic groups who speak the Sāho language. However, the name A. seems to appear in the 15th cent. during their war with *aṣe* ↗Zärᵊa Yaᶜaqob, who was trying to Christianize them (Pollera 1996:160; Trimingham 1976:177).

The A., like most Sāho groups, are agro-pastoralists and live between the River Ḥaddas and Salima, meaning that they migrate between the Red Sea Coast and the highland ↗Akkälä Guzay and ↗Säraye. During the coastal rains, from November to March, the A. live in the plain west of the Bay of ↗Zula; from May to July they move up to the foothills and western edge of the plateau, which at that time of the year are covered with rich vegetation. During the inland rainy season, the tribe moves up to the plateau itself. During their stay in the foothills, some of the people engage in agriculture, planting maize, millet and other crops (Nadel 1944:127f.; Trimingham 1976:177).

The social organization of the A. groups does not differ from that of other Sāho ethnic subgroups. They are organized under a "democratic" structure. Traditionally, by kinship and descent the sub-groups are thought of as genealogical branches descended from a common ancestor. The A. are divided into five main groups or sub-divisions (known as *kunaare*): Fogrotta ᶜAre, Leliš ᶜAre, Assakare, Assalisan and Fakih ᶜAre (Nadel 1944:127; Trimingham 1976:177). They choose their tribal chief and propose his name to the government, who must confirm him. He is held in great esteem and granted much authority, but his power depends on the consensus of his kinsmen and not on his hereditary right (Pollera 1996:166).

For the Italian colonial historians, the A. were interesting because they were opposed to any foreign domination. Even after many years of Italian occupation of Eritrea, the A. enjoyed a status of quasi-autonomy and paid a purely nominal tribute.

The Italians tried to organize the scattered semi-autonomous Sāho-speaking groups into two tribal federations, similar to that of the ᶜAfar, under recognized chiefs. Those who were organized into the"A. federation" under "Nasser *bey*" were the A. and other tribes like the ↗Idda, Hassabat ᶜAre, Baradotta and Tarūᶜa, as well as some small Sāho clans (Bet Tawkal – Tawaltut ᶜAre, Bet Ḫalifa – Ḫalifat ᶜAre, which shifted later to Təgre-speaking groups). The ↗Mīnifere tribes, Däbre Mdbla and some other Sāho sub-groups composed the "Mīnifere federation" under "Ali *bey*". These two tribal federations were used by the colonial administration against each other in order better to control the Sāho region.

Lit.: MUḤAMMAD ᶜUṮMĀN ABŪ BAKR, *Taᵓrīḫ Īrītrīyā al-muᶜāṣir: arḍan wa-šaᶜban* ('The Modern History of Eritrea: the Land and the People'), Cairo 1994, 221f.; ALBERTO POLLERA, *The Native People of Eritrea*, tr. by LINDA LAPPEN, Roma 1996, 26f., 160, 166; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, *Raœs and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1944, 127; GERALD KENNEDY NICHOLAS TREVASKIS, *Eritrea: a Colony in Transition 1941–1952*, Westport ²1975, 15; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London ²1976, 177; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho*, London 1969; ABDULKADER SALEH MOHAMMED, *Die Afar-Saho Nomaden in Nordost-Afrika: die sozio-ökonomischen und politischen Bedingungen des Nomadentums und der Versuch einer Sesshaftmachung der Nomaden am Beispiel der Afar-Saho in Nordost-Afrika*, Münster 1984 (Lit.).

Abdulkader Saleh Mohammad

Aśärä Krəstos

Abba A.K. (አሥረ፡ ክርስቶስ, d. 12 June 1690) held the office of *qes ḥaṣe* (ቄስ፡ ሐፂ, 'the emperor's father-confessor') of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I and in 1682 was appointed ↗*ᶜaqqabe sāᶜat*. As a

trusted royal ecclesiastic he had to deal with the protracted struggle between ↗*Qəbat* and ↗*Täwaḥədo* religious sects trying, if not to settle their differences (which was impossible), then to ensure the upper hand for the party favoured by the Emperor. Upon the order of Yoḥannəs, A.K. presided at the Church council of 1680 and secured a decision favourable to the *Täwaḥədo* party. By no means could it put an end to the dissent, and during the following reign of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, A.K., already appointed *ʿaqqabe säʿat*, acted as the royal arbitrator at the council of 1682. He was a loyal vassal of the Emperor and as such followed *aṣe* Iyasu in his campaign against the Wällo Oromo in May 1682 and was accordingly rewarded on 21 September with a ceremonial dress and a golden calotte. However, the main field of his service remained the ecclesiastical one: in 1685 A.K. again took part in a church council, while in September 1686 it was precisely in his house that the election of the next ↗*əčč̣äge*, the head of Däbrä Libanos congregation, took place. In November 1687 A.K. did his best to overcome the resistance of *Täwaḥədo* adherents reluctant to participate in a new church council and in March 1688 he presided at a protracted preliminary dispute between both theological parties in the monastery of Däbrä Maryam. He remained an active and loyal royal servant until his death in 1690.

Src.: GuiIohan 10, 46f., 63, 77, 79, 81, 99, 109, 117, 146; BassÉt 349, 351f.; BégCron 55, 57f.; DombrChr 212, 217, 306.

Lit.: LAVERLE BENNETTE BERRY, "Ras Fares and the Tewahido Coalition in Late Seventeenth Century Gondar", in: PIOTR O. SCHOLZ – RICHARD PANKHURST – WITOLD WITAKOWSKI (eds.), *Orbis Aethiopicus: Studia in honorem Stalislaus Chojnacki natali septuagesimo quinto dicata, septuagesimo septimo oblata*, Albstadt 1992 (Bibliotheca nubica 3), 76; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, *Efiopskaya feodalnaya monarhiya v XVII veke* ('Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 17th Century'), Moscow 1990, 223–50.

Sevir Chernetsov

Aṣawe hohət ↗ Churches and church administration

Asayta

The town of A. (አሳይታ; in ʿAfar: Aysaʿíyta), 11°34' N, 41°26' E, was the capital of the ↗Awsa sultanate (ʿAfar Awsí *bāḍó*) and later the Awsa *awraǧǧa*, lying south of Mount Boráwli on the left bank of the Awaš river, where fords are numerous (ʿUrdí *fāgé*, Dorintí *fāgé*, Abró-b *baḍíh fāgé*). In the ʿAfar language Aysaʿíyta has a current etymology: "after (*aysa*) you cry out (ʿ*iy ta*) for rescue". This explanation is sustained by an ancient group of alerts called *barr-āfá*, organized by the clans, on whose territory A. is settled, namely the Karbuddá, Askakmáli-k Mōdaytó and Ulé.

The name A. was given by the Italians to the lakes of the lower Awaš ("Aissáita", s. *Guida* 345) which form Awsa proper. The village, which developed during the Italian occupation, became an important town during the 1960s under the *sulṭān* (*amóyta*) of Awsa, ʿAli Miráḥ. Aysaʿíyta is also the name of a dry river-bed in the Taǧūra region.

Src.: *Guida* 345.

Didier Morin

Asbe Ḫaylu

A.Ḫ. (አስቤ፡ ኃይሉ, b. ca. 1863, Ankobär, d. ca. 1943) was an Ethiopian polititian. He was married to the Ethiopian ex-wife of Count Pietro ↗Antonelli and it was reportedly through this marriage that he had come to embrace Catholicism. He had also engaged in caravan trade from Aləyyu Amba to Djibouti and ʿAsäb.

A.Ḫ. attained fame through his eloquent championing of the cause of the ↗*gäbbar* peasantry in the columns of ↗*Bərhanənna Sälam*. In that newspaper's issue of 21 July 1927, A.Ḫ. wrote, arguably, the most passionate exposé of the *gäbbar*'s fate. After castigating the nobility for their indolence he went on to graphically

describe the life cycle of an average *gäbbar* in north-eastern Šäwa. He highlighted the multiple impositions of tribute that forced him to devote up to two-thirds of his labour to a hierarchy of government officials (*šaläqa*, *məsläne*, and *dug*). Unable to cope with these exactions, the *gäbbar* had no choice but face the disintegration of his household. His death is followed by that of his child; his distraught wife is left to wander from place to place lamenting her tragic fate. A.Ḫ. concludes his piece by condemning a system that was patently inimical to the development of agriculture and did gross injustice to the industriousness of the Ethiopian peasant.

A.Ḫ. raised similar concerns on the condition of the *gäbbar* in Ethiopia's first ↗parliament, to which he had been elected as deputy. He submitted a proposal whereby the peasant would acquire a title over the land he was tilling, thus freeing him from multiple exactions while at the same time augmenting government revenue. In his final days, he is reported to have taught history at ↗Mənilək II Secondary School.

Src.: *Bərhanənna Sälam*, 21 July 1927; interviews with Ṣärha Asbe and Surafel Ḫayle.
Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, London – Addis Ababa – Athens 2002.

Bahru Zewde

Aṣbəḥa ↗ Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa

Aṣbəḥa

Däğğazmač A. (**አጽብሐ**) was a loyal soldier of *däğğazmač* Kaśa Mərča (later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV). Eye-witness accounts described *ləğ* A. as a light-coloured, heavily built and strong man. His fighting skills and bravery were particularly demonstrated at the decisive battle of Aṭaru (near ᶜAdwa) in 1871 against *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II. He was assigned as a bodyguard to *däğğazmač* Kaśa Mərča. In the midst of the heated battle, A. captured *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis II and handed him over to *däğğazmač* Kaśa Mərča as a gift. Following Kaśa Mərča's coronation as Yoḥannəs IV, A. was promoted to the rank of *däğğazmač* and then continued to be a court dignitary of Yoḥannəs IV.

Src.: BAIRU TAFLA (ed.), *A Chronicle of Emperor Yohannes IV (1872–89)*, Wiesbaden 1977 (AeF 1), 113; FESSEḤA GIYORGIS, *Storia di Ethiopia*, ed., tr. by YAQOB BEYENE, Napoli 1987, 96, 218.

Tsegay Berhe G. Libanos

Asbo

Däğğazmač A. (**አስቦ**) was a governor of ↗Damot at the end of the 16th cent. It was the time of a massive ↗Oromo offensive and governors of the most endangered areas had to play the role of the vanguard regiment and to hold the enemy in check until the arrival of the royal army from the centre. A. fulfilled this task successfully and is known in history as a commander who routed an Oromo raid and rescued from Oromo captivity a noble youth – the future *aṣe* ↗Susənyos.

In fact, A. did even more for Susənyos: he did not betray him into hands of rivals, but led him to the old dowager *ətege* ↗Admas Mogäsa, who took care of his security and Christian education. A. also lent his support to Susənyos later, when the latter declared himself Emperor: in 1605 and 1606 A. helped Susənyos in his military confrontation with his rival, *aṣe* Yaᶜəqob, but died probably the following year.

Src.: PerChron vol. 1, 51, 85; BTafA 884; BeckHuntAlm 121.

Sevir Chernetsov

Aṣe

A. (**አጼ**, also **አፄ** *aśe*, older variant **ሐፄ** *ḥaśe*, usually translated as "Your Majesty", Amh. also **አጤ** *aṭe*, Tgn. **ሐጸይ** *ḥaṣäy*) is a term of address or reference to the Ethiopian monarchs. Its etymology remains uncertain; along with the most probable Semitic, even a possibility of Cushitic provenance has been discussed (s. Varenberg 1915/16:3, LesCDic 226, cp. KWKDic 457).

For the late period of the Aksumite kingdom Ibn Ḥawqal's *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ* refers to a ruler of "Abyssinia" called *ḥaḍānī* ↗Danəʾel, whose historicity is confirmed by several inscriptions. Enrico Cerulli (1943:274ff.) argues that there is a possibility of *ḥaḍāni* (lit. 'tutor, guardian', from a root well attested in Gəᶜəz) developing later into *ḥaśe*, but cp. an early land-grant document of ↗Lalibäla in which the Emperor is called *ḥaśani* (Conti Rossini 1901:12, no.6)

A 14th-cent. report of al-↗ᶜUmarī mentions the Ethiopic title *ḥaṭī* (undoubtedly corresponding to *ḥaśe*), which means that the title A. was already in use in Ethiopia by that time (s. Cerulli 1943).

Hiob ↗Ludolf (1668, *liber* II, ch. 1, 22–27) sees the word as an Amharic term, reserved exclusively for the emperor, the highest ruler of the

Ethiopian Christian empire (comparable to the European "Sire"), and opposed to the Gəᶜəz ↗*nəguś*, which denoted a ruler not necessarily invested with the supreme political power, who could also be a subject. This is reflected in *nəguśä nägäśt* 'king of the kings'; regional rulers of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* bore the title *nəguś* (cp. BeckHuntAlvar 509).

For the Ethiopic tradition it can be generally observed that in the written sources A. is not used as intensively as *nəguś*. Thus, in the ↗*Śərᶜatä mängəśt*, describing the coronation ritual and hierarchy of titles, *nəguśä nägäśt* dominates, although *ḫaśe* occurs in **ቄስ፡ ሐፄ** (*qes ḫaśe* 'the emperor's chaplain'), as well as in the references to certain sovereigns such as "*aśe* Mäläk Sägäd" or "*ḫaśe* Yaᶜəqob" (s. Varenberg 1915–16:11, 21f.); cp. also **ቃለ፡ ሐፄ** (*qalä ḫaśe*, the title of the emperor's speaker; lit. 'the word of *ḫaśe*'). In Ethiopian historiography the term A. is most usually followed by the name of a sovereign, so that in the Chronicle of ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl one finds [**በዘሙነ**]፡ **ሐፄ፡ እስክንድር፡ ወሐፄ፡ ናዖድ** ([*bäzämänä*] *ḫaśe Əskəndər wäḫaśe Naᶜod*), or **ሐፄ፡ ወናግ፡ ሰገድ** (*ḫaśe Wänag Sägäd*; CRHist 94, 223). In isolated position, instead of A., *ḫaśege/aśege* is usually used, which is a composite term formed in a similar way to ↗*əčč̣äge* or ↗*ətege* (for *-ge* cf. LesCDic 174). S., e.g., the historiography of ↗Minas, in which the term occurs in direct speech: **አንተ፡ ሖር፡ ኃበ፡ ሐፄን** (*antä ḫor ḫabä ḫaśege*, 'and you go to his Majesty'; s. Kropp 1988:57; Pereira 1888:30).

The title might have been much more used in oral speech than in Gəᶜəz texts. Its usage in written documents seems to be inconsistent. E.g., in the Chronide of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob this ruler, who united vast territories under his power, is never called A., but cp. the aforementioned *ḫaśe* Yaᶜəqob, who was a young boy and ruled only several years. A. does not occur in the chronicles of such prominent monarchs as Gälawdewos or Iyasu I, but it predominates in the later Amharic chronides of Tewodros II and Mənilək II. Thus, the application of the title A. appears to depend on several factors: the political situation of the country, the strength of the monarch, even personal attitudes of the writers and the literary taste and tendency of the epoch.

↗Žan hoy

Src.: DillmLex 141; LesCDic 174, 226; KWKDic 457; BeckHuntAlm 7; BeckHuntAlvar 509; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed.), "L'evangelo d'oro di Dabra Libanos", *RRALm* ser. 5, 10, 1901, 176–219, here 186; JOSEPH VARENBERG, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (Šerᶜata Mangešt)", *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45; HIOB LUDOLF, *Historia Aethiopica*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1681, *liber* II, ch. 1, 22–27; ID., *Ad suam historiam aethiopicam antehac editam commentarius*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 222f.; MANFRED KROPP (ed., tr.), *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius and Minās*, Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]), 57 (text), 57 (tr.); FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, **ዜና፡ ሚናስ** – *Historia de Minas ᵓAdmás Sagad rei de Etiopia*, Lisboa 1888, 30 (text) = 48 (tr.).

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 272–94.

Denis Nosnitsin

Asennaa

A. is a way of contracting a ↗marriage and is practised among some but not all Oromo. It is reported to be falling into desuetude as young people become freer to select their own marriage partners. There is no place in traditional society for spinsters (*ḫaftuu*), so that a young woman who has not been betrothed may take the initiative and move into the house of one whom she wishes to marry. This step forces both her family and the family of her intended groom to recognize the match and to take this desperate action because she is not considered to be a good match, either because she is ill-formed or ill-omened (*milkii*) or because her family is not considered to be reliable and desirable affines. But very often the girl, with the tacit complicity of her intended husband, may be acting to force two families to agree to a marriage which they either opposed or were uneasy about or, more likely, were delaying action on because they were unable to raise the appropriate bridewealth and/or the reciprocal gifts which should accompany the bride. *Butii*, when a man "captures" his bride, has similar causes and consequences.

The young women takes with her 50 or more ↗*hiddii* fruits or a *qoda bukoo* (a jar for holding dough), depending on the practice in the locality. This is said to be a symbol of the fertility of the girl. When she enters the house, she scatters the fruits all over the floor in the living-room and stands clutching the pillar of the house. If a young man lives in the house, no-one needs to ask why she is there. His family gives her to him. If there are many young men in the house, the mother of her would-be husband asks her whom she wants to marry. She names her choice and the relatives and elders convince the boy to accept her request. She stays and is thus considered his

wife. There is no payment of bridewealth in this type of marriage. This marriage custom is no longer practised actively thesedays.

Src.: TilDic 46.

Lit.: BIRHANU TUCHOO, *Traditional Marriage Practices among the Oromo of Qälläm, Wälläggа, Ethiopia,* Senior Essay, Sociology Department, Addis Ababa University 1982; BONNIE K. HOLCOMBE, "Oromo, Marriage in Wälläggа Province, Ethiopia", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 105–38.

Kebede Hordofa Janko

Asfa Wäsän

Märᶜəd azmač A.W. (**አስፋ፡ ወሰን,** r. 1775–1808) was the son of *märᶜəd azmač* ↗Ammәḫa Iyäsus and grandfather of *nәguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa. His reign was remarkable for the expansion of the Šäwan kingdom to include the Amhara regions of Gədəm, Gəśše, Ǝfrata, Anṣokiya, Märḥabete and Morät. A number of Oromo groups (the Abbičuu, Galaan, Oborra and Lume) were also made tributary. ↗Ankobär, already conquered by Ammәḫa Iyäsus, developed into a town and a centre of elaborate administration. To A.W.'s reign is also attributed the introduction of tax on land and royal monopoly in such precious items as gold and ivory as well as the production of *ṭäğğ*.

The successes of A.W. were marred by the rebellions of his generals and his eldest son, *märᶜəd azmač* ↗Wäsän Sägäd, who had led many of the victorious military campaigns. His rebellion was triggered by suspicion that A.W. was grooming Wäsän Sägäd's younger son to succeed him to the throne. Defeated, but reassured by his father as to his right of primogeniture, Wäsän Sägäd remained loyal until his father's death, when he succeeded to the throne.

Src.: BTafA; GueCopMen.

Lit.: ASFA-WOSSEN ASSERATE, *Die Geschichte von Šawa (Äthiopien) 1700–1865 nach dem Tārika Nagaśt des Belāttēn Gētā Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 53); SVEIN EGE, *Class, State, and Power in Africa. A Case Study of the Kingdom of Shäwa (Ethiopia) about 1840*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 46).

Bahru Zewde

Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase

A.W. (**አስፋ፡ ወሰን፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ,** b. 27 July 1916, Harär, d. 17 January 1997, Washington D.C., USA) was the oldest son of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and *ətege* ↗Mänän Asfaw. On 2 November 1930 he was crowned Heir to the Throne with the title of ↗*märəd azmač*. Since then till 1974 he was a governor of ↗Wällo province.

In 1932 A.W. married *wäyzäro* ↗Wälättä Ǝsraᵓel Śəyyum of Təgray by whom he had a daughter and whom he divorced after twelve years. In 1945 he married again, this time *wäyzäro* Mädfäriyaš Wärq Abbäbä of Šäwa and Damot, by whom he had three daughters and a son, Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob.

During the Italian occupation in the years 1936–41 A.W. accompanied his father to exile in Great Britain, where he studied political science at the University of Liverpool. After returning to Ethiopia via the Sudan he took part in the fighting for Gondär.

During the abortive ↗Coup d'état of 1960 he was nominated as a constitutional monarch. A.W. played an active role in the event, though the real degree of his personal involvement is still not known. He read the proclamation issued by the rebels and took an important part in negotiations between supporters of the Emperor and the rebels during the Coup. The Coup did not materially change A.W.'s relations with his father, as they had been well known as being far from good before, as well as their different opinions concerning state matters.

Crown prince Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase in 1935, photo from Rikli 1936:17

On 14 April 1974 Ḫaylä Śəllase prodaimed the new ↗*alga wäraš*, A.W.'s son Zär'a Ya'əqob, who was meant to be an "acting" Heir to the Throne without depriving A.W. of the title. The reason given was A.W.'s poor health condition.

After leaving Ethiopia for medical treatment in 1973 A.W. lived in London and then in Washington D.C., where he led the government in exile. On 7 April 1989 he was prodaimed Emperor Ammәha Śəllase I in exile.

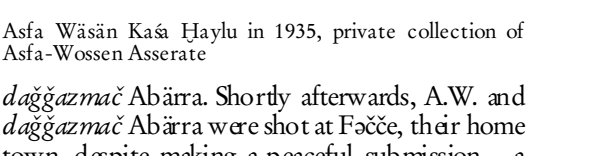
Src.: HAILE SELASSIE I, *Autobiography of Emperor Haile Selassie I, "My Life and Ethiopia's Progress" 1892 – 1937*, tr. by EDUARD ULLENDORFF, Oxford 1976, 209, 313.
Lit.: RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia. A New Political History*, London 1965, passim; HANS WILHELM LOCKOT, *The Mission, the Life, Reign and Character of Haile Sellassie I*, London [1]1989, 48f., 60, 76f.; CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Haile Sellasie's Government*, London [2]1970, passim; BAHRU ZEWDE, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855–1974*, London – Athens – Addis Ababa 1991, 145f., 213; LADISLAS FARAGO, *Abyssinia on the Eve*, New York 1935, 94; MARTIN RIKLI, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1936, 17 (ill.).

Hanna Rubinkowska

Asfa Wäsän Kaśa Ḫaylu

Daǧǧazmač A.W. (**አስፋ፡ ወሰን፡ ካሣ፡ ኃይሉ**) was the third son of *ləʿul ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu. A.W. appeared on the political scene in 1930 when he became governor of ↗Bägemdər with his political seat in Däbrä Tabor. Heading the Bägemdər army, A.W. joined his father and fought against Italian troops at the battles of Tämben and ↗Mayčäw of 1936.

Following the defeat of the Ethiopian army, A.W. returned to Bägemdər, initiated an anti-Fascist struggle and rallied the patriots of Bägemdər and Gondär around him. Regional chiefs such as *daǧǧazmač* ↗Ayyaläw Bərru and *daǧǧazmač* Admasu Bərru joined forces with him. But when he was about to launch a major attack on the Italian position in Däbrä Tabor, the Bərru brothers betrayed him and submitted to the enemy. This action had a negative affect on the anti–Fascist struggle in the region. It aborted A.W.'s efforts to liberate Däbrä Tabor from Fascist occupation. Furthermore, A.W. felt so insecure that he abandoned Bägemdər and joined his forces with those of his brother *daǧǧazmač* Abärra Kaśa Ḫaylu, patriot chief of Sälale in Šawa. Afterwards, A.W. participated in the unsuccessful attack on Addis Abäba in July 1936. But he reluctantly surrendered to the Italian authorities on 21 December 1936 with



Asfa Wäsän Kaśa Ḫaylu in 1935, private collection of Asfa-Wossen Asserate

daǧǧazmač Abärra. Shortly afterwards, A.W. and *daǧǧazmač* Abärra were shot at Fəčče, their home town, despite making a peaceful submission – a political mistake which triggered the patriotic resistance and which the Italians regretted.

↗Italian war 1935–36

Lit.: GÄBRÄ WÄLD ƎNGƎDAWÄRQ, **ማይጨው** (*Mayčäw*), Addis Abäba 1947 A.M. [1954/55 A.D.]; DÄMESE TOLA, **ከዘመን፡ ጉዞ፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክ** (*Käzämän guzo ačča tarik*, 'A Short History of the Years'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.]; TADDÄSÄ ZÄWÄLDE, **ቀሪን፡ ገረመው ፤ የአርበኞች፡ ታሪክ** (*Qärin gärrämäw: yäʾarbäñočč tarik*, 'Those who Survived were Amazed: a History of the Patriots'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; SALOME GEBRE-EGZIABEHER, "The Patriotic Works of Dejazmatch Aberra Kassa and Ras Abebe Aragaye", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 1969, 293–314; ABEBECH AFEWORK, *A Biography of Däjjazmach Abära Kassa 1906–1936*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1973; SELTENE SEYOUM, *A History of Resistance in Gojjam (Ethiopia): 1936–1941*, Ph.D. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1999.

Seltene Seyoum

Asfa Yəlma

"Princess" A.Y. (**አስፋ፡ ይልማ**; née Hannah Waldmeier; b. between 1870/80, d. 1946), was a

woman of Ethio-Swiss descent who served as a hostess at the Ethiopian Embassy in London during the Italian invasion and wrote the first biography of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. She was the daughter of the missionary Theophil ↗Waldmeier and Susan Yäwəbdar Bell. The latter was the daughter of *aṣe* Tewodros II's English assistant John ↗Bell and Wärqənäš, daughter of *däğğazmač* Asfaw Yəlma and *wäyzaro* Wəšan, daughter of *aṣe* Tewodros's uncle *däğğazmač* ↗Kənfu.

Hannah adopted the title of "Princess Asfa Yilma", an appellation which does not appear to have been rejected by Ḫaylä Śəllase. During Dr. Martin's time as Minister (↗Wärqənäh Ǝšäte), she served as hostess in the Ethiopian Embassy in London, while her (second) husband, Captain Algernon Omar Holland, a man of private means, acted as Press Secretary. In the excitement produced by the Italian Fascist invasion, she published a timely, if gossipy, biography of the Emperor, which was "ghosted" by a journalist. The book, which attempted to trace Ethiopian history back to the Queen of Sheba, contains a life of Tewodros, reportedly based on the memories of Waldmeier; an account of an interview the "princess" had with Ḫaylä Śəllase during his visit to England in 1924; and a defence of the Ethiopian institution of slavery. There are also a number of little-known photographs of Ethiopia in the 1930s, as well as a reproduction of a letter from Mənilək to Waldmeier, authorizing the latter to preach the Christian Gospel, and portraits of the author and of her mother "Princess" Yäwəbdar in ceremonial dress.

Src.: ASFA YILMA, *Haile Selassie Emperor of Ethiopia: with a Brief Account of the History of Ethiopia, the Origins of the Present Struggle, and a Description of the Country and its People; with an Introduction by Azaj Warqeh C. Martin*, London 1935.

Lit.: STEPHANIE ARMBRUSTER, *John Bell and his Descendants*, Palma de Mallorca 1966; LUIGI FUSELLA, "La cronaca dell'Imperatore Teodoro II di Etiopia in un manoscritto amarico", *Annali IUO* 6, 1954–56, 61–121, here 117; SVEN RUBENSON, *King of Kings Tewodros of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1966; *The Times*, 8 October 1946 [obituary].

Richard Pankhurst

Asfaw Darge ↗ Darge Śahlä Śəllase

Asfəḫa Wäldä Mikaʾel

Bitwäddäd A. (**አስፍሐ፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል**, b. March 1914, d. October 1997) was the second Chief Executive of federal Eritrea and lifelong government official. Born of *däğğazmač* Wäldä Mikaʾel Zärʾom and *wäyzäro* Gäbrəʾela Baryaʾəgzi in Sägänäyti, he received primary and secondary education in ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ and the Catholic seminary in Kärän. He began his career as a clerk and interpreter under the Italian colonial administration in Eritrea and subsequently in various parts of Ethiopia. He gained particular prominence as an interpreter of high rank, first for the colonial office in Rome (1933–36) and later for the governor-general of the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana. After the liberation, he held various offices at the rank of director-general in Bägemdər, Wällo and Təgray, respectively. In the late 1940s, he was appointed director-general of administration within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

A. was at the same time active in the movement for the union of Eritrea and Ethiopia, a political organization established in Addis Abäba to strengthen the unionists in Eritrea. After the establishment of the ↗Eritrean-Ethiopian Federation, he served as deputy to the Imperial representative in Eritrea. Following the resignation of the first chief executive in 1956, A. was elected by the Assembly to the office, apparently with the massive support of the Ethiopian government. During his seven-year administration, the prerogatives of the Assembly and the government of Eritrea were systematically undermined until he finally confronted the parliament with the resolution which abolished the constitution in November 1962.

After the Federation, A. was appointed Minister of Justice, and Public Health, respectively, and finally became crown councillor. In 1974, A. was arrested by the *Därg* (↗Revolution) along with the rest of the high government officials and was imprisoned for about eight years. Following his release, he lived quietly in Addis Abäba until his death by illness in 1997.

Lit.: ErDizBio 24; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia. A New Political History*, London 1965, 304, 390, 432; CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Haile Selassie's Government*, London 1969, 73, 79, 85, 194, 199; Dr. *Däğğazmač* ZÄWDE GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE, speech delivered on the 12th-day memorial, ms., October 1997.

Bairu Tafla

Asgodom Muse

Baḫrnägaśi A.M. (**አስጎዶም፡ ሙሴ**, b. ca. 1810/20, d. 16 April 1867?) was a local leader in the Eritrean highlands, remembered even today in oral tradi-

tion for his cruelty and for his subjects' successful uprisal against him, during which he was killed. He was a vassal and son-in-law of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən, and administered the Säfᵊa region in Ḫamasen. Two similar versions of oral traditions on his death are known in print (Kolmodin 1912:153; Yohannes Zerai 1996:20). Another tradition holds that it was Ḫaylu who ordered him to be killed (Perini 1995:222). Historically he is documented as a son of the local leader *ayte* Muse and grandson of *baḥr nägaśi* Azarya (Kolmodin 1915:218), who, according to the (probably erroneous) genealogy of Perini (1995:222), was his father.

He is said to have died in 1867. An unpublished oral tradition of Dəbarwa reports, however, that A. was still alive in the 1880s, having destroyed ↗Ṣäᶜazzäga at least once after subsequent conflicts over the domination of Ḫamasen. When the Italians arrived, they are said to have confirmed A., still ruling Säfᵊa, in his office.

↗Dəgsa

Lit.: JOHANNES AXEL KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega, traduction Française*, Uppsala 1915 (Archives d'Études Orientales, vol. 5:2), 218; YOHANNES ZERAI, "Das Ende des Bahre Negassi Asgodom, eine Legende aus Debaroa", *Selam Eritrea* 10, 1996/97, 20–21; RUFFILLO PERINI (GÄBRÄ NƏGUŚ), መራብ፡ መላሽ (*Märäb Mällaš*), Roma – Asmära ²1995 [tr. from Italian], 222.

Wolbert Smidt

Aṣḥam b. Abǧar

A. (اصحم بن ابجر), the ↗*nağāšī* of Ethiopia, is known from Arabic sources as the Ethiopian sovereign contemporary with the prophet ↗Muḥammad. Ethiopian sources do not preserve the name of A. Instead, some "king lists" refer to the ruler **አድርአዝ** (Adərᶜaz or Dərᵊaz, Dərᵊəz etc., r. 603–23 A.D.), adding that "at that time arose the infidel Muḥammad in the East".

A. is reported to have been a just king and to have permitted the early Muslims fleeing from persecution by the Quraysh leaders of their own people to seek exile in Ethiopia. A large number of early Muslims, including some very prominent figures in the history of Islam, participated in this first ↗*hiǧra* to Abyssinia. For this, the prophet is said to have declared that the holy war should not be brought to Ethiopia unless initiated by the Ethiopians themselves.

The texts (*ḥadīṯ* and Arabic chronicles) that comment on Ethiopia and the Muslims at the time of A. are of uncertain value. Nevertheless, they record a number of events, rebellions and dethronements, contemporary with the rise of Islam, which might permit us to sense an enfeeblement of the monarchy at ↗Aksum in A.'s reign.

Attempts have been made to identify A. with one of the personalities from the Ethiopian king lists dealing with the rulers of Aksum. The Arab writers did in fact identify the *nağāšī* as a king of Aksum, even if the name was to become somewhat distorted with time. Al-ᶜUmarī, followed by al-Maqrīzī, refers to a region called Sahart, where "Aksum" or "Zarafata", residence of the *nağāšī*, was situated (s. Vantini 1975:59). Hartmann (1895), using information provided by aṭ-Ṭabarī and as-Suhaylī, identifies A. with ↗ƎlläṢäḥam of the king lists, his father Abǧar with ↗ƎllägGäbäz and his son Arhā with one of the last Aksumite kings, ↗Armaḥ. Chronological reconstructions, however, do not provide enough support for such identification. An interesting possibility, with some chronological recommendations to it, might identify A. with Armaḥ himself, who seems likely to be the last of the coin-issuing Aksumite rulers, and the end of the coinage seems to fall at just about the time of the rise of Islam, early 7th cent. A different interpretation by some Muslim jurists asserts that since the *nağāšī* supposedly accepted Islam, Ethiopia, far from being exempt from the *ǧihād*, should be regarded as the "first Andalus". Like Andalusia it is a land lost to Islam and every effort should be made to return it from its apostasy.

The sources express great admiration for the *nağāšī* A. and for the justice of his rule. Muḥammad is said to have mourned his death in 630, performing the *ṣalāt* or memorial prayer for him. All this seems to be credible, but some Muslim writers also daim that A. actually accepted Islam in secret. It is said that ᶜAmr b. ᶜUmayya aḍ-Ḍamrī took a message addressed by Muḥammad to the *nağāšī* A., summoning him to follow the new prophet, and that the *nağāšī* testified that Muḥammad was indeed the Apostle of God. The Ethiopian ruler is said to have retained his throne by dissembling his conversion.

One result of the association of the two leaders was the use in Muslim writings of the *nağāšī* as a classic "bestower of gifts" on prominent figures in early Islam. For example, he is said to have presented three spears to the prophet himself, who gave one to ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and another to ᶜUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb. The first *muᵓaḏḏin* (muezzin, or 'caller to prayer') in Islam was a

slave of Ethiopian origin, ↗Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, who used a spear presented to Muḥammad's cousin az-Zubayr to point the direction of prayer. In another instance, there is the legend that the *naǧāšī* wanted to build a church at Antioch and accordingly sent a richly laden ship with building materials. The ship being wrecked at Ǧidda, the *naǧāšī* donated the materials for the rebuilding of the Kaʿba at Mecca.

Src.: GIOVANNI VANTINI, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*, Heidelberg – Warsaw 1975, 509; ʿABDALMALIK IBN HIŠĀM, *The Life of Muhammad*, tr., ed. by ALFRED GUILLAUME, London 1955; AL-MASʿŪDĪ, *Le livre de l'avertissement et de la revision*, tr. by BERNARD CARRA DE VAUX, Paris 1897, 340, 345 ; ABŪ L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. AḤMAD WĀḤIDĪ, *Asbāb an-nuzūl*, Cairo 1315 H. [1915 A.D.], 103f.; MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀʿĪL AL-BUḤĀRĪ, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1973–75, vol. 4, 254.

Lit.: ARTHUR KINLOCH IRVINE, "Aṣḥam ibn Abjar, al-", in: *DicEthBio* 28f.; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *Aksum. An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity*, Edinburgh 1991, 261f.; D. M. DUNLOP, "Another 'Prophetic Letter', *Journal of the Royal African Society* 1940, 54–60; WIM RAVEN, "Some Early Islamic Texts on the Negus of Abyssinia", *JSS* 33, 2, 1988, 197–218; M. HARTMANN, "Der Naǧāšī Aṣḥama und sein Sohn Armā", *ZDMG* 49, 1895, 299–300.

Stuart Munro-Hay

Ashinov, Nikolai Ivanovich

A. (b. 1856, d. 28. February 1902) was a Russian Cossack leader interested in Ethiopia, partly as an Orthodox Christian country and partly because the adjacent seaboard seemed accessible to Russian colonization.

Having travelled extensively in the Middle East, he proceeded to Ethiopia in 1885. With fifteen Cossacks he disembarked at Massawa and proceeded to ʿAdwa, where he was stopped by *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda, who did not let him meet *aṣe* Yoḥannas IV for absence of credentials. A. had to return and seek for more organizational support, which he found in the Russian Navy Minister I.A. Shestakov, who was interested in founding a coaling station on the Red Sea for naval operations in the Far East. In order to found the "New Moscow" colony, in January 1889 A. sailed with 200 men and the necessary letters to the Bay of Taǧūra, where *sulṭān* Muḥammad ↗Loʿoyta and *imām* Muḥammad ʿAlī (↗Mikaʾel Ali) were ready to give him land, and established himself at Sagallo. In the meanwhile Shestakov died and the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs accepted the position of France, which claimed the same coastal strip as A., to use a French coaling station at Madagascar instead. All support was withdrawn from A.'s expedition, and the French, with the moral support of Italy, attacked A.'s camp and forcibly expelled him from Africa. A. spent the rest of his life in Russia, first in exile, then in prison and finally, after 1898, in several mental hospitals.

Src.: NICOLAI ASCINOFF, *La spedizione Ascinoff nel Mare Rosso,* Roma 1887; ANDREI HRENKOV, *Rossiya i Efiopiya: razvitiye dvustoronnih svyazey* (*ot pervyh kontaktov do 1917*) ['Russia and Ethiopia: the Development of Mutual Relations (from the First Contacts to 1917)'], Moscow 1992, 26–50.

Lit.: CZESLAW JEŚMAN, *The Russians in Ethiopia: an Essay in Futility*, London 1958, 155 (index); PATRICK JOSEPH ROLLINS, *Russia's Ethiopian Adventure 1888–1905*, Ph.D. thesis, Syracuse University 1967; CARLO ZAGHI, *I russi in Etiopia*, Napoli 1972–73, vol. 2, 321 (index); F. VOLGIN, *V strane chernyh hristian* ('In the Land of Black Christians'), St. Petersburg 1895, 55.

Richard Pankhurst

Asimba

Mount A. (**አሲምባ**, 3,248 m A.S.L.) is the second-highest mountain in ↗ʿAgamä country after ↗Aläqʷa. Situated in the escarpment of north-eastern Təgray, it is also among the highest mountains in Ethiopia. A. and its surroundings are inhabited by the Sāho-speaking ↗Irob. The humid climate of the mountain helped the growth of forest reserves useful for construction and the supply of firewood.

Acting like a natural citadel, over the centuries A. provided reliable shelter for generations of political dissenters and religious dissidents. In the

Nikolai Ivanovich Ashinov, from Volgin 1895:55

15th cent. the ↗Stephanite monks, who refused to bow to the authority of the Orthodox Christian monarchs, suffered grave persecution. Soon they managed to set up the monastery of ↗Gundä Gunde not far from the foothills of A. Moreover, A. has functioned as a safe haven for a variety of "political dissidents" and local leaders from ↗Säbagadis Wäldu of ᶜAgamä in the early 19th cent. to the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party and the ↗Tigray People's Liberation Front.

Lit.: TSEGAY BERHE, *A History of ᶜAgamä, 1822–1914*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1996.

Tsegay Berhe G. Libanos

Askal

A. (**አስካል**, d. 1637) was an officer of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. His career demonstrates the opportunities which were provided to a brave and lucky Ethiopian freelance of humble origin by the period of internecine wars and struggles for the throne which followed the death of *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl.

Some time in 1602 A. joined a small band of one of the outlaws of noble descent, later *aṣe* Susənyos. At that time he lived on robbery and only later in 1604 proclaimed himself a pretender to the throne. A. shared all the vicissitudes of his leader's life. In 1603 he was pierced by a spear and was rescued by Susənyos himself. However, he shared his success as well and he reached the peak of his career in 1618 when he was appointed governor of Wämbarma district. Doubtlessly it was promotion, but hardly a change in A.'s life-long trade and habits. Immediately on receiving this appointment, he began raiding his neighbours, the Agäw of Zäläbäsa district. As a result 700 men were killed and up to 1,120 women and children enslaved. The chronicler says that A. himself killed 193 persons.

Thus, from the 17th cent. these Agäw areas became for Ethiopian kings a safe hunting-ground for slaves and booty. A. was probably one of the first such raiders, who also died in a raid.

Src.: BégChron 49; CRHist 11; PerChron I, 47; II, 201.

Sevir Chernetsov

Aškär

A. (**አሽከር**, of Arabic origin, cp. Tgn. **ዓስከር** *ᶜaskär* or **ዓሽከር** *ᶜaškär*) is a generic Amharic term for individuals of several distinct, but partially overlapping categories, each defined by a dependent status in traditional Ethiopian society. The word was thus variously used for (1) a boy or youth from above the age of infancy and below that of maturity, who served in a subordinate capacity, perhaps as a shield-bearer or errand-boy; (2) more rarely, a girl, fulfilling similar duties, but usually somewhat younger, of pre-nubile age; (3) a soldier serving as a "follower" of a monarch or noblemen of high or low degree; (4) an adult domestic, retainer, valet, or other servant, but in no circumstances a *barya*, or slave (Isenberg 1841:122; d'Abbadie 1881:501; GuiVoc 447; KaneDic 1181). Though the term A. thus contextually implied dependence on a monarch or nobleman great or small (or even on a monastery, GueCopMen 333), *aškärənnät* (d'Abbadie 1881:501), i.e. the character of being an A., did not necessarily involve intrinsic or permanent inferiority. This is vividly illustrated in Gäbrä Səllase's chronicle of Emperor Mənilək II, in which officers of high rank, including those of *däğğazmač* as well as of *qäññazmač* and *fitawrari*, are referred to as the sovereign's A. (GueCopMen I, 330, 350; II, 433, 446). An A. attached to the ↗*əlfəñ*, or royal bed-chamber, was known as **የእልፍኝ፡ አሽከር**, (*yäʾəlfəññ aškär*); and an adolescent or junior riflemen as an **አሽከር፡ ነፍጠኛ** (*aškär näftäññä*, i.e. 'a youthful rifleman'; d'Abbadie 1868:356; GueCopMen 318). On the prevalence and specialization of such functionaries in Mənilək's time see Vivian 1901:216, 236f.

Src.: GueCopMen I, 318, 330, 333, 360; II, 433, 446; CHARLES WILLIAM ISENBERG, *Dictionary of the Amharic*

Aškär, early 20th cent., © Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkammer), St. Petersburg (2097-393)

Language, London 1841, 122; ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Douze ans de séjour dans la haute-Ethiopie* (*Abyssinie*), Paris 1868, 356; ID., *Dictionnaire de la langue amariñña*, Paris 1881, 501f.; GuiVoc 447; KaneDic 1181; HERBERT VIVIAN, *Abyssinia. Through the Lion-Land to the Court of the Lion of Judah*, London 1901, 216, 236f.

Richard Pankhurst

Askari

A. (Ital. *ascari*, of Arabic origin, cp. ↗Aškär) were Eritreans who served in the Italian Colonial Infantry. During the 1885–1941 period, more than 130,000 Eritreans served as A.; Italian officers believed that A. were excellent but expendable guerrilla fighters. As a result, the A. usually saw more action and suffered greater casualties than their Italian counterparts.

In the Battle of ↗ʿAdwa, for example, 7,104 A. participated in the fighting, while another 1,600 remained in a rear camp. During the campaign, the Ethiopian army killed 2,261 and wounded 958 A. About 1,000 A. became prisoners of war. The Ethiopians behaved abominably to prisoners and wounded A. *Aṣe*↗Mənilək II ordered many prisoners to be emasculated and freed 406 A. only after the right hand and left foot of each of them had been amputated.

During the 1907–10 period, two A. battalions of 600 men each served in Somalia. Between 1911 and 1932, some 60,000 A. served in Libya. Until 1935, the voluntary military service attracted recruits because of the pay, educational opportunities and the prospect of foreign service and post-retirement employment in the colonial administration. Regulations barred Eritreans from rising above the rank of sergeant.

In early 1934, Italy started assembling an army to invade Ethiopia. To support this effort, the colonial administration introduced conscription. By the time of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in October 1935, there were 60,200 A. in the Italian colonial army. Most A. served in the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd colonial divisions, but some belonged to other units and the irregular militias called *banda*. The number of A. casualties during the Italo-Ethiopian war remains a matter of controversy, but tens of thousands certainly had been killed, wounded, or taken prisoner. Similarly, there has never been an assessment of the number of A. who deserted, but the number is at least in the thousands.

↗Resistance

Lit.: KilHDic 91ff.; ANDREW J. BARKER, *The Civilizing Mission: a History of the Italo-Ethiopian War of 1935–1936*, New York 1968, 158, 236, 345ff.; ID., *Eritrea 1941*,

Askari, in front of the Italian Embassy in Addis Abäba, from Wencker-Wildberg 1935, 258

London 1966, 51f.; FRIEDRICH WENCKER-WILDBERG, *Abessinien*, Berlin 1935, 258 (ill.).

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Askema

A. (**አስኬማ**, from Greek σχήμα 'garment', 'clothing') is a part of the monastic garb. Monks make three professions: upon the first they receive the girdle or belt and tunic **ቀሚስ** (*qämis*); on the second, the skullcap **ቆብ** (*qobᶜə*); and finally the A., the leather scapular with its twelve crosses, which undoubtedly symbolizes the twelve stones of the *ḫošen* (Ex 28:21), the breast-plate of the High Priest on which it appears to be modelled. It appears that this pattern of gradual investiture may have only become widespread from the 15th cent. onward. In hagiographic texts, authors often claim that their hero bestowed the A. (or other parts of the garb) on other monks in an attempt to demonstrate his superiority and priority.

Lit.: EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *The Ethiopians. An Introduction to Country and People*, London 1973, 104; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Symbolik des orthodoxen und orientalischen Christentums*, Stuttgart 1962, 221; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens. Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Berlin — New York 1971, 148 [n. 9]; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Täklä Haymanot of Shoa", *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 7–38, here 23 [n. 4], 24 [n. 12], 33.

Steven Kaplan

Aṣmä Giyorgis Gäbrä Mäsiḥ

A.G. (**አጽሙ ጊዮርጊስ ገብረ መሲሕ**, b. ca. 1850, Ḥarr Amba, d. 1915, Ḥarr Amba), often known as *aläqa* Aṣme or Aṭme, was one of the prolific writers of the ↗Mənilək II era. He wrote a number of works on historical and religious themes, though, to our present knowledge, only **የጋላ ታሪክ** (*Yägalla tarik*, 'History of the Galla'), **ያማርኛ ቃላት** (*Yamarəñña qalat*, 'The Amharic Words'; a laudatory verse composition in honour of the Virgin), a few poems and some of his correspondence have survived.

He was educated by his father, who was a clergyman, as well as by his maternal unde, the famous church scholar *aläqa* ↗Täklä Ṣəyon. Later he came in contact with the Catholic missionaries at ↗Ankobär, from whom he learnt French and Latin. Throughout his life, he rendered his services to both the Ethiopian government and the Catholic church as a soldier, scribe, judge, dragoman and teacher.

In the early 1880's, he served *aṣe* Mənilək II as a clerk and secret agent, plying among the various notables as well as spying on Harär, which the sovereign had intended to annex. In 1889, he was punished for warning the Emperor against the treaty of Wəčale (↗Italo-Ethiopian convention of 1889), a case which Mənilək later regretted.

He was subsequently appointed a judge in Harär, where he lived for many years. For some obscure reason, he left this post and joined the missionaries, a move which was countered by the confiscation of his property in 1905. He died of illness in February 1915.

↗Amharic literature

Src.: ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, Roma 1886–87, vol. 2, 225; HUGUES LE ROUX, *Ménélik et nous*, Paris 1902, 131; MARTIAL DE SALVIAC, *Un peuple antique ou une colonie gauloise au pays de Ménélik. Les Galla, grande nation africaine*, Paris ²1902, 25; BTafA (Lit.).

Bairu Tafla

Asmära

Pre-colonial history of Asmära

A. (**አስመራ**, or **ኣሥመራ** Aśmära), the capital city of contemporary Eritrea, lies in the upland district of ↗Ḥamasen, on the northern rim of the Ethiopian highlands. The presence of human communities, dating back to the early 1st millennium B.C. (↗ᶜOna culture), has been discovered in Sämbäl, a couple of kilometres south-west of the modern A., on the way to Godayf.

The historical settlement dates back at least to early medieval times. Apparently first mentioned in an anonymous late 14th- or early 15th-cent. Latin itinerary, A. was the site of an early Christian church, long since demolished, the style of which suggests that it may have been erected in the late Aksumite period (CrawItin 28, 32; Bent 1896:20; Conti Rossini 1928:233). The placename A. is mentioned in a document transmitted by the ms. BritLib Orient. 481, fol. 208r, the well-known royal decree announced by *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (Conti Rossini 1923:452–55).

Though referred to in 1519, probably with exaggeration, by the Venetian Alessandro ↗Zorzi's Ethiopian informants as "a great city" (CrawItin 28), and in identical terms by an Italian friar, Brother Nicola of Murano (ibid. 118f., 136f.), the settlement was long overshadowed by nearby ↗Dəbarwa, the capital of the ↗*bahər nägaš*, the Ethiopian ruler of the coastal province. The importance of A. grew in

the late 19th cent., when it became the capital of *baḥər nägaš* Gʷəradä Zärᵓay (d. 1866) and thus acquired a position comparable to that earlier held by Dəbarwa (Kolmodin 1915:147–52).

Growing pressure from the Egyptians at ↗Massawa in the early 1870s caused *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV to consolidate his control over Ḥamasen. The Egyptians responded by advancing inland to occupy A., but as a result of Yoḥannəs's victory over the Egyptians at ↗Gundät in November 1875 they were obliged to abandon it. The town, however, later fell under the control of a pro-Egyptian chief, *däğğazmač* ↗Wäldä Mikaᵓel Solomon, whose influence was, however, thwarted by Yoḥannəs's second victory over the Egyptians at ↗Guraᶜ in March 1876. A few years later, in 1883–84, the Emperor's military commander, *ras* Alula Abba Nägga (↗Alula Ǝngəda), decided to move his military capital to A. from ᶜAd Täk̲lay, a day's march to the west (PankHist II, 112ff.; Erlich 1982:81).

The importance of A. was later increased as a result of the Italian seizure of Massawa in February 1885, for Alula made it his main base to resist Italian incursions inland. The British envoy Smith (1890:107) described the town in the following year as "nothing more than a collection of huts inhabited almost entirely by the soldiers of Ras Alula". A., which then had a population, according to Wylde (1888, vol. 1, 216), of 5,000 inhabitants, soon acquired a sizable weekly Saturday market and began to attract travelling merchants. Under the leadership of Alula – who also cultivated good relations with the local Muslim traders – the town became a strong military as well as a commercial centre. When Alula left A. to help Yoḥannəs face the Mahdists, the town was occupied by the Italian forces of General Antonio ↗Baldissera on 3 August 1889, replacing Massawa as the centre of Italian power.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Aethiopica [1]", *RSO* 9, 1923, 365–468, here 452ff. [no. 15 "Un editto del re Zar'a Ya'qob per l'Eritrea"].
Lit.: CrawItin 28, 32, 118f., 136f.; EMILIUS ALBERT DE COSSON, *The Cradle of the Blue Nile*, London 1877; JAMES THEODORE BENT, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, London 1896, 20; JOHANNES KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega, traduction française*, Rome 1915, 147–52 (Archives d'Études Orientales 5:2); AUGUSTUS BLANDY WYLDE, *'83 to '87 in the Soudan, with an Account of Sir William Hewett's Mission to King John of Abyssinia*, London 1888, vol. 1, 216; PankHist I, 73; PankHist II, 112ff.; HORACE FRANCIS HARRISON SMITH, *Through Abyssinia: an Envoy's Ride to the King of Zion*, London 1890, 107; HAGGAI ERLICH, *A Political Biography of Ras Alula*, Michigan 1982, 81–87.

Richard Pankhurst

Colonial history of Asmära

The development of A. follows the political events of Italian colonialism. In November 1897, Ferdinando ↗Martini was officially nominated first civil governor of Eritrea and during his administration, A. was transformed into an administrative town, being the new capital of Eritrea colony.

It soon developed all the characteristics of an Italian colonial capital. Side by side with the old "native" A., with its Orthodox churches, there thus emerged a small, but modern, "European" town, with a governor's palace, a strong fortress, a Roman Catholic church, a "business quarter", some restaurants and cafés, and barracks for Italian and colonial troops. The town's population by 1900 was about 5,000, including about 300 Italian residents.

In 1902 the first town-planning was approved. It mainly affected the central part of the town, the European district (Oriolo 1998:13), but the lack of funding did not allow its full realization. However, in 1906, Martini himself defined A. as a "pretty colonial town" with 300 "modern" buildings (*Copia della relazione sulla colonia Eritrea* in the Archivio Centrale di Stato). The new buildings were mainly in the European quarter. During this period, the first Italian lay school was built, the Governor's palace was enlarged and other buildings for the colonial

offices were erected, as well as the Synagogue in 1905–06. Martini's administration also provided the market with a caravanserai (Oriolo 1998:13). The first organic town-planning was elaborated in 1908, under the administration of governor Salvago-Raggi (Gresleri et al. 1993:153). Racial segregation was promulgated by a decree of 1916, which divided A. into four zones for 1) Europeans, 2) Europeans and "colonial assimilated subjects", 3) "native type buildings" and 4) "buildings for industrial use" (PankHist II, 331–37). The Italian Fascist Colonial Minister, Emilio de Bono, visiting A. in 1932 to prepare for the invasion of Ethiopia, nonetheless observed that the term "capital", at that time, before the build-up for the Italo-Ethiopian war, was "really almost too big a word" (de Bono 1937:131). Massive urban as well as military development began shortly afterwards with the expansion of A. airport and the construction of a good road to Massawa as well as to the Ethiopian border.

A. changed shape during the war against Ethiopia in 1936. In this period, A. was a military base for attacking Ethiopia and its population counted around 98,000 inhabitants, of whom 53,000 were Italians (Guida 199–207). Being the urban centre with the highest concentration of Italians, A. increased its size of a commercial and industrial town. Despite Addis Abäba in 1936 becoming the capital of the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana, A. still was the most "Italian" among the imperial towns. It was during the 1930s that, in order to celebrate the glory of the empire, the fascist regime promoted massive urban development. In order to highlight its "Italianness", during the 1930s the town was enriched with wide streets, bars, restaurants, theatres, clubs, social centres and, especially, cinemas. The disorder due to the arrival in 1936 of many Italians, civil and military, led to the need for regularizing further the development of the town.

In 1937 the governor de Feo announced a competition among architects and engineers in order to elaborate a more structured town-planning, but the competition was invalidated after discovering that the author of the winning project was de Feo himself (Lo Sardo 1995:7–34). In the following year, the General Central Council for Urbanism, set up by a royal decree in 1938, sent urban planner Vittorio Cafiero, a member of the Council, to A. in order to elaborate an organic town-planning for the town.

Traditional quarter of Asmära in the early 20th cent., from Schoenfeld 1904:25

Cafiero's town-planning was mainly based on the idea of stressing the racial definition of the urban spaces through the expulsion of the indigenous population from the central areas, the destruction of their houses and the construction of "green areas" with the aim of demarcating the "native" and the European areas.

Italians were forbidden to cohabit with indigenous people. Cafiero's plan for A. required Eritreans to live in the north-eastern part, in an underdeveloped zone, beyond the hill Č̣ärḥi, the present Gäza Bərhanu and Ǝdaga Ḥamus. Cafiero established the Viale Mussolini, today's Independence Avenue, as the principle axis of the town, an axis off limits to Eritreans. However, Cafiero's town-planning project did not have a real application due to economic, political and military factors. With the departure of Cafiero and the Governor de Feo, who supported him, racial discrimination diminished and the centre of A. was opened to Eritreans.

Three years later, in 1941, A. was liberated by the Allies. During the ↗British Military Administration (1941–52), the racial laws, which segregated the Eritrean population in certain areas of A., were abolished. However, few measures were taken in terms of public works and development of the town. A. kept the same characteristics through time and was not affected by the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, contrary to what happened to other Eritrean towns, like Massawa.

Src.: *Guida* 199–207; *Copia della relazione sulla colonia Eritrea*, Archivio Centrale di Stato (ACS), Roma, Fondo Martini, scatola 21.

Lit.: EMILIO DE BONO, *Anno XIV. The Conquest of an Empire*, London 1937, 131; GIULIANO GRESLERI – PIER GIORGIO MASSARETTI – STEFANO ZAGNONI (eds.), *Architettura italiana d'oltremare, 1870–1940*, Venezia 1993, 153 (Lit.); EUGENIO LO SARDO (ed.), *Divina geometria*, Roma 1995, 7–34 (Lit.); LEONARDO ORIOLO (ed.), *Stile Asmara. Asmara Style*, Asmara 1998 (Lit.); PankHist II, 331–37 (Lit.); DAGOBERT SCHOENFELD, *Erythräa und der Ägyptische Sudan*, Berlin 1904, 25, plate III.

Francesca Locatelli

Map of Asmära, 1910 (*Pianta della città di Asmara con il nuovo Piano Regulatore*, Scala 1:8000), from Checchi 1910

Asmära after 1952

A. was rated as second industrialized city within the Ethiopian empire, and maintained that status despite a loss of economic vitality after World War II. Particularly after Federation, businesses moved away or closed down, with a consequent rise in unemployment, though a few companies were newly opened (cp. Oriolo 1998:25). Economic problems, and, even more significantly, political pressure resulted in a general strike in 1958. However, a new middle class was also formed; during the British Military Administration, and especially after 1952, Eritreans moved into the centre and the villas in the European quarters. (In 1949 A.'s population numbered 127,579, including 17,183 Italians). A. quickly evolved into a centre of local political movements. A trade union and political parties were founded, most crucial for which was the meeting of important political figures at ↗Wäᶜəla Bet Gärgiš in 1946.

During the 1950s many Italian inhabitants of A. moved away, but by 1962 were still the main industrials of the city. (There were less than 10,000 Italians in a population of 150,000, including also around 14,000 half-castes, cp. Tekeste Negash 1997:140.) The upper commercial sector was mainly in the hands of Europeans, Yemenis and Eritrean Muslims. However, the newly established US military base ↗Qañ̈äw, together with the municipality (newly constituted in the period 1951-57) and the state administration, provided new sources of employment ("Eritreanization" of the local administration). A radical change came about when, in 1968, the Yemenis were driven out by the government, Christian highlanders replacing them. Textile manufacturing provided jobs for rural immigrants; by 1974 the population had grown to 200,000. However, the following rising political tension and war in Eritrea led to a second mass exodus of foreigners, with many youngsters joining the liberation fronts, and others migrating to Ethiopia and abroad, so that in 1977 only some 90,000 inhabitants were left. A. always stayed under control of the central government, in contrast to the countryside. After the *Därg* had regained control of Eritrea in the second half of the 1970s, A.'s population rose to 300,000, mainly due to rural migration from Eritrea and Təgray, accelerated by famine. When the garrison of A. capitulated in May 1991, the population numbered around 280,000 (excluding some 140,000 troops, who were immediately driven out).

View on the *Cattedrale* from Liberty Avenue, 1993, photo courtesy of Hans J. Knospe

Politically A. retained a high profile within Ethiopian politics, in reality as well as symbolically. Being the seat of Eritrea's governors and the regional capital, several major institutions were established here, like ↗Asmära University in 1958 (which evolved out of university-style law courses at the Catholic Mission in 1945/46), and the 1969 exhibition of industry, agriculture and tourism, "Asmara Expo '69". During the ↗Coup d'état of 1960, on his return from his visit to South America, Ḫaylä Śəllase came first to A. on 16 December, where his son-in-law, the Imperial Representative Brigadier-General Abiyä Abbäbä had organized effective resistance against the Coup.

The main street, which – with its numerous Italian-style bars – was and still is the centre of urban life, changed its name repeatedly according to the political situation. First called Viale Mussolini (1925-41), and then Corso Italia, it was renamed Haile Selassie I Avenue in October 1952, after 1974 National Avenue (*ḥəḫerawi gʷädäna*), and immediately after the arrival of the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front in 1991 *gʷädäna ḫamät* ('Liberty Avenue', also translated as 'Independence Avenue'). Before the 1990s the locals didn't adopt the official naming, calling the street *kambəštato* (< Ital. *campo cintato*, the area reserved for Italians in colonial times).

The growth of A. resulted into the administrative incorporation of surrounding rural areas like Qaḥawta, Godayf, Sämbäl, Bet Gärgiš and Ḫaz Ḫaz, the latter still today a village (founded on the site of a 19th cent. battle, lit. 'catch catch'). In the 1990s the archaeologically important area of Sämbäl (↗ᶜOna culture) was the site of the construction of huge housing complexes for the higher middle class, built by a Korean company (therefore locally called "Ǝnda Korəya").

Administratively, A. was divided into 9 zones and 36 *qäbäles*. The traditional quarters of Abba Šawl (at the foot of the hill Č̣ärhi), Gäza Bərhanu and Ǝdaga Ḥamus in the north-east are densely populated and dispose only of a poor infrastructure. ↗May Tämänay is a huge quarter of small block houses, mainly constructed in the 1950s and 60s, where, in the 1990s during new construction work, important archaeological remains were discovered. Other quarters are Tira Vollo, Paradiso, Märam Č̣ära, Ǝdaga ʿArbi, Amba Galyano, Gäza Käniša (with the oldest church of A., ↗Ǝnda Maryam), Gäğärät ʿAbi, Gäğärät Nəʾəštä, Gäza Banda, Bar Ğəmma, Ṣäṣärat, Sätanta Oto and Forrobiya, some of these being derived from original Italian names (e.g. *ferrovia*, 'railway', for the area around the former, now dismantled, railway station).

The great majority of the population (according to local estimates, numbering more than half a million today) consists of highlanders, including a strong minority of Muslims (cp. the A. mosque ↗Ğämiʿ al-Ḫulafāʾ ar-Rāšidīn). The "Asmarinos" speak an urbanized Təgrəñña, which still shows considerable Italian influence. Today, A. is the capital of the State of Eritrea, but several ministries have been established outside A. due to the government's decentralization policy. The National Museum in the former Italian Governor's Palace (now the government's guest house), with its rich collections of archaeological, ethnographic and other objects, has moved to the historical building of the Comboni School.

Lit.: KIDANE MENGISTEAB, *Asmara, Eritrea. Urban Conservation in Africa*, Trenton, NJ 1996; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia, the Federal Experience*, New Brunswick, NJ 1997, 123 (Lit.), 130, 140, 144; LEONARDO ORIOLO (ed.), *Stile Asmara. Asmara Style*, Asmara 1998; YƎSḤAQ YOSEF, ዛንታ፡ ከተማ፡ አስመራ (*Zanta kätäma Asmära*, 'The History of the City of Asmära'), Addis Abäba 1993 A.D.; MEBRAHTU ABRAHAM, "History as Told Through Street Names", *Eritrea Profile*, 18 August 2001, 2. MICHELE CHECCHI, "Asmara", *Rivista Coloniale*, Ottobre 1910, 1–12, annex

Wolbert Smidt

Architecture of Asmära

Traditional constructions in Eritrea share many features of ancient Aksumite ↗architecture. Another prominent feature of the construction history of Eritrea is the presence of Italian influence, concentrated mostly around A.

A. in the 1930's experienced a building boom never seen in its history, greatly influenced by the city-planner Vittorio Cafiero and the architects Guido Ferrazza (b. 1887, d. 1961) and Eduardo Cavagniari. Apart from preparing the general construction plan for A., Cafiero established the Viale Mussolini, as the principle axis of the town.

Ferrazza's influence on A. is evident even today. Having come to A. in 1935 as Chief Engineer of the municipality, he designed the fish market, the telegraph and telephone buildings and the new mosque. Ferrazza worked under General Nazi in Harär, Dərre Dawa, Ğiğğiga and Adaama (Nazret) in Ethiopia. He worked with simple forms and contributed greatly to what now can be called low- and medium-cost housing, or popular housing. Eduardo Cavagniari (b. 1868, d. 1920) was another important architect. Two of his designs are considered as classical examples of modern architecture, namely St. Mary's Orthodox Cathedral (1937) and the Teatro Asmara (1920), an opera-house, simply but elegantly decorated. Both Cavagniari and Ferrazza tried to combine traditional motifs with modern construction style. For example, Cavagniari often used a modified form of the "monkey head" construction in his designs.

Italian (later British) colonial architects had built an extensive array of building using the Art Deco or International style (where functional and aesthetic coherence is achieved by a rational approach, in contrast to, e.g., the highly romantic Art Nouveau or Expressionism styles) already before the 1930s. A., in particular, has a large number of Art Deco or International style buildings, a recent survey of which indicates some 300. These include the apartment block known as Palazzo Faletta (built 1938-39), the Casa del Fascio (now housing the Ministry of Education), and the Fiat Tagliero (the petrol station inspired by the shape of an aeroplane, constructed in 1938). In independent Eritrea after 1993 new initiatives to preserve the old buildings are underway.

Lit.: PAUL OLIVER (ed.), *Shelter in Africa*, New York 1971; GIULIANO GRESLERI – PIER GIORGIO MASSARETTI – STEFANO ZAGNONI (eds.), *Architettura italiana d'oltremare, 1870–1940*, Venezia 1993 (Lit.); LEONARDO ORIOLO (ed.), *Stile Asmara. Asmara Style*, Asmara 1998 (Lit.); GIOTTO DAINELLI – OLINTO MARINELLI, *Risultati scientifici di un viaggio nella Colonia Eritrea*, Firenze 1912, here 393–467.

Naigzy Ghebremedhin

Asmära University

The A.U. (አስመራ፡ ዩኒቨርሲቲ, University of Asmara) was officially instituted by the Mis-

The inner courtyard of Asmära University, 1993, photo courtesy of Hans J. Knospe

sionary Congregation "Piae Matres Nigritiae" of Verona on 20 December 1958. The institution of the A.U. was preceded by an experimental academic year in 1957–58, during which private courses in the Faculty of Education were held, which proved the possibility of providing higher education in Eritrea. At the moment of its foundation (1958), A.U. assumed the name of "The Holy Family University Institute" and was housed on the premises of the "Istituto Santa Famiglia". A.U. was established as a local institute, in the first place destined for Eritrean students, even if in fact it began with small groups of Italian girls with the title of Seminar Secondary School, which on the international level offered admission to University faculties.

From the beginning the structure of the University Institute embraced a complete programme to be actuated gradually over ten years. This programme comprised:

1) the acquisition of academic status on a national and international level;
2) the completion of the academic structure on the model of Italian Universities, because, through this an international standard, according to the Geneva Convention, could be reached, and it was foreseen that the federation of Eritrea to Ethiopia was a transitory situation and, consequently, a clear legislation on the propriate academic grades to be obtained in the country had to be provided;
3) the formation of the teaching and administrative staff;
4) the official institution on 20 December 1960 as "The Holy Family University Institute", comprising courses for degrees in Modern Languages, Economics and Commerce, Education, Philosophy, Mathematics and Engineering (Architecture);
5) legal recognition of the College on 26 April 1961 by the Eritrean government.

The name of "The Holy Family University Institute" was changed to "University of Asmara" in August 1964. The inscription on the seal "Universitas Studiorum Asmerensis Sanctae Familia dicata" remained unchanged. The Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I deigned to become the Chancellor of A.U. By the year 1965 it was found essential that A.U. award its own degrees and on 17 July 1968 it was granted a charter. The first degrees were awarded in 1969 and in 1972 the first Ethiopian President, Asäffa Täkle, was appointed. After him, the Presidentship was executed by Sister Luella Wall, followed by Sister Anna Maria Soriollo, then Täkäśtä Aḥdärom (1979–83), Dr. Täwäldä Bərhan (1984–90), Dr. ᶜAndäbərhan (1991–92), Dr. Wäldäᵓab Yəsḥaq (since 1993).

A.U. offered, in addition to the daily programs, extension degree programs in English, Accounting, Economics and Management, Law, Secretarial Science and Pharmacology. Besides, non-credit service courses in French, Arabic, Italian and English were given. In 1975 English was adopted as the only language of instruction. In 1977 A.U. became part of the Ethiopian Commision for Higher Education.

After Eritrea obtained de-facto independence in 1991, the Provisional Government re-established A.U., which had been dismantled by the Ethiopian Government in 1986. In 1992 it was granted a charter by the Provisional Government guaranteeing it autonomy and academic freedom. Since then an appointed President and a University Senate consisting of Deans, Department Heads and Directors has run the University.

To begin with, A.U. restructured its academic programmes to reflect the needs and resource constraints of the country. But since the academic year 1996–97 it has upgraded most of the programmes and established new ones. Presently there are seven colleges and two programmes: the Colleges of Science (with six departments), Agriculture (five), Arts and Social Sciences (nine), Business and Economics (four), Engineering (three), Education (three) and Health Science (three). The two programmes are the Law Programme and the Eritrean Language and Literature Programme. The Colleges and the programs offer regular day students degrees and diplomas in science or in various fields of the arts. In addition, the Colleges of Education, Arts and Social Sciences, Business and Economics, and

Law offer a one-year certificate programme for government employees.

Src.: Legal Recognition of the College by the Eritrean Government Ref. Letter S. S/4/244 of 30 March 1959; Legal Recognition of the College as Juridical Body of Public Right Subject to the Laws of Ethiopia by the Eritrean Government, Ref. Letter S.S/E/4/268 of 26 April 1961 and Ref. Letter S.S./E/4/922 of 18 October 1962; *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, u. 2 An. Et. vol. L. III, V, III of 28 February 1961; "Charter of the University of Asmara, Order no. 52 of 1968", *Nägarit Gazeta* 17 July 1968, 137-47; *Asmara University General Catalogue*, *1983–1984 Academic Year*, Asmara 1983; ABDULKADER SALEH MOHAMMAD, *Freshman Students Guide Booklet. University of Asmara*, Asmara 1999; EZIO TONINI, "Contributo alla conoscenza dell'Etiopia nelle tesi degli studenti dell'Università di Asmara: saggio bibliografico", *QSE* 1, 1980, 79–90; KilHDic 427f.

Abdulkader Saleh Mohammad

Asmat

A. (**አስማት**; pl. of Gəʿəz **ስማ**, *səm* 'name') as a term has two meanings. In its wider and popular sense it may be used for the denomination of written amulets (↗Magic scrolls) in Ethiopia. In its narrow and exact sense it means a specific subject of Ethiopian magical literature, i.e. a written charm where evil powers are conjured by numerous names (A.) of various forces, both good and evil. As Krachkovskiy (1928:162) wrote, magical scrolls "…may contain various texts, sometimes even canonical ones, to which, however, magical power is ascribed. More often they are filled with charms and spells, and sometimes it is just a collection of mysterious names, whose meaning and origin are almost impossible to determine. They are of no importance for the scroll owner, because the efficiency and protective function are usually ascribed not so much to the reading of a scroll as to wearing it…".

Among evil names there may be distinguished: 1) names of maladies which are personified; 2) names borrowed from the Bible, e.g. Legewon from Mk 5:9; "pestilence in darkness" and "destruction at noonday" from Ps 91:6, or Mästema, a name of Satan, borrowed from the *Book of Jubilees* 10:8 (*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Kufale*); 3) names of some ethnic (Barya, Galla, Fälaša, Qəmant) and professional groups whose members are believed to possess evil magical power; 4) names of demons borrowed from *zar*-cult lore.

As for the names for divine personages they may be divided by their origin into: 1) Hebrew names and epithets (Mätäšläläš, s. Gen 5:21, 1 Chron 1:3); 2) Greek epithets transliterated into Gəʿəz (Kiros, Ṗiros, Ṗanwama from Greek **πνεῦμα**); 3) Arabic words, among them words from the Christian Arabic vocabulary, formulas from the Qurʾān, epithets of Allah and Arabic names of Bible personages in Ethiopic transliteration (Wäläʾəbnwäruh, from *wal-ibn war-rūḥ* 'by the Son and the Spirit!', Allahuma from *allāhummā* 'O, God!'); 4) a few words of Latin origin, like the palindrome Sator Arepo Tenet Opera Rotas; 5) numerous pseudo-Greek and pseudo-Hebrew names ending with *-os*, or *-ʾel*, with a main body derived from Ethiopic roots, such as **ሰዳዳኤል** (Sädädäʾel, 'persecutor', derived from Gəʿəz *säddädä* 'banish, drive out'), very similar to the names found in ↗*Ləfafä ṣadəq* texts.

↗Demons; ↗Devil; ↗Magic

Lit.: BORIS TURAIEV, "Ethiopian orationes falsae et exorcismi", in: *Recueil des travaux rédigés en mémoire du jubilé scientifique de M. Daniel Chwolson, 1846–1896*, Berlin 1899, 242–67; WILLIAM HOYT WORREL, "Charms and Amulets [Abyssinian]", in: JAMES HASTING (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 3, Edinburgh 1910, 398–401; ID., "Studien zum abessinischen Zauberwesen", *ZA* 23, 1909, 149–83; *ibid.* 24, 1910, 59–96; *ibid.* 29, 1915, 85–141; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Prières magiques éthiopiennes pour délier les charmes* (*mafṭəḥē šarāy*), Warszawa 1955 (= Rocznik Orientalistyczny 18); MANFRED KROPP, "Der dritte Talisman der Askalä-Maryam Dässeta: Eine äthiopische Zauberrolle im Stadt- und Hochstiftmuseum", *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Dillingen an der Donau* 91, 1989, 342–57; IGNATIY KRACHKOVSKIY, "Abissinskiy magicheskiy svitok iz sobraniya F. I. Uspenskogo" ('Abyssinian Magic Scroll from the Collection of F. I. Uspenski'), *Reports of Academy of Scienæs USSR*, 1928, 163–67; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "Imena v efiopskih magicheskih svitkah" ('Names in Ethiopian Magic Scrolls'), *Narody Azii i Afriki* 6, 1973, 123–30; ID., "Ethiopian Magic Literature", *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 3, 1994, 109–17.

Sevir Chernetsov

Asosa

A. (**አሶሳ**, also Asossa) was the capital of Asosa-Beni Šangul *awraǧǧa* of Wälläga province (today: the capital of Beni Šangul-Gumuz region).

The present town was founded towards the end of the 19th cent. by *šayḫ* ↗Ḫʷāǧalī al-Ḥasan, a descendant of Arab-Sudanese groups of Islamic traders and preachers (*watāwit*) who had come to the area in the first quarter of the century in search of southern gold and slaves.

After the Ethiopian annexation of the region in 1898, A. rose to primacy as the political and economic capital of ↗Beni Šangul in close touch with the central government, which it supplied with gold and slaves in great quantity until the mid 1930s.

The original population, a mixture of mainly local Berta (*ǧebelawin*) and Arab-Sudanese (*watāwit*) groups living along the Sudanese border, was severely affected during this period by repeated slave-raids, forced labour in the goldfields and military recruitment by the *watāwit* ruling families. For many years the town saw very little change. During the Italian occupation (1936–41) A. was made the headquarters of the Beni Šangul Commissariat.

After the 1974 take-over by the *Därg*, the town grew tremendously when some 60,000 drought-stricken highland peasants, mainly from Wällo, were resettled in its vicinity in the mid-1980s. By the end of the *Därg* period, the town was severely damaged by military raids and bids for power by several liberation movements, particularly the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front, the Sudanese People Liberation Army and the Oromo Liberation Front.

The town is being reconstructed today, but the past 20 years have left it impoverished and dependent on external support. The 2000 Census lists its urban population at 15,359.

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY, *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa 2000.
Lit.: BEKELE GELETA, *Asosa Awraja People and Local Government*, 4th-year essay, Political Science Department, Haile Selassie I University, Addis Ababa 1968; HOSAENA ADDISU, *The Growth and Development of Asossa Town up to 1980*, 4th-year essay, History Department, Addis Ababa University, October 1985; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy. Prelude to the History of a No Man's Land, Bela Shangul, Wallagga, Ethiopia (ca. 1800–1898)*, Napoli 1981.

Alessandro Triulzi

Aṣqu

Liq A. (**አጽቁ**, also Aṭqu, b. ca. 1770, d. 1840s) was a learned scholar and judge of Gondär, renowned for his learning and wit, for his library and garden and for his friendship towards visiting Europeans. Reportedly the son and grandson of people who had known the 18th-cent. Scottish explorer James ↗Bruce (Rüppell 1838-40:86), he was himself acquainted with most foreign travellers of his own time.

The German Eduard ↗Rüppell, who describes him as remarkably handsome, considered him a man of great culture and the "worthiest" Ethiopian he ever met, while the French Saint Simonians Edmond ↗Combes and Maurice ↗Tamisier called him ("Lic-Iatsko") the most learned man in the country. The Swiss Protestant missionary Samuel ↗Gobat, who disputed with A. on religious matters, claims that the latter had declared that the bread and wine of the Eucharist did not constitute "the true body of Jesus Christ", but only their "representation, like images". The missionary nevertheless recognized A. as a "philanthropist", who favoured the coming of foreign teachers to educate his compatriots and believed that if all the Christians of differing faiths were re-united, "it would bring down a blessing on the whole world". A. also took a keen interest in biblical geography, as well as in Ethiopian history. He is quoted, by Combes and Tamisier as declaring that his country's former greatness could be restored "by capable men"; by Rüppell as favouring the import of biblical texts printed in London by the ↗British and Foreign Bible Society; and by Arnauld d'↗Abbadie as believing that the Oromo had originated in Arabia and had entered the Horn of Africa through the port of Berbera.

A., who lived in a large house near the church of *qəddus* Mikaʾel by the Fasilädäs palace, was acquainted with Gəʿəz and knew some Arabic. He had a sizable library, containing a voluminous work on traditional Ethiopian medicine, and at least one book in Latin. His garden contained numerous medicinal plants, including *koso*, besides *ənsät*, coffee, grapes, and pomegranates. Though an avowed friend of Europeans, A. refused to sell them any part of his library, but helped Rüppell copy the great collection of Gəʿəz manuscripts now housed in the Stadt- und Universitäts-Bibliothek in Frankfurt am Main.

Lit.: SAMUEL GOBAT, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia*, London 1834, 174f., 182, 198, 210; EDMOND

COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, Paris 1838, 343f., 347; EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, Frankfurt 1838–40, vol. 2, 86, 89f., 104, 107f., 235, 239f.; ARNAULD D'ABBADIE, *Douze ans dans la Haute-Ethiopie (Abyssinie)*, Paris 1868, 42, 44, 46ff., 75–79, 130, 173ff., 179–83, 189, 191–201, 203, 206ff., 213, 220f., 242, 382, 556f.; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Two Forgotten Scholars of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: Abu Rumi and Liq Atsqu", *EthObs* 12, 2, 1969, 140.

Richard Pankhurst

ᶜAśrat

ᶜA. (**ዓሥራት**) may be translated into English as 'tithe'. It means one-tenth of the crop produced from a tract of land payable to the government or to the ↗*gʷəlt* landowner on top of the fixed land tax (↗*Gəbər*). Some documents from the end of the 18th cent. and the beginning of the 19thcent. use the term *ᶜaśur* (**ዓሡር**). In its religious sense, the idea of ᶜA. originates from the Bible (e.g., Gen 28:22, Lev 27:32, Mt 17:22 etc.); it is also discussed in ↗*Fəṯḥa nägäśt* (ch. 18). The Church still considers ᶜA. to be a spiritual obligation of the faithful, even though the law does not request individuals to pay ᶜA. to the Church. Not only a donation offered to the Church, but also any kind of charity made, e.g., within the local community, can be considered as ᶜA. in its religious sense.

As tax or levy ᶜA. has its basis in the religious stipulation "one has to pay one-tenth of his earnings to the state". ᶜA. was levied and collected from the landowner annually, unless it was discounted due to a specific service the taxpayer had rendered to the state. Even though ᶜA. was a tax imposed on the landowner, the landlords at their own discretion usually required their tenants to share the burden of its payment.

For centuries, landowners were required to give a tenth of their produce to government officials as ᶜA., in addition to providing services of various kind. After the expansion of the role of centralized government in the 19th cent., officials were appointed for administrative purposes and tax collection. In October 1892 *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II mandated the general payment of ᶜA. He also prohibited government officials from going house-to-house to collect taxes. Instead, farmers were required to collect on their own the tithe and to bear the obligation of transporting the grain to government silos. In October 1921 *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) reformed the collection of ᶜA. largely to benefit soldiers. Payment of taxation in the form of labour was abolished in 1928.

The Italians abolished ᶜA. to increase their popularity, but reimposed it to meet revenue shortfalls. This re-imposition was reconfirmed when Ḫaylä Śəllase was restored to power. In December 1942 the Ministry of Finance announced that ᶜA. was to be paid in cash. The Land Tax Proclamation enacted in 1942 abolished taxes paid in kind and other miscellaneous dues and imposed that for each ↗*gaśśa* (ca. 40 hectares of land), or part thereof, the rate of tax for land classified as fertile would be 15 *bərr*, for semi-fertile 10 *bərr*, and for poor land 5 *bərr*. In those regions where land had not been measured the rate was to behalf of the rate in force in 1935.

ᶜA. was collected from land owners until 1967. At that time the Land Tax Proclamation of 1942 (as amended by Proclamations nos. 8, 70 and 117), the Education Tax Proclamation no. 94 of 1947, and the Health Tax Decree no. 37 of 1959, all levied on land were repealed and replaced by the 1967 Income Tax Amendment Proclamation no. 255. From then on, income tax was paid on the agricultural income of landlords and tenants at the rate provided for in schedule (b) of the Proclamation.

↗Land tenure; ↗Taxation

Src.: *liqä səlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƏNÄH, **ማኅበራዊ፡ ኑሮ፡ በኢትዮጵያ** (*Maḫbärawi nuro bä'ityopya*, 'The Communal Life in Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba [1966/67 A.M.], 46–49; IGNAZIO GUIDI, *Il "Fetha nagast" o "legislazione dei re"*, Napoli 1897–99, 127 (text) = 182f. (tr.).

Lit.: GEBRE WOLD ENGIDA WORQ, "Ethiopia's Traditional System of Land Tenure and Taxation", *EthObs* 5, 4, 1962, 302–39; JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *The Role of Land Tenure in the System of Ethiopian Imperial Government in Modern Times*, Warszawa 1980 (Rozprawy Uniwersytety Warszawskiego 116), 66ff., passim; RICHARD PANKHURST, *An Introduction to the Economic History of Ethiopia, from Early Times to 1800*, London 1965; ABERRA JEMBERE, *Legal History of Ethiopia 1434–1974: Some Aspects of Substantive and Procedural Laws*, Leiden 1998 (Lit.); DONALD CRUMMEY, *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia: from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*, Oxford 2000 (Lit.).

Aberra Jembere

ᶜAśrat

Ras ᶜA. (**ዓሥራት**) was one of the regional army commanders from ↗Lasta who contested to become king-makers in the early part of the era of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. His power-base was in Gədan. He and his brother, *ras* ↗Wäldä Gäbrəʾel, represented the Lasta group, which wanted a second come-back to dominate the

Gondär court as king-makers. The two brothers defeated *ras* ↗Aligaz of Yäğğu and forced him to retire into his region in 1791/92.

As king-makers in Gondär in 1791/92, they jointly dominated the relatively short reigns of five kings. In 1799, a serious quarrel broke out among the two Lasta brothers and their allies on which prince to install on the throne, and particularly on the support for *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis. The latter, being favoured by the Lasta group, had been released from prison on the defeat of *ras* Aligaz and reinstated three times on the throne under their domination. In the struggle between the two Lasta brothers, *ras* ↗Märəd Ḫaylu of Goğğam and *ras* ↗Gäbre of Sämen supported ᶜA., while Wäldä Gäbrəʾel had the support of the Yäğğu Oromo local chiefs. At the battle of Wägära in 1799, both ᶜA. and Wäldä Gäbrəʾel died. This gave another opportunity to the supporters of Wäldä Gäbrəʾel from Yäğğu to emerge as king-makers in Gondär, and their dynasty continued to dominate until 1853.

Src.: BTafA 436, 987; HERBERT WELD BLUNDELL, *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia, 1769–1840*, Cambridge 1922, 155, 168, 181f.; *däbtära* ZANNÄB, *The Chronicle of King Theodore of Abyssinnia*, ed. by ENNO LITTMANN, Princeton – New York – Leipzig 1902, 1ff.

Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, "Čačaho and the Politics of the Northern Wällo-Bägémder Border", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 1–9, here 7; WUDU TAFETE KASSU, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, c. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 11f., 135f.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

ᶜAśrat Wäldäyäs

Professor ᶜA.W. (**ዓሥራት፡ ወልደየስ**, b. 5 *Säne* 1920 A.M. [12 June 1928 A.D.], Addis Abäba, d. 14 May 1999, USA) was a prominent surgeon and politician. He received his education at Täfäri Mäkʷännən School (1942), Victoria College in Alexandria, Egypt (1943–44), and, finally, Edinburgh Medical School in Scotland. In 1956, he began his career as a physician at Princess Śäḫay Hospital. He returned to Great Britain to specialize in surgery at the Royal College of Surgeons in Scotland and England.

In 1965 ᶜA.W. became the first Dean of the Faculty of Medicine of the then Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (↗Addis Ababa University). He also served as the personal physician to *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase. He served his country for over 35 years in his profession having published a number of medical articles in scientific journals.

In March 1993 he was dismissed for his political activities as the head of the All Amhara Organization. He spent the years 1994–98 in prison and died soon after his release in the USA. ᶜA.W. was buried on 18 *Gənbot* 1992 A.M. [26 May 1999 A.D.] at Addis Abäba in the Bale Wäld church.

Src.: Lockot II, s. index.

Lit.: QIDANÄ MARƎYE, **ዓሥራት፡ አልሞተም** (*ᶜAśrat almotämm*, "Aśrat Did Not Die"), *Mənilək* 1, 1991 A.M., 3; **ዓሥራት፡ አንጸባራቂ፡ ኮከብ** (*ᶜAśrat anṣäbaraqi kokäb*, "Aśrat, a Sparkling Star"), *Ṭobiya* 6, 10, 1991 A.M., 19–22; "Asrat Wäldäyäs: Ethiopian Review's Man of the Year", *Ethiopian Review* 4, 1, 1994, 10–13.

Tesfaye Akalu

ᶜAśratä Kaśa

Laᶜul ras ᶜA.K. (**ዓሥራት፡ ካሣ**, b. 1 May 1922, Fəčče, d. 23 November 1974, Addis Abäba) was a descendant of both an old aristocratic family of Gondär and Lasta and the royal house of Šäwa. His father was *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu, a cousin of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase, and his great-grandfather was *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase, an uncle of *aṣe* Mənilək II.

ᶜA.K. had a traditional church education at the court of his father and later tutorial education at the court of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase with the latter's son, ↗Mäkʷännən Ḫaylä Śəllase. When Ethiopia was invaded in 1935 (↗Italian war 1935–36), he fled the country with his family. During his exile he attended a school in Bath, England. During the war of liberation, he joined Ḫaylä Śəllase in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, where he obtained military training at Soba military school. He took part in the war of liberation as a junior officer of the ↗Gideon Force. Upon the liberation of the country from Italian rule in 1941, he was raised to the rank of colonel at the early age of 19 and in 1942 he became the military governor of Sälale.

ᶜA.K. was then transferred to civilian positions. From 1944 to 1957, he was the Governor of the provinces of Wälläga (1944–55), Arsi (1945–53), Bägemdər and Səmen (1953–55) and Šäwa (1955–57). He was given the title of ↗*ləᶜul* in 1957 and was appointed as the Vice-President of the Senate, the Upper House of the ↗Parliament. He was also involved in the successful negotiations to obtain autocephaly for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church by having her own Patriarch (↗*Ṗappas*). The Church got its first native Patriarch in 1958.

In 1961, ᶜA.K. rose to the rank of President of the Senate and in 1964 he was assigned to the province of Eritrea, which at that time pre-

Lᵊul ras ᶜAśratä Kaśa, photo from the private collection of Asfa-Wossen Asserate

sented the government with the intractable problem of a fast-growing insurgency fighting for secession. In spite of his efforts to bring about rapid economic growth in the province and to deal with the problem by political means, the insurgency continued to grow. The government of ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld declared the controversial martial law of 1971 and appointed a high-ranking military officer as its governor. ᶜA.K. was appointed as the President of the ↗Crown Council, an important position around the throne. In 1974 the ↗Revolution broke out. ᶜA.K. was, along with many other aristocrats and Imperial officials, arrested (1 July 1974) and soon thereafter executed (23 November 1974).

ᶜA.K. had an image of a highly conservative and reactionary aristocrat in the popular mind. Contrary to this, he was a reformist and liberal-minded man. Following the abortive ↗Coup d'état of 1960, he was one of the few members of the top ruling elite that recommended sweeping reforms, which included a constitutional monarchy, as he was well aware that otherwise a revolution might break out. As the governor of Eritrea, he pushed for a political solution to the problem of the secessionist movement and advocated economic growth and political liberalization.

Lit.: ገድለ፡ ሰማዕታት፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፤ ኅዳር፡ ፲፬ ቀን፡ ፲፱፻፷፯ ዓ፡ ም፡ እና፡ ሐምሌ፡ ፫፡ ፬፡ ፯፡ ፲፱፻፷፰ ዓ፡ ም፡ የተሠዉ፡ የቅዱስ ሰማዕታት፡ አጭር፡ የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ (*Gädlä sämaᶜətatä Ityopya: ḫədar 14 qän 1967 ᶜa[mätä] m[əḥrät] ənna ḫamle; 3, 4, 7, 1971 ᶜa[mätä] m[əḥrät] yätäśäwu yä68 sämaᶜətat aṭṭər yäḫəywät tarik*, 'The Life of the Ethiopian Martyrs: Short Biographies of 68 Martyrs, who were Sacrified on 14 Ḫədar, 1967 A.M. and 3, 4, 7 Ḫamle 1971 A.M.'), ms. n.d.; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Il Negus: vita e morte dell'ultimo re dei re*, Roma 1995; CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Haile Selassie's Government*, London 1969.

Shiferaw Bekele

Aššäbbər Gäbrä Ḫəywät

A. (**አሸብር፡ ገብረ፡ ሕይወት**, b. ca. 1907/08) was an Ethiopian diplomat and drama author. His father was *näggadras* ↗Gäbrä Ḫəywät Baykädañ, a prominent intellectual of *aṣe* Mənilək II's time; his wife was ↗Aster Mängäša. After graduating from a traditional school (probably in Harär), A. was sent for higher education to the Lycée Français in Alexandria, Egypt. He subsequently went to France and then to Switzerland. He studied law at Lausanne and wrote a small book in 1931 called *La vérité sur l'Ethiopie*.

After World War II A. obtained some posts in the Ethiopian diplomatic service and received the title of ↗*balambaras*. A. wrote a couple of plays: **የኪዳነ፡ ቃል፡ ቲያትር** (*Yäkidanä Qal tiyatər*, 'Drama of Kidanä Qal'; 1955/56) and **የንግሥተ፡ አዜብ፡ ታሪካዊ፡ ጉዞ** (*Yänəgəśtä azeb tarikawi guzo*, 'The Historical Journey of the Queen of the South'; 1958/59).

The basis of his first allegorical play *Yäkidanä Qal tiyatər* is the Italian conquest. The main hero is Kidanä Qal (lit. 'covenant', here: *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I). King Hawaz of Qəddəst (Italy) plans the conquest of Hagär Qərbət (Ethiopia) with the help of a spy, Colombo. But Hagär Qərbət also sends her envoy, Muse, who finds out Qəddəst's intentions and organizes the defence in such a way that the battle between the two countries was won by Hagär Qərbət. Apart from this main plot, there is a love intrigue which gives the play a rather moralistic character.

The other drama, *Yänəgəśtä azeb tarikawi guzo* bears a close resemblance with the Arabic drama by Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm *Sulaymān al-Ḥakīm* ('Solomon the Wise'). At the basis of both plays is a historical legend about love between the ruler of Jerusalem King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (↗Makəddа). But in spite of the resemblance, this play is a praiseworthy attempt to treat legendary material quite freely. It has its own atmosphere and authenticity. For the first time in the history of Ethiopian drama, fantasy and psychological penetration into the depths of human emotions play a significant role. This drama won a literary award at the University College of Addis Abäba in 1959/60. A.'s date of death is unknown.

Src.: ACHEBER GABRÉ-HIÔT, *La vérité sur l'Ethiopie*, [Lausanne] 1931; AŠŠÄBBƏR GÄBRÄ ḤƏYWÄT, **የኪዳነ፡ ቃል፡ ቲያትር** (*Yäkidanä Qal tiyatər*, 'Drama of Kidanä Qal'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.]; ID., **የንግሥተ፡ አዜብ፡ ታሪካዊ፡ ጉዞ** (*Yänəgəśtä azeb tarikawi guzo*, 'The Historical Journey of the Queen of South'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.].

Lit.: *Mäskäräm* 1, 3 March 1981, 52–66; ALBERT GÉRARD, *Four African Literatures: Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1971, 347; GEBRE HIYWOT BAYKEDAGN, *The State and Administration of People*, Addis Ababa ²1953; THOMAS LEIPER KANE, *Ethiopian literature in Amharic*, Wiesbaden 1975, 157f., 170ff.; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Foundations of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 3, 1962, 241–90, here 258, 275.

Galina Balashova

Assäggaḳäñ

Däbtära A. (**አሰጋኸኝ**, also known as Assäggaḳäñ Zäwadla, 'A. from Wadla'), who lived in the mid-19th cent., was one of the well-known Catholic converts and a learned man of the traditional church school.

A. is mainly known thanks to the letters he wrote to Antoine d'↗Abbadie, which are an important source of information on the time of *aṣe* Tewodros II's reign and fall. It was also at d'Abbadie's request that A. copied some manuscripts, containing, e.g., the ↗*Tarikä nägäšt*.

Most of his letters, preserved in d'Abbadie's collection, were translated and published by Carlo Conti Rossini (1925), as well as by Luigi Fusella (1954) and recently, most completely, by Sven Rubenson (1987, 1994, 2000).

Src.: BN, Ethiop. Abb. 254, fol. 63, 178, 185–87, 189–223, 226f., 231–38, 241, 251, 253–57, 289f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Epistolario del Debterà Aseggachègn di Uadlà", *RRALm* 6, 1, 1925, 449–90; ID., "La fine di Re Teodoro", *Nuova antologia* 1935, 453–58; LUIGI FUSELLA, "Le lettere del dabtarā Assaggākhāñ", *RSE* 12, 1953, 80–95; *ibid.* 13, 1954, 20–30; SVEN RUBENSON, *Correspondence and Treaties 1800–1854*, Evanston – Addis Ababa 1987 (Acta Aethiopica 1), no. 146; ID., *Tewodros and his Contemporaries 1855–1868*, Lund – Addis Ababa 1994 (Acta Aethiopica 2), no. 96; ID., *Internal Rivalries and Foreign Threats*, Addis Ababa 2000 (Acta Aethiopica 3), s. index.

Amsalu Aklilu

Assal ↗ ᶜAfar depression

Assälläfäč Wände

A.W. (**አሰለፈች፡ ወንዴ**, b. 1882, d. 1932) was a daughter of *wäyzäro* Dästa, sister of *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu. She was influential during the reigns of *aṣe* Mənilək and *ətege* Zäwditu, mainly due to her close relationship with Ṭaytu and her prominent marriages. In 1901 Ṭaytu initiated her divorce from her third husband *däğğazmač* Dämməssäw Näsibu and married her to *däğğazmač* ↗Yəlma Mäkʷännən, elder brother of *ras* Täfari Mäkʷännən (later ↗Ḥaylä Śəllase I). After Yəlma's death in 1907, A.W. was married to *ras* ↗Ḥaylu Täklä Haymanot, who divorced her when her aunt, the Empress Ṭaytu, was deposed in 1910. She was later married to *däğğazmač* Mäkʷärya Gärmame and *däğğazmač* Gəzaw Gəmma, consecutively.

Src.: HAILE SELLASSIE I, *My Life and Ethiopia's Progress*, ed., tr. by EDWARD ULLENDORFF, Oxford 1976, s. index; *aläqa* GEBRE-IGZIABHER ELYAS, *Prowess, Piety and Politics: the Chronicle of Abeto Iyasu and Empress Zewditu of Ethiopia (1909–1930)*, ed., tr. by REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, Köln 1994 (SKK 104).

Lit.: CHRIS PROUTY, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II. Ethiopia 1883-1910*, London –-Trenton NJ 1986, viii, 199, 220.

Zewde Gabre-Sellassie

ᶜAssäm

ᶜA. (**ዓሰም**, also Hassäm) is the name of a stream which rises to the north-west of the town of ↗ᶜAdwa. Just to the south it joins the slightly larger stream of May Gʷaggʷa to become a tributary of the Wärʾi river, itself an affluent of the ↗Täkkäze. Because the Jesuit missionaries established themselves at ↗Fəremona, on a hill overlooking the May Gʷaggʷa, the ᶜA. stream and an ᶜA. village are mentioned in their writings. This ᶜA. is not to be confused with another place mentioned by them: that of Aça, which probably refers to the district of Ahsəʾa, located to the north-east of ᶜAdwa.

In 1635 two Jesuits were stoned to death in the village of ᶜA., which in all probability was ᶜAdwa itself. To avoid confusion with the 1896 battle of ᶜAdwa, historians have given the name battle of ᶜA. to the decisive engagement of 11 July 1871, which was fought on the lower right side of the stream and which catapulted ↗Yoḥannəs IV to the throne.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 228; *Guida* 278; SVEN RUBENSON et al. (eds.), *Internal Rivalries and Foreign Threats 1869–1879*, Lund 2000 (Acta Aethiopica 3), s. index; BAIRU TAFLA, *A Chronicle of Emperor Yoḥannes IV (1872–89)*, Wiesbaden 1977 (AeF 1), 75.

Merid Wolde Aregay

Assəbe ↗ Hassəbe Bähabte

Aßfalg, Julius

A. (b. 1919, Hohenaschau, Bavaria, d. 2001, Munich) was a German orientalist. He held a

professorship for "Philologie des christlichen Orients" at the University of Munich, where he taught, researched and published in all branches of Christian Oriental studies. Although Armenian, Georgian, Syriac and Christian Arabic were his main fields of expertise, he taught and published also on Coptic and Ethiopic subjects. As a devoted university teacher, author of numerous articles in encyclopaedias and long-time editor of *Oriens Christianus*, he worked tirelessly to win Christian Oriental studies wider acceptance.

Lit.: REGINE SCHULZ – MANFRED GÖRG (eds.), *Lingua restituta orientalis. Festgabe für Julius Aßfalg*, Wiesbaden 1990 (Ägypten und Altes Testament 20) [Lit.]; HUBERT KAUFHOLD, "Nachruf auf Julius Aßfalg", *OrChr* 85, 2001, 1–3.

Stefan Weninger

ᶜAstär

The South Arabian deity ᶜṮTR, of common Semitic origin (cf. Akkadian Ištar), appears in the inscriptions of the short-living, strongly Sabaean-influenced Ethiopian kingdom of ↗DᶜMT (8th–7th cent. B.C.?) as ᶜSTR (RIE 1:5; 5 B:2; 9:6; 10:13–14; 13:4; 33 II; 106:2; 152:2; 153; 155:2), but also as ᶜṮTR (RIE 39:4; 55 B; 56:2; 58) and as a theophoric element in the personal name LḪYᶜṮT (RIE 41 [Sabaean loan?]). ᶜSTR is also mentioned in the pre-Christian Gəᶜəz inscriptions of king ᶜZN (↗ᶜEzana; RIE 185 II:21; RIE 185bis II (C):35; RIE 188:25: vocalized ᶜAstär), corresponding to Greek **Ουρανός** (RIE 270bis:30) and probably to **Διός** (↗Monumentum Adulitanum; RIE 277/39 [mid-3rd cent. A.D.?]).

The South Arabian ᶜṮTR is a male deity, which is at least true for the Aksumite ᶜSTR / **Ουρανός**. The noun ᶜSTR was used in Aksumite-Gəᶜəz for "heaven" (RIE 198 I:2 [Christian or pagan?] and the form *astär* for "God" in the Gəᶜəz translation of Sir 37:21 (cf. Tgr. ᶜ*astär* 'heaven', Littmann – Höfner 1962:465, and Amh. *astärbošäš* 'étoile du soir, Venus', Baeteman 1929). In the pre-Christian Aksumite pantheon ᶜṮTR/ᶜSTR might have occupied the position of the deity of heaven.

Src.: RIE.

Lit.: JOSEPH BAETEMAN, *Dictionnaire amarigna-français*, Dire-Daoua 1929, 575; HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, ***ΤΟ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΙC ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΙC ΕΡΓΟΝ ΘΕΙΟΝ. Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum***, Bonn 1994, 37–41; MARIA HÖFNER, "Südarabien. Die Semiten Äthiopiens", in: HANS WILHELM HAUSSIG (ed.), *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, vol. 1: *Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient*, Stuttgart 1965, 483–567; ENNO LITTMANN – MARIA HÖFNER, *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1962, 465.

Alexander Sima

Aster

Wäyzäro A. (**አስቴር**; lived in the 18th cent.) was the second of three daughters of Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) and *grazmač* Iyasu. Her sisters were ↗Wälättä Ɜsraᵓel and ↗Alṭaš. Like her sisters she was a prominent member of the Gondärine aristocracy. She held lands attached to the Narga Śəllase and Qaha Iyäsus churches, the former in Lake Ṭana, the latter in Gondär. She was married at least twice, the first time to *qäñ̈ñazmač* Näḫo of Čärken, the second time to the prominent nobleman *däğğazmač* Yämaryam Barya. James Bruce claims that she also married *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel Səḥul, but this is not confirmed by any other source. Bruce also states that she was a great friend of his during his days in Gondär. Her dates of birth and death are unknown.

Src.: GuiIyas 10f., 204 (tr.); BruNile II, 612, 698ff.; IV, 294f.

Donald Crummey

Aster Gannoo

A.G. (**አስቴር፡ ጋኖ**, also Aster Gano, birth name Salbaan Gannoo; b. ca. 1872, Illubabor, d. 1962, Neqemte) was a pioneer Oromo woman who worked with ↗Onesimos Näsib on the translation of the ↗Bible into Oromo language. Born free, she was sold into slavery by the agents of the king of Limmu Ɜnnarya, but the boat taking her to the Arabian peninsula was intercepted by Italian ships. A.G. was entrusted to the Swedish Evangelical Mission at ↗Ɜmkullu, north of Asmära on the coast, where she attended a girl's school. On finishing school, A.G. was assigned the task of compiling a dictionary of Oromo, later used by Onesimus Näsib in his translation of the N.T. (1893) and the complete Bible (*Maṭaafa Qulqulluu*, 1899). In addition, they jointly published *The Galla Spelling Book* (1894), which is a collection of Oromo oral literature, such as songs of the shepherds, baby songs, love songs, proverbs, stories, folk-tales, riddles, children's plays, ↗*ateetee* songs (spiritual songs of women), Oromo prayers, warriors' songs, lamentations, marriage songs etc. Both these and some other spiritual works were reviewed in Hylander (1969) and Arén (1999). In 1904 A.G. together with Onesimos returned from Ɜmkullu to Wälläga. There she partici pated in church

services and established literacy classes, run by the Evangelical church, with A.G. as a teacher. She lived at Neqemte, Wälläga, until her death.

Src.: ONESIMUS NESIB — ASTER GANNO SALBANA (eds.), *Jalcaba Barsiisaa. The Galla Spelling Book (and Reader)*, Moncullo 1894; ID., *Dr. Barth's Bible-Stories*, St. Chris-chona 1899; ONESIMUS NESIB (tr., ed.), **ከኩ፡ ሃራ** (*Käkuu haaraa*, 'The New Testament'), Moncullo 1885 A.M. [1893 A.D.]; **መጫፈ፡ ቁልቁሉ** (*Mäčafä qulqullu*, 'The Holy Bible'), St. Chrischona 1899; **ከኩ፡ ሃራ፡ አፋን፡ ኦሮሞት** (*Käkuu haaraa afaan oromot*, 'The New Testament in the Oromo Language'), Addis Ababa 1972 A.M [1979 A.D.].

Lit.: GUSTAV ARÉN, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia. In the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers, 1898–1936*, Stockholm 1999 (Lit.); FRIDE B. HYLANDER, "Onesimos Nesib: some remarks on Cerulli's 'Folk literature of the Galla'", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 79–87; MEKURIA BULCHA, "The language policies of Ethiopian regimes and the history of written Afaan Oromoo: 1844–1994", *Journal of Oromo Studies* 2, 1994, 91–115; ID., "Onesimos Nasib's pioneering contributions to Oromo writing", *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 4, 1, 1995, 36–61.

Kebede Hordofa Janko – Peter Unseth

Aster Gugsa ↗ Gugsa Märsa

Aster Mängäša

A.M. (**አስቱር፡ መንገሻ**, b. 1902, d. 1936) was a daughter of *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs (being thus a granddaughter of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV) and of *wäyzäro* Käfäy Wälde, a niece of *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu. A.M. was an intelligent and well-educated woman, noted not least because of her three marriages.

Ətege Ṭaytu arranged her marriage to *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu on 16 May 1909. At that time she was known as Romanä Wärq, herself being six, her husband twelve years old. Subsequently she was married to *ras* ↗Getaččäw Abate in 1918, with whom she had two children, a daughter and a son. She lived in Paris while her husband was a Minister Plenipotentiary in France. After her divorce from Getaččäw Abate, she married *balambaras* ↗Aššäbbər Gäbrä Ḫəywät.

Src.: GEBRE-IGZIABHER ELYAS, *Prowess, Piety and Politics: the Chronicle of Abeto Iyasu and Empress Zewditu of Ethiopia (1909–1930)*, ed., tr. by REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, Köln 1994 (SKK 104), 332, 358.

Lit.: CHRIS PROUTY, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II. Ethiopia 1883-1910*, London —Trenton NJ 1986, viii, 320.

Zewde Gabre-Sellassie

Asylum

Ethiopian tradition bases the right of the Church to provide A. (**ጥገኝነት**, *ṭəggäññənnät*) on the regulation in the Old Testament (Deut 4:41–49, Josh 20), as well as on other sources of Canon Law, such as the ↗*Fəṯḥa nägäśt* (Guidi 1897, ch. 47). Principally, every church in Ethiopia can have the right to provide A., but those which can guarantee it are usually large churches, cathedrals (↗*Däbr*) or monasteries (↗*Gädam*), specially authorized by the emperor, metropolitan, bishop or *əṣṣäge*. After a new church was founded, its right to offer A. had to be proclaimed publidy in the form of an ↗*ʿawaǧ*, and a corresponding notice written down in the margins of the church's manuscripts, alongside the remarks on landed possessions etc. (Kropp 1989:79).

Even though not induded in the modern law codes, Church A. still is an important aspect of local customary law, especially in the Christian highlands. It is also an important means of dealing with crimes and settling conflicts; it was and still is important in many criminal cases. One example might be that, if someone unintentionally kills another person, he can go to a *däbr* or a *gädäm* to ask for A., in order not to be killed on the spot by the relatives of the dead without any investigation. An A. seeker must manage to get to one of the designated places and ring the bell (*däwäl*). At any time, this means that the neighbouring people or monks should immediately gather. Having confessed his misdeed before them the refuge seeker is then granted A., with a promise that he will not be handed over to those seeking vengeance. He remains in the church or monastery until the situation calms down. The church head (*alläqa*) and priests, or the abbot of the monastery should go to the family of the person he has killed, carrying a cross and icon. They try to mediate between the two families (persuading the relatives of the dead, for example, to accept compensation, but not to kill the guilty person). Usually, the family of the deceased accepts this mediation. In the meantime, no-one may cause the refuge seeker any harm.

Church A. is considered sacred, and may not be violated. Thus, when *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Ḫaylu (*aṣe* ↗Tewodros II) defeated *ras* Ali Alula in 1853, the latter fled to the church of Qəddus Mikaʾel in Goǧǧam and asked for A. Having stayed a short time there, he asked for refuge at the ↗Maḥdärä Maryam monastery in Bägemdər and managed to escape to Yäǧǧu, his own region (↗Ayšal). But violation of church A. did happen (Arén 1978:199ff.), even though it was seen as a dishonourable deed and a major crime. After *däǧǧazmač* Ḫaylu of Ṣäʿazzäga was defeated by

däğğazmač ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel in 1876 at Wəkadəbba, a protestant missionary, P. Lager and two Ethiopian converts sought refuge in a church. Some of Wäldä Mikaʾel's soldiers passed by, respecting the sanctity of the church, but another pulled them out and killed the European and one of the Ethiopians, with the excuse that they were infidels.

↗Churches and church administration

Src.: BudSaint 1036, *Säne* 26; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed., tr.), *Il "Fetha Nagast" o "Legislazione dei Re": codice ecclesiastico e civile di Abissinia*, Napoli 1897–99, ch. 47; TÄKLÄ ṢADƎQ MÄKᵂƎRIYA, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ። አራተኛ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ከዐፄ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ እስከ፡ ቀዳማዊ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ** (*Yäʾityopya tarik aratäññä mäṣḥaf: käʿaṣe Tewodros əskä qädamawi Ḫaylä Śəllase*, 'History of Ethiopia. Book IV: from *aṣe* Tewodros to Ḫaylä Śəllase I'), Addis Abäba 1954 A.M. [1961/62 A.D.], ch. 2; GueCopMen 328.

Lit.: MANFRED KROPP, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däğğazmač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt am Main – Bern – New York – Paris 1989 (Heidelberger Orientalistische Studien 13), 79–86; GUSTAV ARÉN, *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia: Origins of the evangelical church Mekane Yesus*, Uppsala – Stockholm 1978.

Merawi Tebege

Atamo

The A. (**አታሞ**, s. KaneDic 1207) is a cylindrical or bowl-shaped drum, small enough to be held in the hand or under the arm. The body of the A. is often made of clay or wood. It has two symmetrical or asymmetrical drum heads, each covered with a stretched membrane. Drum head diameter is determined by the maker but also by the material; e.g., drums made from metal coffee cans have symmetrical drum heads whereas drums made out of clay or wood often have asymmetrical drum heads.

Stone pebbles, grains of sand, glass beads, or seeds inside the drum cavity make rattling, percussive sounds when the drum is struck by the musician who uses one or both hands to strike the heads and rims with his or her fingers and palms, executing various rhythmic patterns. The A. is used in secular contexts to accompany songs and dances as the sole instrument or as part of an instrumental ensemble. It is found throughout Ethiopia but predominantly among the Gurage, Dorze etc., some of whom make their living through pottery and carpentry.

Src.: KaneDic 1207.

Lit.: TESFAYE LEMMA, *Ethiopian Musical Instruments*, Addis Ababa 1975, 27; ASHENAFI KEBEDE, *The Music of Ethiopia: its Development and Cultural Setting*, Ann Arbor, MI 1978, 162 [University Microfilms no. 71–27, 875]; MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, *Music, Dance, and Drama*, Addis Ababa 1968 (Patterns of Progress 9), 15; CASIMIR MONDON-VIDAILHET, "La musique éthiopienne", in: *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, Paris 1922, part 1, V, 3179–96; MICHAEL POWNE, *Ethiopian Music: an Introduction*, London 1968, 18ff.; GUGLIELMO BARBLAN, *Musiche e strumenti musicali dell'Africa orientale italiana*, Napoli 1941.

Atamo (height 14 cm, diameter 45 cm), drawing courtesy of the author

Cynthia Tse Kimberlin

Atbara

The A. (**አትባራ**), 1,120 km long, is the most important river of the eastern Sudan and the last major tributary of the Nile to the north. It has its source in Ethiopia and, before crossing the state border near ↗Mätämma, is fed by a great number of tributaries in the mountains north of Lake Ṭana, including the ↗Angäräb near Gondär. After crossing the Sudanese Kassala province, A. joins the Nile at Atbara town, a trade-centre south of Berber. The ↗Setit is its most important affluent, joining it west of the Ethio-Eritrean border. In European geographical tradition the A. is also called the Black Nile, in contrast to the White and the Blue Nile (↗Abbay), the two other major Nile tributaries. From June to August the river is swollen by the summer rains and provides more than one-fifth of the Nile's total volume of water. More than eleven million cubic metres fertile silt per year are brought down by A. to the Nile. From November to May it is partially dry and appears only as a series of pools.

In the arid area in the east between the A. and the Gaš, ↗Rašayda groups have their nomadic camps. During the dry season they settle along the A. They moved there after the downfall of the ↗Mahdists, whereas, following a local agreement of the 1930s, the ↗Gaš delta remained the habitat of the ↗Hadándowa, their traditional rivals (Young 1996:29f). The grasslands to the west of the A. had, according to Ethiopian tradition, been inhabited since ancient times by the "Noba" up to the White Nile (BTafA 257). In

ancient literature (Strabo, Plinius, Pomponius Mela) the A. appears as "Astaboras" (probably 'the river of the Barya'). It formed the northern border of ↗Meroë.

The Ethiopian empire traditionnally claimed the territories west of the A. in competition with ↗Sinnār. In 1737/38 Iyasu II raided the nomads at the A., who owned camels and horses. However, the Ottomans effectively disputed his power in the lands around the A. and in the eastern parts of the island of Meroë up to Mätämma (Budge 1966:459). Later, when in the 1760s ↗Bādī IV, the King of Sinnār, lost his power, he fled to Ethiopia and was declared vassal of *aṣe* ↗Iyoʾas I. Made governor of a border region, Bādī raided the A., but was killed. In the following period *ras* Mikaʾel Səḥul claimed and raided "the country of the shepherds, as far as Sawākin to the north and east, and in all the lands between the Mareb and the Atbara rivers" (d'Avray 1996:52).

The A. region still remained a subject of contradictory claims. In the 19th cent., in Tewodros II's time and before, a seemingly generally accepted boundary between the Egyptian territories and Ethiopia followed the river Setit as far as the border town of Sufi at its junction with the A., then followed up to the A. north of Mätämma. However, these territories east of the A. soon changed into *de facto* contested areas (as observed by Baker in 1861–62), where fugitives both from Abyssinia and the Sudan took refuge. *Al-makk* ↗Nimr and the ↗Nimrab – who had defected from the Sudan – dominated the area from their stronghold of May Guba, north of Wälqayt, and in the dry seasons raided "Arab villages" west of the A. The Governorate-General of the Sudan responded with an incursion across the A. in the 1860s. Tewodros in turn claimed all the territories west of the A. up to the Nile, based on the fact that Nimr, whose homonymous father Nimr had originated from that region (Šendi), was now his vassal. The Emperor, however, did not enforce his daim, and Nimr promised Egypt to respect the A. as the boundary (Rubenson 1978:215–18; ↗Boundaries). Nevertheless, Egypt did not accept this boundary any longer and later brought the land east of the A. under her control.

Lit.: WILLIAM CHARLES YOUNG, *The Rashaayda Bedouin, Arab Pastoralists of Eastern Sudan*, Fort Worth – Orlando 1996 (Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology), 29f., 105; BTafA 257; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *A History of Ethiopia, Nubia and Abyssinia*, Oosterhout 1966, 458ff., 462; ANTHONY D'AVRAY, *Lords of the Red Sea. The History of a Red Sea Society from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 45), 52; SAMUEL W. BAKER, *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia and the Sword Hunters of the Hamran Arabs*, London 1867, 138ff., 181, 444, 459, 559f.; SVEN RUBENSON, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, London – Addis Ababa 1978 (Lund Studies in International History 7), 215–18.

Wolbert Smidt

Archaeology of the Atbara region

The A. region is important in the archaeology of North-East Africa, as its location between the Nile Valley and the northern Horn made it an interregional crossroad. The A. river seems to have served as an ancient route of population movements over millennia. Of importance to African archaeology is the research of early Holocene sites in the A. region (Haaland – Abdel-Magid 1992, 1995).

To its east the Atbai region connects the A. to the western lowlands and northern highlands of Ethiopia and Eritrea (↗Gaš group). The joint research of the Italian Mission to Kassala Project and the Butana Project in the 1980s has outlined a cultural sequence spanning from ca. 5500 B.C. to 1800 A.D. Fattovich suggests that the Aksumite stelae at Kassala in the A. river area are the prototypes of the Aksumite monumental stelae (Fattovich 1987) and that the ceramic tradition of the area could be related to pre-Aksumite ceramics.

↗Archaeology; ↗Pre-Aksumite culture

Lit.: RANDI HAALAND – ANWAR OSMAN ABDEL-MAGID, "Mesolithic Sites in the Atbara Region", *Nubian Letters* 18, 1992; ID., *Aqualithic Sites along the Rivers Nile and Atbara, Sudan*, Bergen 1995; RODOLFO FATTOVICH – ANTHONY E. MARKS – ABBAS MOHAMMED-ALI, "The Archeology of the Eastern Sahel, Sudan: Preliminary Results", *The African Archaeological Review* 2, 173–88; RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "Traces of a

Possible African Component in the Pre-Aksumite Culture of Northern Ethiopia", *Abbay* 9, 1978, 73–78; ID., "Some Remarks on the Origins of the Aksumite Stelae", *AE* 14, 1987, 43–69; ID., "The Contribution of the Recent Field Work at Kassala (Eastern Sudan) to Ethiopian Archaeology", in: *PICES* 10, 43–51.

[Red.]

Aṭbiya

A. (**አጥቢያ**, Amh. 'parish') is one of the most important institutions that the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church has in its administrative system. In 1965 there were 12,319 parish churches (Aymro Wondmagegnehu 1957 A.M.); by 1997 this number was reported to have been about 30,000, for Ethiopia and abroad.

Hoben (1963) stresses three aspects of the parish: 1) the physical aspect, since an A. is a geographically bounded territory of both secular and spiritual administration; 2) the spiritual aspect (an A. is the "home" of the ↗*tabot*); 3) the economic aspect, a significant point since land ownership, taxation and tribute are related to it.

An A. is normally constituted by the local church (↗*Däbr*, the term sometimes used instead of A., although there are parishes without churches of their own, called *goṭ*). The (legendary) founder of the parish, who is said to have planted the *tabot* in the locality, is generally considered to be the first holder of the ↗*gʷəlt*, land-estate, which passes to his descendants, the parishioners.

A. vary in size from under two to over five square miles. They also vary in shape and topography, but the borders of an A. are normally clearly defined. Within any given A. it is rarely more than an hour's walk from the farthest homestead to the church; usually it is much less (Stitz 1974:67). Population ranges from under 200 to over 1,600. The proper name of an A. is composed of a place name and the name of the *tabot* of its church (Hoben 1963:16). Over every parish a head (↗*Aläqa*) is appointed (by the bishop or the patriarch, before 1974 sometimes even by the emperor himself), mainly to be responsible for spiritual matters and to direct the parish clergy.

A. is used as a tool to integrate the community both spiritually and socially. The A. membership demands affiliation, identification and enrolment from the parishioners. Belonging to the same parish should evoke a sense of unity among the parishioners. They are expected to support the local church (*tabot*) through almsgiving, participate in church services, attend worship, baptisms and burials, and visit the spiritual fathers-confessors (↗*Näfs abbat*; s. Stitz 1975:12). But they are bound to attend their own parish's church only for personal ritual services (Hoben 1973:70, 73).

As a subject of the administration of the Orthodox Church, A. provided the basis for a recently introduced territorial unit of the secular administrative system, the so-called "neighbourhood" (designated as A. as well), which can be composed of a part of the parish or one or more than one parish, but always "of an integral number of descent-groups estates" (Hoben 1973:74). This unit was established by Proclamation 90 of 1947, which also introduced throughout Ethiopia the office of the minor unpaid official called **አጥቢያ ዳኛ** (*aṭbiya dañña*, 'neighbourhood, local judge'; ↗*Dañña*). 20 to 40 parishes are normally grouped into a *məkətəl wäräda* (↗Administrative division; Hoben 1966:17).

↗Churches and church administration

Lit.: **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋህዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ቃለ አዋዲ** (*Yäʾityopya ortodoks täwaḥədo betä krəstiyan Qalä Awadi*, 'The Ethiopian Orthodox Church *Qale-Awadi*'), Addis Abäba ³1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.]; HAILE-LEUL SIYOUM, *The Ecclesio-Social Role of the Parish Council in the Reorganization Proœss of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, senior essay, Sociology and Social Administration Department, Addis Ababa University 1990; VOLKER STITZ, "Distribution and Foundation of Churches in Ethiopia", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 11–36; ID., *Studien zur Kulturgeographie Zentraläthiopiens*, Bonn 1974; ALLAN S. HOBEN, *Land Tenure among the Amhara of Ethiopia. The Dynamics of Cognatic Descent*, Chicago 1973; ID., "Land Tenure and Social Mobility among the Damot Amhara", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 3, 1966, 69–88; ID., *The Role of Ambilineal Descent Groups in Gojjam Amhara Social Organization*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan 1963; AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU (ed.), *A Short Introduction to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1957 A.M. [1964/65 A.D.]; **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ትናንትናና፡ ዛሬ** (*Yäʾityopya betä krəstiyan tənantənanna zarə*, 'The Church of Ethiopia Past and Present'), Addis Abäba 1980 A.M. [1987 A.D.].

Merdassa Kassaye – Denis Nosnitsin

Ateetee

A. (Amh.: **አቴቴ**, *atete*) is an ↗Oromo traditional ritual practised by women in honour of the fertility goddess Ayyoo/Ayyolee ('mother') to enable wives to conceive and bear children safely. It is also a ceremony where women in the neighbourhood gather and dance, invoking Ayyoo alternatively called "Maram", (Oromo for St. Mary) and ↗Waaqa (God) for the general well-being of their families as well as for thanksgiving. It is exclusively a women's ritual held on selected days in the week to pray for the

Ayyoo to grant them fecundity, when they are afflicted by sterility. In some cases A. may also be invoked in a ceremony during which women villagers perform dances and make public in their songs the grievances they bear against their husbands. According to tradition women could state their grievances publicly, and their husbands were expected to respond to their aspirations positively.

In the past, it has been argued on the basis of inadequate evidence that A. is a divinity, spirit, cultic figure, symbol of fecundity and Earth Mother (Cerulli 1922:127; Yəlma Därässa 1966/67:224; Knutsson 1967:53, 55). However, more detailed research and the living traditions of the people have made it clear that A. is a ritual in honour of Ayyoo/Maram (informants; cf. Daniel Ayana 1984:35; Bartels 1983:124).

Invocation of Maram seems to have started with the introduction of Christianity. A., however, was an ancient Oromo practice long before Christianity was gradually adopted by non-Oromo communities as well. During the A. ceremony an animal is slaughtered and the blood is poured on the host woman's breast and belly in an effort to invoke Ayyoo and make her conceive. It is generally believed that Ayyoo would deliver what they aspired to and prayed for.

Src.: Interviews with Gemeču Kedir, Arsi, age 45; Dibaba Wango, Wänbära, age 98; Gabessa Eggeta, Addis Abäba, age 85; Olgira Dibaba, Wänbära, age 67; Dirirsa Dangala, Wänbära, age 95; Sori Kitil, Wänbära, age 62.

Lit.: LAMBERT BARTELS, *Oromo Religion: Myth and Rites of the Western Oromo*, Berlin 1983; PAUL T. W. BAXTER, "Atete in a Highland Arsi Neighborhood", *NEASt* 1, 2, 1979, 1–22; DANIEL AYANA, *Protestant Mission in Wallaga. A Study of the Activities of the Missions and the Local Converts, 1898–1935*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1984; ENRICO CERULLI, *Folk-Literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia*, Cambridge Mass., 1922 (*Harvard African Studies* III); KARL ERIC KNUTSSON, *Authority and Change. A Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Abyssinia*, Gotenborg 1967; YƎLMA DÄRESSA, **የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ታሪክ በ16ኛው ክፍለ ዘመን** (*Yä'ityopya həzb tarik bä16ññaw kəflä zämän*, 'The History of the Ethiopian People in the 16th Century'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.].

Tsega Endalew

Athanasius

A. (Gəᶜəz **አትናቴዎስ** *Atənatewos*, also **አትናስዮስ** *Atnasyos*, or **አትናሲስ** *Atnasis*, often called *Ḥawaryawi* 'The Apostolic') was born ca. 295 and served as the Bishop of Alexandria from 328 to his death in 373. A. was a champion of the Nicene orthodoxy, which for most of his life was attacked by the supporters of Arianism. For his staunch attitude he was persecuted, being forced into exile five times during his episcopacy.

A. was the Alexandrian metropolitan who consecrated Frumentius (*abunä* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan) as bishop of Aksum, the precedent on which the later consecrations and the ecclesiastical dependence of Ethiopia on the see of Alexandria were based. It was also A. who, in his *Apology to Emperor Constantius*, quoted the Emperor's letter, sent in 356 or 357 to ↗ʿEzana and Sazana (Geerard 1974:2122; Szymusiak 1987:158–63 [engl. tr. Pankhurst 1955:58f.]), in which Constantius II demanded from them that they send Frumentius back, because the latter had been consecrated by A., "guilty of a thousand crimes", i.e. not "Orthodox" in the eyes of the Arian Emperor.

In Ethiopic literature many works are attributed to A., most of which remain unpublished, making their identification with his original writings very difficult. It seems, however, that most of the attributions are false. The best-known such work is the ↗Anaphora of A. (Euringer 1927). Other writings attributed to him can be found as parts of larger collections, such as the ↗*Wəddase amlak*, where A. is said to have collected the prayers for Saturday from "Coptic hymns". The ↗*Haymanotä abäw* contains twelve short excerpts (on the Incarnation, Trinity, Passion, etc.) from A.'s genuine homilies, and the *Letter to Epictetus Bishop of Corinthos*, transmitted also outside the *Haymanotä abäw*. There is an Amharic translation of this collection.

Several homilies in the ↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat* are attributed to A. (among them those for Good Friday, for Saturday and for Easter), as well as four homilies in the *Homiliary for Lent*. In the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gənzät* the first two pieces are attributed to A., **ነገር፡ በእንተ፡ ሞት [ሞተ፡ ቃል]** (*Nägär bä'ənta mot* [or: *motä qal*], 'The Homily on death [or: death of the Word]', also known under other titles), and **ጸሎተ፡ ማኅለፍተ፡ ነፍስ** (*Ṣälotä maḫläftä näfs*, 'The Prayer for the passing of the soul'), to which **ሰቆቃወ፡ ነፍስ** (*Säqoqawä näfs*, 'The Lamentation of the soul'), found in some manuscripts, can be added.

Within the hagiographic genre we find the *Life of Paul, the First Hermit*, and a *Homily on Pachomius*, both in the collection of the *Acts of Martyrs* (↗*Gädlä sämaᶜətat*). A. is the author of the Acts of ↗Anthony (Geerard 1974:2101),

which became archetypal for later monastic vitae, but the extant Gəʿəz text of the *Life of Anthony* is not attributed to him.

Among exegetical works, two commentaries on Psalms are genuine: *Epistula ad Marcellinum* (ibid. 2097), and *Expositiones in Psalmos* (ibid. 2140), whereas a *Commentary on Matthew* may not be (*Scholia*?; ibid. 2141–47). Among other texts transmitted as Athanasian are: the **ፍልሰቶሙ፡ ወጸአቶሙ፡ ለአበው፡ አብርሃም፡ ወይስሐቅ፡ ወያዕቆብ** (*Fəlsätomu wäṣəʾatomu laʾabäw Abrəham wäyəsḥaq wäyaʿəqob*, 'Homily on the death and assumption of the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob'; *Gädlä ↗Yaʿəqob*, *Gädlä ↗Yəsḥaq*, *Gädlä ↗Abrəham*), known from a Coptic version, but not Greek (ibid. 2183); the **መጽሐፈ፡ [ተስእሎተ፡] አንትያኮስ** (*Mäṣḥafä* [or: *Täsəʾälotä*] *Antəyakos*, 'The Book [or: Questions] of Antiochus') on various matters of the Scripture (ibid. 2257; Bardy 1933), the attribution of which to A. occurs already in the Greek text (as well as in Arabic); and the *Profession of Faith* (*creed*), of Catholic origin, patterned on the so-called *Athanasian Creed* (the so-called *Quicumque*), known in the western churches; in Ethiopic the author of this last is called "A. of Rome" or of "Baba" (?) (Guerrier 1915–17).

A. is venerated in Ethiopia on 30 *Mäskäräm* and 7 *Ganbot*. In the *Sənkəssar* there are short accounts of his life on both days.

Src.: MAURITIUS GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, vol. 2: *Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomum*, Turnhout 1974 (Corpus Christianorum), 140–78; ATHANASE D'ALEXANDRIE, *Deux apologies*, ed. by JAN M. SZYMUSIAK, Paris 1987 (Sources Chrétiennes 56bis); SEBASTIAN EURINGER (ed., tr.), "Die äthiopische Anaphora des hl. Athanasius", *OrChr* 3, 2 [=24], 1927, 243–98; JOHN MASON HARDEN (ed., tr.), *The Anaphoras of the Ethiopic Liturgy*, London 1928 (Translations of Christian Literature, 3: Liturgical Texts), 94–100; GUSTAVE BARDY, "La littérature patristique des 'quaestiones et responsiones' sur l'Écriture sainte: Pseudo-Athanase", *Revue Biblique* 42, 1933, 328–32; GÉRARD GARITTE, "Le texte grec et les versions anciennes de la Vie de saint Antoine", in: BASILIUS STEIDLE (ed.), *Antonius Magnus eremita 356–1956: Studia ad antiquum monachismum spectantia*, Romae 1956 (Studia Anselmiana 38), 1–12, here 8f.; LUIS GUERRIER, "Un texte éthiopien du symbole de saint Athanase", *ROC* 20, 1915–17, 68–76, 131–41; **መጽሐፈ፡ ግንዘት። ጸሎት፡ ላዕለ፡ ምዉታን** (*Mäṣḥafä gənzät: ṣälot laʿälä məwutan*, 'The Book of the Funeral: the Prayer for the Dead'), Addis Abäba 1944 A.M. [1951/52 A.D.].

Lit.: TIMOTHY D. BARNES, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*, Cambridge, Mass. 1993; GEORGE CHRISTOPHER STEAD, "Athanasius", in: ANGELO DI BERNARDINO (ed.) – WILLIAM HUGH CLIFFORD FREND (tr.), *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, Cambridge 1992, 93–95; MARTIN TETZ, "Athanasius von Alexandrien", in: GERHARD KRAUSE – GERHARD MÜLLER (eds.), *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Berlin 1979, vol. 4, 333–49; ESTELLE SYLVIA PANKHURST, *Ethiopia: a Cultural History*, Woodford Green 1955, 58f.

Witold Witakowski

Atnatewos

Abunä A. (**አትናቴዎስ**), Metropolitan of Ethiopia (1869–76), was the successor of *abunä* ↗Sälama, who died in captivity in October 1867. After the death of *aṣe* Tewodros II in April 1868, both *wag šum* Gobäze Gäbrä Mädḫən (later *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis II) and *däğğazmač* Kaśa Mərča (later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV) sent delegations to Cairo to obtain a new metropolitan, but due to the struggle for supreme power in Ethiopia, the Patriarch hesitated. Rumours also maintained that the Patriarch wanted more money before a metropolitan was sent.

In July 1869, A. finally arrived in Təgray and was well received by Kaśa Mərča. In his opening proclamations A. made it clear that he wanted a reform of the moral and educational standards in the Ethiopian Church. He also tried to reform the liturgical practices of the Church in line with the reforms in the Coptic Church. The common ambition to withstand Catholic religious and European colonial interests resulted in good relations between the ruler and the Metropolitan. In relations with the Catholics A. was perhaps, like *abunä* Sälama, even more cautious and negative than the Emperor.

In relations with the Protestants, A. seems at first to have been more friendly and even supportive of the distribution of Bibles. Later, when relations between converts and defenders of the Orthodox tradition became strained, A. turned against the Protestants. In 1874 he had some Ethiopian Protestants arrested and he also refused to consent to the re-opening of the Fälaša mission (↗Betä Ǝsraʾel). But fairly little is known about his episcopacy after the coronation of Kaśa Mərča. Ethiopian sources are silent, European sources meagre and the Coptic sources still inaccessible. Although A.'s relations with Kaśa Mərča, whom he crowned as Yoḥannəs IV in January 1872, were initially good, the Egyptian invasion of 1875 (↗Gundät, ↗Guraʿ) seems to have introduced a breach between Emperor and Metropolitan. The Egyptian officer Muḥammad Rifʿat, who was captured at Guraʿ, wrote that A., with whom he was allowed to meet in the aftermath of the

battle, was much against Yoḥannəs's religious policy and thought the Emperor was a fanatic; he even dared to smoke in spite of the Emperor's strict prohibition (Erlich 2001). Rumours held that A. was killed on the orders of Yoḥannəs IV, but other sources maintain that he died of wounds suffered at a battle. He died on 29 June 1876 and was buried at ᶜAdwa.

Lit.: HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Cross and the River: Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Nile*, Boulder 2001; SVEN RUBENSON (ed.), *Internal Rivalries and Foreign Threats 1869–1879*, Addis Ababa – Lund – New Brunswick 2000 (Acta Aethiopica 3), s. index; ANṬŪN SŪRYĀL ᶜABDASSAYYID, *Al-kanīsa al-Miṣrīya al-Qibṭīya wa-kanīsat Aṭyūbiyā 1855–1909* ('The Egyptian Coptic Church and the Ethiopian Church: 1855–1909'), Cairo 1985; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Atnātēwos (d. 1876)", in: *CE*, vol. 4, 1036–38.

Samuel Rubenson

Atnatewos

Ras A. (**አትናቴዎስ**) was a son of *ras märədazmač* ↗Wässän Säggäd (d. 29 July 1531), who was a prominent warlord of *aṣe* Naᶜod. After the latter's death *ətege* Ɛleni made him a *bitwäddäd* and guardian of Naᶜod's son ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl.

Similarly, after the death of *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl, his widow *ətege* ↗Maryam Səna, whose daughter Wällätä Giyorgis was married to A., made A. *bitwäddäd* and guardian of the young *aṣe* ↗Yäᶜəqob. However, A. was more preoccupied with his own influence and authority than that of his protégé and, when the latter became independent, A. took the side of his rival ↗Susənyos. However, when Susənyos seized supreme power, he gained the upper hand over his aristocratic ally as well. He deprived him of any official authority, but let him live in his large estate in Goǧǧam. A., however, did not stop his intrigues. In 1617 Susənyos put him on trial and exiled him to Amhara, where A. died in obscurity.

Src.: PerChron chs. 4–7, 13, 17, 21f., 29f., 49; BegCron 41; PEDRO PAEZ, "Historia de Ethiopia", in: CAMILLO BECCARI, *Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, Roma 1904, vol. 2, 245–51, 403–07.
Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 3, 75; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, *Efiopskaya feodalnaya monarhiya v XVII veke* ('Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 17th Century'), Moscow 1990, 13–16, 19, 23, 35–39, 47ff., 55ff., 73ff., 78f., 115f.

Sevir Chernetsov

Ato

A. (**አቶ**) in modern Amharic is a form of address or reference, equivalent to "mister" in modern English. Historically, however, A. goes back to **አቤቶ** (*abeto*), which was a colloquial abbreviation for **አቤቶሁን** (*abetohun*; ↗*Nəguś*), dating from the 17th cent., a title and a form of address for royalty, i.e. princes of blood and heirs to the throne. During the *Zämänä mäsafənt* (the 18th–19th cent.), when the royal authority in Ethiopia was at its lowest ebb, *abeto* became merely a title of distinction for nobility and was, as Blundell put it, "corrupted to '*Atto*' and the equivalent of Esquire, Chevalier" (1922:508). A. was used by Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus in his work ↗*Dagmawi Mənilək* in precisely this way.

The very fact that *abeto*/A. designated, not a rank, or office, like other titles, but rather a social status, secured its prevalence in the 20th cent. In Addis Abäba, which developed from a royal camp inhabited by soldiers, officers and courtiers into a genuine city with regular self-supporting citizens who belonged neither to the court nor to the army, respectable citizens were addressed and referred to as A., which designated their good status, not birth. This was the usual process of the devaluation of feudal terms and values in a post-feudal society. The development was slow, however, and for a long time this deferential form was not applied to persons whose status was considered low (craftsmen, Muslims and common peasants). This discriminatory practice could not survive in a quickly developing society, and today A. is used in Ethiopia as a common form of address, which is considered both polite and formal.

Src.: KaneDic, vol. 2, 1206; DombrChr 298; HERBERT WELD BLUNDELL, *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia 1769–1840*, Cambridge 1922, 508; DTWDic; THMDic 153; AFÄWÄRQ GÄBRÄ YÄSUS, **ዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ** (*Dagmawi Mənilək nəguśä nägäśt zäᵓityopya*, 'Mənilək the Second, King of Kings of Ethiopia'), Rome 1901 A.M. [1909 A.D.], Asmära ²1967.

Sevir Chernetsov – Merid Wolde Aregay

Atronsä Maryam

A.M. (**አትሮንሰ፡ ማርያም**, or *Atronsä əgziᵓətənnä Maryam*) was a Royal church and monastery, founded by *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam in the beginning of his reign, in the district of Qälanto (Amhara). According to the sources, Bäᵓədä Maryam carried on the work of his father, who brought a ↗*tabot* to this place between 1460 and 1464. The monastery was affiliated with ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa. As for the church, it was directed by an administrator holding the title of **መክበብ** (*mäkbab*). During the reign of Bäᵓədä Maryam, it was a certain ᶜAmdu. In the 17th

cent. this office continued and was held by the nephew of *aṣe* Susənyos, named Śärṣä Krəstos. Two other offices seem to have been important: **ረባኒ፡ ደብር** (*räbbanä däbr*, 'master of the *däbr*', which is the title of *raq masäre*) and **ረባናት፡ ማኅሌት** (*räbbanat maḫlet*, 'masters of songs'). The other dergymen were *däbtära* or priests (named *ṭärzebeṭer*; PerrZarY 123).

Its land-holdings appear to have been considerable and were granted by *aṣe* Bäʾədä Maryam. The income from the land was devoted to the support of the dergy, but also of visitors, particularly during the feasts of Mary, the martyrs etc., designated by the Emperor. The monastery was richly ornamented with paintings, some of which are attributed to the Italian painter Francesco ↗Brancaleone.

The site of A.M. was a royal residence of Bäʾədä Maryam's court for two years. The Emperor made a royal necropolis there, where he buried the bodies of his predecessors (Yəkunno Amlak, Nəwayä Maryam, Tewodros etc.). Bäʾədä Maryam himself and his son *aṣe* ↗Ǝskändər were buried in A.M.

The church was destroyed on two occasions, the first time by the armies of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī in 1531, the second time by the Oromo in 1709/10, but it seems to have been rebuilt during the reign of *aṣe* Bäkaffa.

The monastery is still active nowadays. Diana Spencer (1972) visited it and found there a triptych called *Śih fäğğ* representing the Virgin Mary with her Son in the centre, 18 prophets on the left panel and the 12 apostles on the right.

↗Gəbbi

Src.: BassHist 102; BeckHuntAlvar 332–39; DombrChr 106 (text) = 157 (tr.); MANFRED KROPP, *Die Geschichte des Lebna Dengel, Claudius und Minās*, Louvain 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]), 13 (text) = 13 (tr.); STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Märḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 52f. (text) = 47ff. (tr.); PerrZarY 119–23, 167–71, 176f.; PerrEsk 354ff., 363; CrawItin 54.

Lit.: MARIE-LAURE DERAT, *La formation du domaine royal éthiopien sous la dynastie salomonienne (1270–1527)*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris I 1998, 651–54; GETATCHEW HAILE, "A History of the Tabot of Atronsa Maryam", *Paideuma* 34, 1988, 13–22; DIANA SPENCER, "In Search of St. Luke Icons in Ethiopia", *JES* 10, 2, 1972, 67–96, here 73f., 95.

Marie-Laure Derat

Attəṭägäb

Wäyzäro A. (**አትጠገብ**) was the mother of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. Born most probably in ↗Ǝnfraz east of Lake Ṭana, she reportedly belonged to a priestly or noble family. She married *däğğazmač* Ḫaylä Maryam of Qʷara and about 1820 gave birth to Kaśa (later Tewodros II), her only child, or at least only son (*and läʾənnatu*). Widowed or otherwise separated from her husband, she became a nun and, by the time her son rebelled against the people in power at Gondär, she was reduced to earning her living by selling *koso*, as reported by Ethiopian chroniders of Tewodros, no less than by Antoine d'Abbadie, who met her when leaving Ethiopia in 1848. She is very much alive in oral tradition and claimed in Goğğam in the late 20th cent. as a daughter of an influential chief in Damot.

Lit.: SVEN RUBENSON, *King of Kings Tewodros of Ethiopia*, Addis Abeba 1966, s. index; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Kosso-Vendor Mother: a New Tradition of Origin", in: TADDESE BEYENE – RICHARD PANKHURST – SHIFERAW BEKELE (eds.), *Kasa and Kasa: Papers on the Lives, Times and Images of Téwodros II and Yohannes IV (1855–1889)*, Addis Ababa 1990, 117–25.

Sven Rubenson

Australopithecus aethiopicus

A.a. is a hominid species of the genus *Australopithecus*, named by Arambourg and Coppens in 1967. The type-specimen is a single edentulous mandible (Arambourg—Coppens 1967:18) found in 1967 by the French research team near the Omo River of Ethiopia. The type-specimen is from the north-west side of Lake Turkana, very close to the northern border of Kenya.

The diagnosis of the species was based on the single edentulous mandible. As a result, the species was not widely recognized by hominid palaeontologists for a long time. The species A.a. was revived after the discovery of a new hominid cranium in 1985 from the north-west of Lake Turkana, in Kenya, just south of the Ethiopian border. The new cranium is almost complete. Comparison of the hominid allied the specimen with the *Australopithecus robustus* of South Africa and *Australopithecus boisei* of East Africa. Some of the features of the new skull were found to be unique and merited the placement of the hominid in a new species. The available hominid species that was already named in 1968, based on the Ethiopian hominid mandible, was found to be appropriate by researchers. The species A. is now widely accepted as the ancestor common to the South African early hominid *Australopithecus robustus* and the East African *Australopithecus boisei*.

Lit.: CAMILLE ARAMBOURG – YVES COPPENS, "Sur la découverte dans le Pléistocène inférieur de la vallée de l'Omo (Éthiopie) d'une mandibule de l'Australopithécien", *Comptes rendues de l'Académie des Sciences* 265, 1967, 589–90; WILLIAM HOWARD KIMBEL – TIMOTHY DOUGLAS WHITE – DONALD CARL JOHANSON, "Implications of KNM–WT 17000 for the Evolution of 'Robust' Australopithecus", in: F.C. GRINE (ed.), *Evolutionary History of the "Robust" Australopithecines*, New York 1988, 259–68; R. SKELTON – HENRY M. MCHENRY, "Evolutionary Relationships among Early Hominids", *Journal of Human Evolution* 23, 1992, 309–49.

Berhane Asfaw

Australopithecus afarensis

A.a. is a species of primitive hominids that lived between three and four million years ago. The name *afarensis* derives from the ᶜAfar region. Most of the fossils on which the species's description was based came from a site called ↗Hadar, close to the Awaš river.

This hominid species belongs to the genus *Australopithecus* and was described by Johanson, White and Coppens (1978). The type-specimens of the species were established by pooling two groups of fossils found in Ethiopia and Tanzania. Fossil remains that belong to the species A.a. have been found only in Ethiopia, Kenya and Tanzania. In Ethiopia A.a. fossils were found in the northern part of the ↗Rift Valley and in the southern part by the ↗Omo River and the adjacent areas. No tools of any kind were found associated with the hominid. A large sample of the species derived from Hadar region of the ᶜAfar and from the Middle Awaš area further to the south.

The most famous of the A.a. assemblage is the skeleton of a female hominid from Hadar region, nicknamed "Lucy", or in Ethiopia Dənqənäš, lit. 'you are so wonderful', found by Donald Johanson and Tom Gray on 30 November 1974. This is the only specimen of the species that has preserved most of the body parts of a single individual. Besides the skull morphology, most of the information acquired about the species, body proportion and shape of the body derived from "Lucy".

A.a. has a very ape-like face and a primitive body proportion. The species had long arms and short legs, but habitually walked on two legs. A.a. is a species that later gave rise to the multitude of hominid species between two and three million years ago (s. ↗Palaeontology).

Lit.: DONALD CARL JOHANSON – TIMOTHY DOUGLAS WHITE – YVES COPPENS, "A New Species of the Genus Australopithecus (Primates: Hominidae) from the Pliocene of East Africa", *Kirtlandia* 28, 1978, 1–28; DONALD CARL JOHANSON – TIMOTHY DOUGLAS WHITE, "A Systematic Assessment of Early African Hominids", *Science* 203, 1979, 321–30; TIMOTHY DOUGLAS WHITE – DONALD CARL JOHANSON – WILLIAM HOWARD KIMBEL, "Australopithecus Afarensis, its Phylogenetic Position Reconsidered", *South African Journal of Science* 77, 1981, 445–70.

Berhane Asfaw

Australopithecus garhi

A.g. is a primitive human ancestor that lived about 2.5 million years ago. A.g. was found in the Middle Awaš area, ↗ᶜAfar. Berhane Asfaw et al. named this new hominid species in 1999. Morphologically the hominid is most like ↗*Australopithecus afarensis*. The face projects forward, the braincase is crested and small. However, the premolars and the molars are larger in size. *Garᶜi* means 'surprise' in the ᶜAfar language.

A fossil hominid skeleton found close to the type-specimen of A.g. has given new insight into the evolution of the body proportions of humans. This skeleton shows that 2.5 million years ago hominids had already elongated the femur (thigh-bone) relative to the length of the forearm. This new skeleton was found about

The skeleton of "Lucy", courtesy of National Museum, Addis Abäba

Place of *Australopithecus garhi* in the hominid family tree, adapted from Sanders 1999

three hundred metres away from the A.g. type-skull. However, it cannot be conclusively assigned to the same species because of the lack of dental remains associated with it. On the other hand, cranial morphologies observed in the A.g. skull appear to be transitional between *Australopithecus afarensis* and early *Homo erectus*. Transitional features are also observed in the skeleton. Clear evidence of stone-tool use to deflesh animal carcasses, and percussion-marks on long bones for marrow extraction has been discovered from the same area and horizon where A.g. was recovered. One of the defleshed animal bones with cut-marks was derived from the same excavation where the hominid skeleton came from. This evidence identifies A.g. as the best candidate for toolmaker.

Lit.: BERHANE ASFAW — TIMOTHY DOUGLAS WHITE — OWEN LOVEJOY et al., "Australopithecus Garhi: a New Species of Early Hominid from Ethiopia", *Science* 284, 23 April 1999, 629–35; JEAN DE HEINZELIN — J. DESMOND CLARK — TIMOTHY DOUGLAS WHITE – WILLIAM HART et al., "Environment and Behavior of 2.5-Million-Year-Old Bouri Hominids", *ibid.*, 625–29; ROBERT LOCKIE, "The First Human", *Science* July/August 1999, 31–39; ROBERT SANDERS, "Earliest Evidence of Animal Butchery, New Species of Human Ancestor, Found in Ethiopia's Afar Desert", *University of California, Berkeley News Release*, 19 April 1999 (ill.).

Berhane Asfaw

Austria, relations with

Ethiopian and Austro-Hungarian interrelations encompass economic and cultural contacts, diplomatic exchanges and ecclesiastical fellowship.

The latest one, initiated by Cardinal Franz König in the 1970s, is the most recent development and has provided an opportunity for theologians in the Orient and the Occident to come to a mutual understanding. Pro Oriente, the institution which sponsors the dialogue, serves as a forum particularly for the Roman Catholic Church and the ancient Oriental Orthodox Churches, to which the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church belongs. The Ethiopian Church participated in the consultative conferences regularly and its relation with the Austrian church has been strengthened through intermittent exchanges of or visits by their leaders.

The other two aspects of their contact, on the other hand, date back almost two centuries. By reason of its geographical location, the Austro-Hungarian Empire as well as the subsequent Republic of Austria (both known as *Nämsa* in Ethiopia) have always fostered commercial relations with the Mediterranean and Red Sea areas while Ethiopia strove throughout the centuries to develop commercial and diplomatic relations with Europe. In the early stages, Austrian trade with north-eastern Africa was indirect, as its products were exported through the Italian, French, German, Belgian and Dutch ports. In the early decades of the 19th cent., the Austrian Lloyd Shipping Company began to ply between Trieste and the Red Sea region. It was also in this time that the ↗Maria Theresia Thaler spread to the region, where it became the main currency for more than a century.

By the mid-19th cent., Austrian firms established depots in Aden, Jedda, Sawākin, Khartoum and Massawa. Their efforts were boosted by the establishment of consulates and by the vast geographical, linguistic, historical and ethnological researches and publications of numerous Austrian explorers, diplomats and missionaries. The entrepreneurs eventually exerted pressure on the government to station a diplomatic representative in Ethiopia, which they regarded as a potential source of trade. This led to the signing of the Treaty of Commerce and Friendship in 1905. By the 1920s and 30s, the Austrian business community in Ethiopia grew in size and increased its competitiveness. It was further strengthened by a group of physicians, instructors in the fine arts and ministerial advisers recruited by the Ethiopian government after ↗World War II.

The earliest diplomatic contact appears to have taken place in the mid-19th cent. Consul Constantin Reitz visited Ethiopia in 1852 with the aim of channelling trade through the north-western route to the Sudan to benefit his compatriot merchants. His mission failed because of the prevailing political instability of Ethiopia. ↗Yoḥannəs IV's mission to Austria in the summer of 1872 equally bore no fruit. In 1904, the Austrian Chamber of Commerce sent a two-man mission to prepare the way for the Ludwig von Höhnel delegation sent to conclude a treaty. The essence of the treaty was the most-favoured-nation clause comprised in articles I and II. The signatories also agreed to establish consulates, which was realized in 1913. Following the signing of the treaty, Ethiopian delegates visited Vienna in 1905, 1907, 1912, 1914 and 1924, while Austrian business people and travellers could visit Ethiopia without any political complications. The two countries maintained their mutual contacts even between and after the wars, in spite of the persistence of several negative factors. Austria revived the consulate in Addis Abäba in 1923, while the Ethiopian government employed several Austrian experts. In 1926, a second Treaty of Friendship and Commerce was signed in Addis Abäba to continue "the long-standing trade relations of their two states" and to serve further "the interest of the two countries". Finally, a consulate-general was established in 1955, which was followed by an embassy in 1964.

Src.: EDUARD FENZL, "Bericht über die von Herrn Dr. Constantin Reitz, k.k. österr. Vice-Consul für Inner-Afrika, auf seiner Reise von Chartum nach Gondàr in Abyssinien gesammelten geographisch-statistischen Notizen (mit 1 Karte)", *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 8, 1854, 1–16; "Freundschafts- und Handelsvertrag vom 21. März 1905 zwischen Österreich-Ungarn und Äthiopien", *Reichsgesetzblatt für die im Reichsrate vertretenen Königreiche und Länder, Jahrgang 1910*, Wien 1910, 581–83; "Kundmachung des Bundeskanzleramtes vom 9. April 1927, betreffend den Abschluß eines Niederlassungs- und Handelsübereinkommens mit Abessinien", *Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich* 34, 134, 1927, 454.

Lit.: LUDWIG RITTER VON HÖHNEL, *Mein Leben zur See, auf Forschungsreisen und bei Hofe. Erinnerungen eines österreichischen Seeoffiziers (1857–1909)*, Berlin 1926; ERNST JOSEPH HANS, *Zwei Jahrhunderte Maria-Theresien-Taler 1751–1951*, Klagenfurt 1950; ERICH WEINZINGER, "Winke für die zweckmässige Anknüpfung von Handelsbeziehungen mit Abessinien", *Correspondance d'Éthiopie* 5, mai 1928, 21–22; BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Austria. A History of their Relations*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 35).

Bairu Tafla

Avanchers, Léon des

A. (secular name Michel Galliet, also known as Fr Léon; b. 1825, d. 2 August 1879, Geeraa) came from the province of Savoy (France) and joined the Franciscan Capuchin Order (↗Capuchins) in 1842. In 1849 he left his province for the "Mission to the Gallas" in Ethiopia. He waited for three years in Aden for his entry permit. After his stay in Aden he was sent to the Seychelles in the Indian Ocean Archipelago, where in 1852 he established the Catholic Mission.

Finally, the entry permit for Ethiopia came, and on 21 June 1859 A. reached ↗Lagamara, his first mission station in Ethiopia. On 29 September 1859 he proceeded to Limmu Ennarya. Later on he passed to Geeraa, at the gates of Käfa, where he spent a great part of his fruitful missionary life. He died and was buried there.

A. was one of the most deserving collaborators of Bishop Guglielmo ↗Massaja in the mission among the Oromo. He was a scholar in Ethiopian history and was especially interested in its geographical and ethnographic features. The Italian explorers Antonio Cecchi, Giovanni Chiarini and Vittorio Bottego remembered him with words of great appreciation. He was consulted by the renowned expedition of the Società geografica italiana.

Lit.: GUGLIELMO MASSAJA, *Memorie storiche del Vicariato Apostolico dei Galla (1845–1880)*, Padova 1984, vol. 2, 308–18, 382, vol. 5, 286f.; ID., *Lettere e scritti minori*, Roma 1978, vol. 1, 169–80, 232; KEVIN O'MAHONEY, *"The Ebullient Phoenix". A History of the Vicariate of Abyssinia (1839–1860)*, Asmara 1982, vol. 1, 194ff.; *Lexicon Capuccinum. Promptuarium Historico-Bibliographicum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum (1525–1950)*, Roma 1951, 943; JEAN DE COGNIN, *Les Capucins en Savoie*, Chamberey 1934, 305–09; ENRICO CERULLI, *Etiopia occidentale. Note di viaggio*, Roma 1930, 161, 175.

Ayele Teklehaymanot

Āw

In the ↗Harari language, the word Ā. literally means 'father'. Ā. is not only a kinship term, but also a term of respect for unrelated elderly males and an honorific, as, for example, in the case of the patron saint of Harär, *āw* ↗Abādir ʿUmar ar-Riḍā. The plural of Ā., *āwāč*, has a wider range of meanings, including: fathers, elderly and/or important people, and saints' shrines.

In and around Harär there are hundreds of *āwāč* dedicated to saints (both male and female). Saints are known as *awliyāʾ*, lit. 'the friends [of

God]'. Individuals who become saints achieve this distinction through performing, or causing others to perform, miracles, through displays of heroism and martyrdom, or by virtue of being great kings or historical leaders.

Their shrines vary widely in appearance – from the domed tombs reminiscent of the marabouts of North Africa, to small niches carved into walls, to unadulterated natural features such as rocks and trees. The latter might suggest a pre-Islamic association, where elements of pre-existing religious practices have been incorporated into an Islamic framework. Belief in saints tends to be regarded as a pre-Islamic phenomenon and is, therefore, often disregarded, or even banned by those who proclaim greater authority over defining Islamic orthodoxy. Locally, however, saints and the shrines in their honour are an integral part of Muslim experience. Visiting the shrines and bringing offerings of ↗*č̣at*, ↗incense and special food items is an essential part of Muslim practice in Harär.

While all the saints are Muslim, their origins are variously Arab, Harari, Oromo, and Somali, which reflects the make-up of the local population. The earliest of these saints are believed to have been Arabs responsible for bringing Islam to the region as early as the 9th cent. Newcomers to the area have presumably adapted to local Islamic practices by enshrining their own heroes in similar fashion.

↗Islam; ↗Saints

Lit.: WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1969 (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 1), 37; EMILE FOUCHER, "The Cult of Muslim Saints in Harar: Religious Dimension", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, 71–84; ID., "Names of Mussulmans Venerated in Harrar and its Surroundings: a List", *ZDMG* 138, 1988, 263–82; CAMILLA GIBB, *In the City of Saints: Religion, Politics and Gender in Harar, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Oxford 1996; ID., "Baraka without Borders: Integrating Communities in the City of Saints", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 29, 1999, 88–108; ID., "Negotiating Social and Spiritual Worlds: the Gender of Sanctity in a Muslim City in Africa", *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 16, 2, 2000, 25–42; EWALD WAGNER, "Eine Liste der Heiligen von Harar", *ZDMG* 123, 2, 1973, 269–92.

Camilla Gibb

Awadi

A. (አዋዲ, Argobba: Hawadi) is the name of a river which rises from the foot-hills of the Šäwan escarpment in the Gəderač forest. It draws its waters from the torrential tributaries of Ḥarr Amba (Ḥarr Wägäb), Dangi and Šänkorge. Other small waters like that of Doqaqit, Mafud and Gimma all cross the Guguf forest, swelling the A. at its middle course. The A. flows into the ↗Awaš river, for it is one of the latter's tributaries in the region of northern Šäwa. Other such tributaries include, from north to south, the Ǧarra, Aṭayye, Nägesso, Robi, Qäbänna and Kässäm rivers. As the A. and its tributaries snake through the ↗Argobba heartland, some of the names above like Gedärač, Dangi, Šänkorge, Gugguf and Gimma are certainly given to them from the Argobba language.

In the long history of its existence, both the left and right banks of the middle course of the A. river used to host bandits (↗*Šəfta*), based in the nearby settlements of Č̣änno, Gussa, Hayramba, Idrisamba and Eggu Agär, well known for their boisterous and disorderly acts of brigandage, particularly against the Argobba traders.

In more recent times, during the ↗Resistance struggle against the Italians (1935–41), the A. valley was effectively used by the patriots, who habitually operated their activities from both banks of the river in the areas between Rassa in Mafud and Aləyyu Amba in ↗Tägulät and ↗Bulga. The most notable resistance leader in the A. valley was *wähni azzaž* ↗Ayyälä Ḫayle, who, on his return from May Č̣äw, effectively used the wilderness of the A. river and Mafud Qolla as one of the strong centres of patriotic activities.

In the five decades of the 20th cent., between 1941 and 1991, the A. had also served as an official political boundary line between the two

Šäwan *awraǧǧas* of Mänz, Yəfat (later Yəfat Təmmuga after Mänz and Gəšše were detached from it in 1958) and Tägulät Bulga.

Src.: CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE, *A Diary Written During a Journey in Abyssinia in the Years 1840, 1841, 1842 and 1843*, London 1846, 226; HerTar 25, 29.
Lit.: BTafA 886; AHMED HASSEN OMER, *A Historical Survey of Ethnic Relations in Yafat and Temmuga, Northeast Shawa, 1889–1974*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1994, 100f.; ID., *Northern Shawa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (forthcoming).

Ahmed Hassen Omer

ʿAwaǧ

The term ʿA. (**ዓዋጅ**, Amh.: 'announcement, [official] edict, prodamation') refers to a traditional legal practice which existed in Ethiopia. The word itself is obviously related to the Gəʿəz **ዓዋዲ** (*ʿawadi*, lit. 'who goes around, circulates') derived from the root *ʿwd*(/*ʾwd*, *ʾwǧ*), which in its turn is also attested in Təgre, Təgrəññña, Amharic and Harari, always associated with the concept of 'cirding, going around'.

The institution of ʿA. was a method of communication between a ruler and his subjects, and thus an important element of the political system. ʿA. (or **ዓዋጅ፡ ነገር** *ʿawaǧ nägär*, 'prodamation, edict') was usually proclaimed by a "herald" (**ዓዋጅ፡ ነጋሪ** *ʿawaǧ nägari*), who went around villages and places where the people used to gather. The "herald" was accompanied by the symbols of authority, among which the big ↗*nägarit* drum and the *sändäq* stick were most important. The ʿA. was repeatedly recited from a high place **ዓዋጅ፡ መንገሪያ** (*ʿawaǧ mängäriya*); the drums or ↗*ənbilta*-flutes were used to draw the attention of the people.

An ʿA. had to be brief, clear and easy to memorize. It used colloquial language, was rhymed and composed out of standard formulae. At least five types of ʿA. can be distinguished according to their subjects, namely "those pertaining to succession, restitution or confirmation, military mobilization and religious doctrines" (Bairu Tafla in PICES 7, 368).

Later, the term ʿA. was used in a somewhat broader context, cp. **ደንብ፡ ዓዋጅ** (*dänb ʿawaǧ*, '[written] announcement of law regulation'), e.g., **ስለ፡ አፈርሳታ፡ ደንብ፡ ዓዋጅ** (*səlä afärsata dänb ʿawaǧ*, '[written] ʿA. [law regulation] about communal inquest'); **አደረገ፡ ዓዋጅ** (*adärrägä ʿawaǧ*, '(he) proclaimed [lit. 'made'] ʿA.'); **የተጻፈ፡ ዓዋጅ** (*yätäṣafä ʿawaǧ*, 'written ʿA.'); or **የተጻፈው፡ ዓዋጅ፡ ተነገረ** (… *yätäṣafäw ʿawaǧ tänäggärä*, 'a law regulation [lit. 'written ʿA.'] was announced').

Src.: BaetDic 608; GuiVoc 483; KaneDic 1275; LesCDic 77; *blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŚELLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **ዝክረ፡ ነገር** (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba ²1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 95, 258f., 717, 746ff.; THMDic 997.
Lit.: JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *The Role of Land Tenure in the System of Ethiopian Imperial Government in Modern Times*, Warszawa 1980, 6; Wolf Leslau, "The Origin of Geez ʿAwādi 'Herald'", *JSS* 11, 1966, 226–27; BAIRU TAFLA, "The Awag: an Institution of Political Culture in Traditional Ethiopia", in: *PICES 7*, 365-72 (Lit); BTafA s. index.

Joanna Mantel-Niećko

Awaš

Over 1,200 km long, the A. (**አዋሽ**, ʿAfar: Wē–ʿáytu), with its 14 main tributaries, drains 70,000 km². The basin ranges in altitude from 3,000 m A.S.L. (west of Addis Abäba) to 250 m A.S.L. on the shores of Lake ↗Abbayya near the Djibouti border. The upper basin (3,000–1,600 m A.S.L.) is part of the western highlands, which are densely farmed by the ↗Tuulama Oromo. The lower A. basin covers a vast area which includes the part of the Ethiopian ↗Rift Valley known as the ʿAfar Triangle.

Regularly flooded, the lower valley from ↗Qoqa to the interior delta is a rainshadow area with an extreme deficiency of rainfall. The first irrigated project was the establishment in 1951 of the Wänǧ Sugar Plantation, south of Nazret (↗Adaama), with Dutch capital repatriated from Indonesia. The construction of the Qoqa dam in 1960 opened vast opportunities for the develop-

Historical postcard, ca. 1910, showing the bridge over the Awaš, from the collection of André Evalet

ment of irrigated agriculture. Ḫaylä Śəllase I then created the Awash Valley Authority in order to appraise the land and water resources for the formation of a comprehensive programme. Qoqa II and Qoqa III were constructed and dam sites were located on tributaries. Between Nazret and A. Station, the company expanded sugar cultivation in ↗Mätähara, vegetables and fruits were grown in commercial farms and the A. National Park (827 km²; ↗National Parks) was opened.

Since the completion of the A.-Gewane road, a shortcut to ᶜAsäb, cotton cultivation has developed in large plantations around Gewane and in Asayta in the interior delta. Run by foreign management, most of these farms were nationalized in 1975 and foreigners had to leave. As state farms, they were to celebrate Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam's "Green Revolution".

For centuries ↗ᶜAfar nomadic pastoralists have driven their cattle along the banks of the lower A. during the summer flood. Their grazing land was confiscated, fenced with barbed wire and guarded by armed militia in order to be tilled with tractors. The ᶜAfars, whose cattle were devastated by the severe droughts of 1973 and 1984, were expelled by the Ethiopian Army and had to shelter in refugee camps. For 30 years, mismanagement of irrigation has sterilized one-third of the soil by increasing salt deposits.

Lit.: ETHIOPIAN GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL (ed.), "Awash River Basin. Summary of the General Report on the Survey of the Awash River Basin", *Geographical Journal* 1966; LARS BONDESTAM, "People and Capitalism in the North-Eastern Lowlands of Ethiopia", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 12, 1974, 423–39; DANIEL GAMACHU, *Aspects of Climate and Water Budget in Ethiopia*, Addis Abeba 1977; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988; ALAIN GASCON, *Les enjeux des aménagements hydro-agricoles en Éthiopie et en Érythrée*, Montpellier 1994, 33–48; ID., *La Grande Éthiopie, une utopie africaine. Éthiopie ou Oromie, l'intégration des hautes terres du Sud*, Paris 1995; GEOFFREY C. LAST, *A Geography of Ethiopia for Senior Secondary Schools*, Addis Ababa 1963; MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *An Atlas of Ethiopia*, revised ed., Asmera 1971; ID., *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972.

Alain Gascon

Awasa

A. (**አዋሳ**) town is located 275 km to the south of Addis Abäba and bounded by the Ṭəqur Wəha River in the north at the foothills of the Allamura mountains in the south, and on the western side by Lake A. and the Addis Abäba-Nairobi International Highway on the east. The first inhabitants of the area were the ↗Sidama. The present site of A. used to be called "Adare", which is explained to be a Sidama word meaning the 'home of cattle'. The year-round availability of abundant fresh water attracted the highlanders to the area.

The town lies at 1,690 m A.S.L. The geology of the A. and its surrounding areas comprises thick lacustrine and various volcanic rocks. The lacustrine sediments are mainly composed of silt and clay with more sand and gravel. Within the floor of the caldera are many hills which are composed of various volcanic rocks. Otherwise the entire floor is a low-lying flat land that is suitable for urban development. However, some physical and man-made features have constrained the growth of the town. In the north its expansion is restricted by the Ṭəqur Wəha River, in the west by the existence of Lake A.

Generally, A. experiences a relatively warm temperature which varies from a mean minimum of 18° C in September and October to a mean maximum of 21° C in February, March and May.

There is abundant surface and underground water in the A. area, but all of it suffers from high salt content. There is rich surface water mainly from the rivers and lakes of the area, principally lakes A. and Šala. The former is mostly used for its fish resources and for recreational purposes. The main source of water is piped water whose principal source is the Käbo River, 17 km to the south of the town. Hand-dug wells are also a source of water for 3.3 per cent of the households. As in most other urban areas of Ethiopia, no sewer system exists in A. Liquid waste is disposed of in the compounds of individuals or on the street. There is no scheduled program for collecting garbage. This has resulted in a deteriotation of water in A.

Sewers from almost all the factories are directed to the marshy land and the open space, thus polluting lake A. and the surrounding swamp. This threatens the ecology of the surrounding area, especially the fish resources.

Since A. is located in an agricultural region, agriculture contributes about 4.3 per cent to the wage/salary employment in A. The major agricultural commodities, such as cabbage, potatoes, onions, coffee, tomatoes, fruits and grains, are brought to the town's market and are directly supplied by the rural people themselves. Horticulture farms, small plots under maize, root-crops and the like, are quite common in A. Fishing activity on Lake A. is important for local consumption. In addition, the surrounding rural areas benefit from the new agricultural technologies that have been developed by the Awasa Agricultural College. There are clear indications that the A. area was once covered with a thick forest. There are still huge oak- and acacia-trees in A., particularly in the northern and western parts of the town. Though not abundant, eucalyptus and other cultivated trees also grow in the area.

The shift of the capital of Sidamo province to A. and the recent socio-economic and political changes that are taking place have contributed to its rapid growth. The town of A. is presently the capital city of the newly delineated Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. The population of A. was 3,600 in 1962. It grew to 70,000 in 1994 and to 94,010 in 2000 (Central Statistical Authority 2000).

The wide streets of the capital of the "South" *kəlləl* are laid out like a draughtboard. The market is very important because coffee is produced in the surrounding area. A large Orthodox cathedral is about to be completed near three- or four-storied buildings, hotels and a mall. A. is also the centre of the University of the South (other sites are ↗Wändo Gännät and Dilla).

Lit.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *Statistical Abstract 2000*, Addis Ababa 2000; ID., *Results for Oromiya Region*, vol. 1 parts 1–4, Addis Ababa 1996; AFEWORK LUCKE, *The Significance of the Production of 'Service Quarters' in Awassa as a Housing Strategy*, M.A. thesis, Department of Geography, Addis Ababa University 1999; MARINA OTTAWAY (ed.), *Urbanization in Ethiopia: a Text with Integrated Readings*, Addis Ababa University 1976; MEKETE BELACHEW, "Spatial Aspects of Urbanization in Ethiopia: with Emphasis on the Primate Pattern Urban Development", *Ethiopian Journal of Development Research* 12, 2, 1990; MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (ed.), *Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1981.

Mekete Belachew

ʿAwdä nägäśt

ʿA.n. (**ዓውደ፡ ነገሥት**, 'The Cycle of the Kings') is a treatise, probably composed in the 15th cent., which consists of circular tables (*ʿawd*) dealing with divination and fortune-telling. The tables are sometimes illustrated in the manuscripts with little drawings of men writing on sheets.

The basis of the fortune-telling is 16 sixteen-sector schemes named after lakes or rivers (*baḥr*) in Ethiopia (e.g., Ṭana, Zʷay). The schemes always have the same division, there are only differences in the lettering (in alphabetical order) of the segments. Each scheme and its segments find their explanation (i.e. the answer to the question posed) in corresponding texts following the tables.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Lo ʿAwda nagast scritto divinatorio etiopico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 127–45, esp. 144f. (ill.); MARCEL GRIAULE, "Notes sur l'arithmomancie éthiopienne", *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* 4, 1934, 25–31.

Ute Pietruschka

ʿAwdä śäḥay

ʿA.ś. (**ዓውደ፡ ፀሐይ**, 'solar cycle') is one of the Ethiopian calendar cycles which, along with **ዓውደ፡ ቀመር** (*ʿawdä qämär*, 'lunar cycle'), **ዓውደ፡ አበቅቴ** (*ʿawdä abäqte*, 'epact cycle'), **ዓውደ፡ ዓመት** (*ʿawdä ʿamät*, 'cycle of [the Evangelists'] years') and **ዓውደ፡ ማኅተም** (*ʿawdä maḫtäm*, 'cycle of the seal'), serve the ↗computus calculations within Ethiopian ↗chronography.

All calendaric data can be found as soon as

three fundamental parameters are known: the ↗*mätqaᶜ* with its 19-year period of lunar phases (*ᶜawdä abäqte*), the ↗*ṭəmtyon* and the "Evangelist" with the period of 4 years (*ᶜəwdä ᶜamät*) for the "Julian" intercalation pattern of the Alexandrian civil calendar.

ᶜA.ṣ. is a 28-year cycle, which results if one combines the seven-day week with the four-year *ᶜəwdä ᶜamät* cycle: only after 7x4=28 years will an Alexandrian year begin with the same weekday.

The combination of *ᶜəwdä ᶜamät* and *ᶜawdä abäqte* results in the *ᶜawdä maḫtäm* cycle, which thus amounts to 4x19=76 years. Seven seals (*maḫtäm*) make again one lunar cycle.

The 532-year *ᶜawdä qämär* cycle, which underlies the whole calendar system, is the consequence of combining the seven-day week with the 76-year-cycle.

↗Abäqte; ↗Baḥrä ḥassab

Lit.: OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus*, Wien 1979 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 347); ID., "Ethiopic Easter Computus", *OrChr* 63, 1979, 87–102.

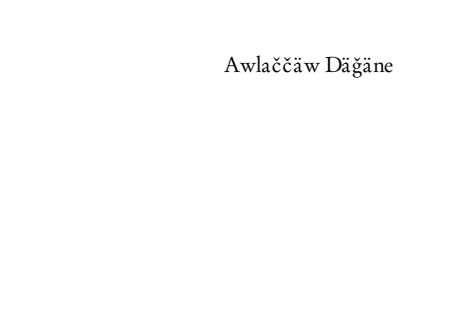
Ute Pietruschka

Awi ↗ Awŋi

Awlaccäw Dägäne

A.D. (**አውላቸው፡ ደጀኔ**, b. 1 June 1926, d. 20 July 1994), a famous Ethiopian actor, was born in Däbe Goğo near Mənğar in Šäwa. His officially recorded date of birth (1917 A.M., i.e. 1924 A.D.) was taken in 1944 to make him of acceptable age for employment in the Addis Abäba Municipal force, a practice common in those days for early-age employment. His traditional ↗education and exposure to the Gəᶜəz language were more advanced than was usual at this time. A.D. completed the study of the *Ṣomä dəggʷa* and the *Dəggʷa*, the highest level in the ↗*zema* chanting school.

Although A.D. was employed at the Addis Abäba Municipality as a member of its police force, he was reassigned to the newly organized Music and Theatre Department of the Addis Abäba Municipality in 1947. He acted in numerous plays staged by the Department, his major roles being: *abunä* Ṗetros in **የደም፡ ድምጽ** (*Yädäm dəmṣ*, 'Voice of Blood', by ↗Mäkʷännən Ǝndalkačćäw), Gäbrä Maryam in **ጎንደሬው፡ ገብረ፡ ማርያም** (*Gondärew Gäbrä Maryam*, 'Gäbrä Maryam of Gondär', by



Awlaccäw Dägäne in 1977, acting in *Ǝnnat ᶜaläm ṭänu* ('Mother World is Strong', Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən's adaptation of Bertolt Brecht's *Mother Courage and her Children*), photo from *Ityopya Bəherawi Tiyatər* ... 1975/76:42

↗Gärima Taffärä) and *däğğač* ↗ᶜAläme in **ቴዎድሮስ** (*Tewodros*, '[Emperor] Tewodros', by ↗Gərmaccäw Täklä Ḫawaryat).

In 1955 the Municipal theatre was renamed Ḫaylä Śəllase I Theatre (now the National Theatre). A.D. joined the same year, and remained a leading actor of this main Ethiopian playhouse for over three decades. He acted, among other roles, as David in **ዳዊትና፡ ኦርያ** (*Dawitənna Orya*, 'David and Uriah', after Mäkʷännən Ǝndalkačćäw, 1955) and as Solomon in **የንግሥተ፡ አዜብ፡ ታሪካዊ፡ ጉዞ** (*Yänəgəśtä azeb tarikawi guzo*, 'The Historical Journey of the Queen of the South [Queen of Sheba]', by ↗Aśśäbbər Gäbrä Ḫəywät, 1958/59). He had title-roles in **ኦቴሎ** (*Othello*, tr. by Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən, 1964), *Petros' Hour* (in English, also by Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən, 1969), **ቂመኛ፡ ባሕታዊ** (*Qimäñña baḥtawi*, 'The Vengeful Hermit', by ↗Abbe Gubäñña) and **ጸረ፡ ኮሎኒያሊስት** (*Särä koloniyalist*, 'Anti-colonialist', by ↗Mängəśtu Lämma). Some of his performances before *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I brought him gold medals and other prizes.

Besides his acting career, A.D. was involved in other activities. As early as 1952 he was appointed a *zema* instructor for the National Patriotic Association. After the foundation of Ḫaylä Śəllase I Theatre he assisted in the organization of folk-song and dance activities. After his return from the Hungarian Cultural Institute, where he was trained in choreography and dance, he ran the Theatre's folk-song and dance group.

↗Theatre; ↗Amharic literature

Lit.: **ኢትዮጵያ፡ ብሔራዊ፡ ቲያትር፡ የሕዝብ፡ ግንኙነት፡ ክፍል፡ የሚዘጋጅ፡ አጠቃላይ፡ መጽሔት** (*Ityopya Bəḫerawi Tiyatər*

yäḥəzb gənəññunnät kəfl yämizzägağ aṭäqalay mäṣəḥet, 'Review prepared by the Department of Public Relations of the National Theatre of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1968 A.M. [1975/76 A.D.], 42 (ill.).

Asfaw Damte – Galina Balashova

Awnabyos

A. (**አውናብዮስ**) was a dignitary at *aṣe* ↗Susənyos's court. According to our single source (the official chronicle of the Emperor), he was a son of *abetohun* Yonaˀel, who was a high dignitary at *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl's court (PerChron 97).

Like many of his contemporaries, A. followed a military career. In 1609 he was governor (↗*śəyyum*) of Wäggära. On 20–21 February 1610 he was an army chief (*arˀəsta ḥara*), and again in September 1614 (*liqä ṣäbäˀit*). There are indications that during this four-year period he was ↗*blatten geta*. He was relieved of this responsibility at the end of 1614. He was appointed as ↗*abägaz* on 16 January 1621.

Src.: PerChron 97, 103, 116f., 200; JEAN-FRANÇOIS SCIARRINO, *La chronique de Susneyos, roi d'Éthiopie 1607–1632, traduction des chapitres 1 à 51*, Mémoire de DEA, Université de Paris I 1995, 74, 77, 87f.

Dimitri Toubkis

Awŋi

The A. (Awngi) language is spoken by the Awi (sg. Awíya, fem. Awíğa) in the former districts of ↗Agäw Mədər and eastern ↗Mätäkkäl in the province of Goğğam, west of the town of Däbrä Marqos. In the literature A. is also sometimes referred to as the Awiya language and Southern Agäw, and in Amharic as Agäwəññña. A now extinct A. dialect once spoken further east in Goğğam is also referred to as Damot.

The number of A. speakers was estimated in 1976 at 50,000 (BendLang), but more recently has been calculated at about 100,000 (Wedekind 1995:2). A. is a member of the ↗Agäw, or Central Cushitic, family of languages and belongs to the ↗Cushitic macrofamily. Together with the little-known ↗Kunfäl, spoken in the lowlands to the west of Lake Ṭana, it forms a separate branch of the Agäw family, which is more divergent from the other members of the family than they are from one another, retaining a number of archaic features as well as showing several innovations. A. diverges from the rest of Agäw particularly in lexicon.

Compared to the other Agäw languages, A. probably has a much higher percentage of monolinguals, and the inroad that Amharic has made into the language is much less than is observable in the case of ↗Kəmantənäy or Ḫamtəŋa (↗Ḫamta), for instance. For many A. speakers knowledge of Amharic is limited to the necessary phrases required for routine transactions at the market and only A. is used in the home environment.

The consonant system of A. is structurally similar to that found in other Agäw languages, for instance, including a velar nasal and labialized velars and uvulars. Notable, however, is a pair of dental affricates /c/ (=ts) and /dz/, the latter of which is extremely rare, apparently only occurring in the root meaning 'four' and its derivatives. A. also has a voiceless labial stop /p/, which is found only very sporadically, if at all, in the other Agäw languages. In A. the voiced uvular /ɣ/ and its labialized pair /ɣ^{w}/ are lax stops, not fricatives as, for instance, in Kəmantnäy.

labials	*p*	*b*			*m*	*f*			*w*
dentals	*t*	*d*	*c*	*dz*	*n*	*s*	*z*	*r*	*l*
palatals			*č*	*ǧ*		*š*			
velars	*k*	*g*			*ŋ*				
labialized velars	*k^{w}*	*g^{w}*			*ŋ^{w}*				
uvulars	*q*	*ɣ*							
labialized uvulars	*q^{w}*	*ɣ^{w}*							

The vowel system is also similar to that found in other Agäw languages, for instance in lacking phonemic vocalic length and in including a high central vowel /ə/, which as in other Ethiopian languages where it occurs also functions as a default syllabifier in the breaking of inadmissi-

ble consonant clusters. However, A. lacks a corresponding low central /ä/, the etymological correspondent of which is the front vowel /e/ which slightly palatalises a preceding consonant, as do /i/ and /æ/. The fronted open vowel /æ/ is always the result of contact between a palatal and /a/ at a morpheme boundary.

A. is a tonal, or pitch accent language of the typical Cushitic type, with two tone levels, high (marked á) and mid (unmarked a). A low tone (marked à) occurs only in final syllables and in a small number of special morphological categories. Also restricted to word final position is a phonetically falling tone (marked â), which often arises out of a contraction of two underlying syllables.

Like all the Agäw languages, A. has a Subject-Object-Verb word order. It is also characterized by an extremely complex morphology. Nominals inflect for number and case, the latter with a twelve-term system. Noun-plural formation is much simpler than in the other Agäw languages, comprising simply the addition of the suffix *-ka*. There are two genders, masculine and feminine, which are mostly apparent through agreement patterns, though all feminine nouns are identifiable by the ending *-a*, whilst nouns ending in other vowels and consonants are all masculine. Possessive nouns show gender and number concord with their head noun: *aqí-w ŋ ám* 'the man's house', *aqí-t ŋánà* 'the man's (little) house', *aqí-k^{w} ŋánká* 'the man's houses'. The full declension of the noun *aqí* 'man' is shown in the table:

Nominative	*aqí*	Locative	*aqída*
Accusative	*aqê*	Comparative	*aqíta*
Genitive base	*aqí-+-w, -t, -k^{w}*	Comitative	*aqíli*
Translative	*aqá*	Directional	*aqíšo*
Dative	*aqís*	Invocative	*aqíǧas*
Ablative	*aqídes*	Adverbial	*aqŋa*

The personal pronouns show three persons, singular and plural, with no distinction of gender in the 3rd pers., unlike the other Agäw languages. In addition to the independent pronouns (set A), as in other Agäw languages, there is also a set of dependent pronouns (set B) used with case suffixes: *ənnóǧis-o tasy^{w}à* 'he hit us', and as possessive proditics: *ənnóǧis-talá* or *ən-talá* 'our father'.

	singular		plural	
	set A	set B	set A	set B
1st	*án, áni*	*ə́y-, yí-*	*ənnóǧi*	*ən-, ənnóǧis-*
2nd	*ánt, ánti*	*kw-, k[ə]-*	*əntóǧi*	*ənt-, əntóǧis-*
3rd	*ŋi*	*ŋi-*	*ŋáǧi*	*ŋa-, ŋáǧis-*

Demonstratives show two terms with gender/number distinctions (masc., fem., pl. respectively): near *ám*, *ánná*, *ánní*; far *án*, *aná*, *ánní*. The interrogative 'who?' is *ay*, which accords with other Agäw languages, but 'what?' is either *dármá*, perhaps originally meaning 'what thing?' or clitic *wó[t]-*.

Verbal morphology is particularly rich. Like the other Agäw languages, A. makes a fundamental distinction in form between main-verb and subordinate-verb paradigms. Verbs inflect for a seven-term person system, three persons, singular and plural, with a further distinction between masculine and feminine in the 3rd person sg. Verbs also have separate paradigms for affirmative and negative. The verbal inventory is, however, greatly augmented by the existence of a large number of subordinate forms, separate paradigms for Subject Relatives (where the subject of the relative verb and the head noun are identical) and Oblique Relatives (where the two are not identical), as well as at least thirteen basic adverbial subordinate forms (equivalent to 'when …', 'because …', 'after …', 'if …', 'until …', etc.). There are also several modal forms, such as desiderative, optative, imperative etc., that are used in main-verb position. The verbal complex may also include stem derivation marking such categories as stative or essive, causative, passive and reciprocal. The total scatter of the A. verb is at least as extensive as that of any other Agäw language, and is probably larger. The A. verb shows a number of archaic features when compared to the other Agäw languages, the most notable being the survival of derivatives of the old Cushitic monovocalic suffix inflection in main-verb position, in the form of what Hetzron (1969:12ff.) called the Indefinite tenses, alongside those formed by means of an old auxiliary **Vy-* 'be', which forms the only affirmative main-verb tenses in the other Agäw languages. So from the verb *des-* 'study':

	perfect indefinite	perfect definite	imperfect indefinite	imperfect definite
1st sg.	*desa*	*desy^{w}à*	*desé*	*desáyá*
2nd sg.	*desta*	*destəy^{w}à*	*desté*	*destáyá*
3rd masc.	*desa*	*desy^{w}à*	*desé*	*desáwí*
3rd fem.	*desta*	*destəy^{w}à*	*desté*	*destátí*
1st pl.	*desna*	*desnəy^{w}à*	*desné*	*desnáyá*
2nd pl.	*destəka*	*destúnà*	*destánà*	*destányá*
3rd pl.	*deska*	*desúnà*	*desánà*	*destánk^{w}í*

A. lexicon shows a number of isoglosses even in

basic vocabulary that distinguish it from the rest of the Agäw. Thus, even in the following brief list the first item for 'one', 'sun' and 'tongue' have no cognates in the rest of the family:

one	*ɔmpál, layu*	sun	*áwá*
two	*laŋa*	moon	*árfá*
three	*šuya*	blood	*bəri*
fire	*leg*	tongue	*cáŋ*
water	*ayu*	tooth	*ərkʷí*

Lit.: BendLang 6, 298, 562; ROBERT HETZRON, *The Verbal System of Southern Agaw*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1969 (University of California Near Eastern Studies 12); ID., "The Nominal System of Awngi (Southern Agaw)", *BSOAS* 41, 1978, 123–41; KLAUS WEDEKIND – CHARLOTTE WEDEKIND, "A Survey of Awngi", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports* 28, 1995, 2–22.

David L. Appleyard

Awraǧǧa ↗ Administrative division

Awrari ↗ Fitawrari

Awsa

A. (ᶜAfar: Áwsa) is a historical region and sultanate in the Upper ↗Awas. Nothing is known of A. prior to the emigration of the family of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī from Harär in 1577 (Cerulli 1931). The mention of "Auça Gurrele, capital of the kingdom of Adel which is called Zeila" (s. map by Manoel de Almeida in Beccari 1907) could be understood as *Áwsa górra le*, namely 'A. interior' in ᶜAfar (as opposed to the ᶜAdal outlet of Zaylaᶜ). The name A. may also refer to an original stock of sedentary population which survives in the generic ᶜAfar term *Awsí mára* 'people of A.'.

The word still designates the most ancient ᶜAfar sub-groups, some of them being virtually extinct: Dardórá, the descendants of the *imāms* Wāmulé or Māmulé [Māmóli (?)] (mentioned in *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, s. BassHist 172), Bayḍʳó, Saᶜiddó, Dōwaᶜá (the "Dobaas" around Lake Ašangi?, mentioned by Alvares), ᶜAnkattó or ᶜAnkattá (from the ancient ↗Angot?), Waᶜungé etc.

From a geographical point of view, A. is the region of the lakes to the east of ↗Asayta where the Awaš river ends. The upper and western part of this inundation-prone plain, up to Tendaho (Tandaḥó), called Kaló, is ruled by the same *sulṭān* Mōdaytó. This grazing area with permanent water supply is vital for cattle and agriculture and it makes A. the richest ᶜAfar region.

The draining and the cultivation of the oasis seem to have been initiated by the ↗Harla (ᶜAfar Haralla) groups, who came from Ifat in the 13th cent. At the end of the 16th cent. and during the 17th cent., this fertile valley was under pressure from the Oromo. *Imām* Aḥmad's heirs – Maḥámmad, son of Ibrāhīm Gāsa in 1583, *amīr* Aḥmaddīn in 1590, *imām* Adan in 1648 – were all killed in battles with the Oromo. The counter-offensive was led by *imām* ᶜUmardīn after 1672.

The rise of the family of the *imāms* in A. added to the conflict between the Bayḍīᶜó, whose chiefs (*ēbó*) were under pressure from the Haralla, led by their chief, called *baddá-h ábba* 'master of the flooding'. In 1750, Salmān (who is said to be the last *imām* of the family of *imām* Aḥmad) died in his residence, which had been set on fire by the Haralla. Being at the eastern edge of A., the Mōdaytó took advantage of these internal divisions. In 1834, Ḥanfaḍé Ayḍâḥis (r. 1832–62) defeated the sedentaries of the oasis at the battle of Darmá (1834).

The entire Awaš valley was divided between "Red" and "White" tribes (↗ᶜAdohyammára and ᶜAsahyammára). With the title of *amóyta* (*amó* 'head'), the Ayḍāḥissó headed a tribal confederation uniting the "eight thrones" (*baḥrá kaᶜādá*), i.e. the eight "Red" tribes, descendants of Môday, the eponymous ancestor of the Mōdaytó: Afkîᶜé (the first born), Máᶜad, Kîᶜu, Ḥenkébba, ᶜArábta, ᶜAsabbakári, Nassár and ᶜAggínni.

Some ᶜAfar tribes of the north-west of the Republic of Djibouti (Bôr kē Wandābá, Durbá, Uluᶜtó etc.) traditionally remain under the command of A. The *sulṭāns* claiming control over the

port of ↗Baylūl supported the replacement of the ↗Dankali Fādiltó by the Nassár.

After the battle of ᶜArraddó (January 1896) and the victory of *ras* Wäldä Giyorgis over the troops of *sulṭān* ↗Muḥammad Illalta (r. 1865–1902), son of Ḥanfaḍé, A. became tributary. The Ethiopian government intervened in the succession war (1898–1912) at the end of the reign of the *sulṭān* of A., Muḥammad Illalta. For more than ten years, fighting occurred between his sons and his brother's son Ayḍâḥis, who was finally given land in Sámu by *aṣe* Mənilək II.

Between 1912 and 1917, Yāyyó, son of Muḥammad Illalta, one of the survivors of the bloodshed, came to power. Mənilək's death in 1913, *ləǧ* Iyasu's sympathy for the ᶜAfar and his running away to A. (after 1916) left the sultanate de facto semi-independent. Under Maḥámmad, son of Yāyyó (1927–44), A. gained prosperity by trading cattle with the Italian army. In 1944, Maḥámmad was dismissed by the Emperor Ḥaylä Śəllase I and replaced by the *sulṭān*'s second cousin ᶜAli Miráḥ. Entering a monetary economy with its cash-crops cultivation created new and still on-going conflicts between marginalized pastoralists and the non-ᶜAfar population. Having been exiled in Saudi Arabia after 1975, the *sultān* ᶜAli Miráḥ came back after the fall of the Därg regime.

Src.: oral traditions, collected by the author; MANOEL DE ALMEIDA, *Historia de Etiopia a alta ou Abassia, liber I–IV*, in: CAMILLO BECCARI (ed.), *Rerum aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, vol. 5, Romae 1907, s. map; BassHist 172; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6, 4, 2, 1931, 39–101 [repr. in: ID., *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971].

Didier Morin

Awsabiyos

A. (**አውሳቢዮስ**, or **አውሳብዮስ**, Awsabəyos) of the 15th cent. was a disciple of *abba* ↗Samuᵓel of Waldəbba. A.'s Acts (↗*Gädl*) are found in Waldəbba, Ṣälämt, Bägemdər (KinBibl no. 26) and, possibly, also in Kəbran: **ገድለ፡ አውሳብዮስ፡ ሠዓ፡ ዝክር፡ በምጽኤ፡ በክብራን** (*Gädlä Awsabəyos śännäyä zəkər bäməṣəle bäkəbran*, 'The Acts of A., who left a good remembrance, in Məṣṣəle, at Kəbran', s. Aklilä Bərhan Wäldä Qirqos 1953/54:75, though the A. here might be a different person). The *Gädl* has not been published. No other hagiographies referring to A. have been found. He might be identical with the Awsabiyos of Rema, mentioned in a ↗*Sənkəssar* ms. Ṭānāsee 100 fol. 72r for 5 *Säne* (cf. HamTana 2, 141).

Lit.: KinBibl 66, no. 26; AKLILÄ BƏRHAN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **መርሐ፡ልቡና** (*Märḥa ləbbuna*, 'The Guide of Intellect'), Addis Abäba 1945 A.M. [1953/54 A.D.], 75; HamTana 2, 141ff., ms. Ṭānāsee 100 [Rēmā 11].

Osvaldo Raineri

Āy ᶜĀbida

Ā.ᶜĀ. was a Harari holy woman. *Āy* is the Harari word for 'mother' (cp. *āy* in Leslau 1963:38) and it is the usual respectful term attributed to holy women. *ᶜĀbida* is grammatically a feminine participle from the Arabic verb *ᶜabada* 'to worship'. The masculine form *ᶜābid* is well attested as an Arabic loanword in Harari (Leslau 1963:182) with the common meaning 'worshipper'. The use of both the masculine and feminine Arabic participle-forms as proper names is wide-spread in Arabic (Muḥammad az-Zubayr 1991:1439).

No historical information is available about the life of Ā.ᶜĀ. Her name is quoted by Ahmed Muhammed Roble in Leslau (1965:201) together with ↗Umma Koda as the most venerated Harari female saint. Wagner (1973:279) mentions the location of Ā.ᶜĀ.'s grave in area of the Assūm *bäri* gate. In Wagner (1975:39f.) the name of Ā.ᶜĀ. is invoked in a pious litany. Foucher (1988:265f.) lists three sacred places in Harär which are related to the memory of Ā.ᶜĀ.: her alleged grave under a *zibi* tree, the mosque dedicated to her in the Assūm *bäri* area and the place of her wedding near Āw Dabana mosque in the Bädrō *bäri* area. Hecht (1993:160) underlines that Ā.ᶜĀ.'s shrine (as well as Umma Koda's) is visited only by women.

Src.: WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley 1963 (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 1), 38, 182; ID., *Ethiopians speak. Studies in Cultural Background*, vol. 1: *Harari*, Berkeley 1965 (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 7), 201.

Lit.: EMILE FOUCHER, "Names of Mussulmans Venerated in Harar and its Surroundings: a List", *ZDMG* 138, 1988, 263–82, here 265f.; ELISABETH-DOROTHEA HECHT, *Die traditionellen Frauenvereine* (*Afōča*) *der Harari in Harar und Addis Ababa, Äthiopien*, Berlin 1993, 160; MUḤAMMAD AZ-ZUBAYR (ed.), *Siǧill asmāᵓ al-ᶜarab. Treasury of Arab Names*, Beirut 1991, vol. 3, 1439; EWALD WAGNER, "Eine Liste der Heiligen von Harar", *ZDMG* 123, 1973, 269–92, here 279; ID., "Arabische Heiligenlieder aus Harar", *ZDMG* 125, 1975, 28–65, here 39f.

Alessandro Gori

Ayba

A. (**አይባ**, also Ayaba) was apparently a village in ↗Wägära, on the route between the Səmen region and the mountain chain of Wäynä Däga, not far from Gondär. A. is mentioned in the "short chronicles" as the place where *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl's widow, ↗Säblä Wängel, made her residence in 1542 and where three years later she received her son Minas after his release from captivity at the hands of the Turks in Zabīd. Later, ca. 1591, *aṣe* Minas's son and successor ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl moved his court to A. from ↗Gubaʾe, apparently for sanitary reasons. There he built a palace and the church of Kidanä Məḥrät. Though the court was moved back to Gubaʾe, A. continued to serve as a stop during expeditions to Səmen and other areas to its east.

Src.: BassÉt 24f.; CRHist; MANFRED KROPP (tr., ed.), *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minās*, Louvain 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]), 47, 50 (text) = 49, 50 (tr.); FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, *Historia de Minás, Rei de Ethiopia*, Lisboa 1888; DombrChr 186, 213 (tr.); PerChron 116, 204, 247, 296 (text) = 36, 157, 190, 228 (tr.).

Lit.: PankHist I, II, s. index.

MeridWolde Aregay

ʿAyba

A. (**ዓይባ**, also Ayba) is a settlement and a district of southern Təgray, in the *wäräda* that was known as ↗Ənda Maḵonni, Raya-Azäbo *awraǧǧa*. It includes the valley between the strongholds of ↗Ambalage and ↗Mayčäw. A river of the same name runs through it eastwards. The district became known due to the rivalries among the Təgrayan elites which followed the death of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV in 1889 and the opportunities the rivalries created for Italian intrigues. Like the neighbouring territories of ↗Azaboo Oromo, A. was to a great extent out of the imperial government's control. In 1930 A. was subjected to a large oppressive military operation carried out by the army of *ras* ↗Gugsa Arʾaya, who was appointed two years earlier as governor of Təgray. The operation, however, brought little success.

Lit.: ANTHONY MOCKLER, *Haile Sellassie's War*, Oxford 1984, 20, 28f.; CORRADO ZOLI, *Etiopia d'oggi*, Roma ⁴1936, 153–69, map 5; PIETRO BADOGLIO, *La guerra d'Etiopia*, Milano 1936; *Guida* 308.

MeridWolde Aregay

Aygäbäz

A. (**አይገበዝ**) was a dignitary of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I's time. From the Emperor's official history we know that at that time (1669) he was *ṭəqaqqən* ↗*blatten geta*. In this function he, together with *blatten geta* Gäbrä Leʾul, undertook an expedition against the ↗Beni Šangul. At that time he heard about the revolt of a certain Muḥammad, whom he then fought and defeated. Muḥammad himself managed to escape and fled to ↗Sinnār.

A short chronicle (DombrChr) mentions the death of a certain *bašša* Aygäbäz in 1686, but it is not sure that it is the same person.

Src.: GuiIohan 9; DombrChr 214.

Dimitri Toubkis

Ayhud

A. (**አይሁድ**) is the term used to translate the Hebrew *yəhūḏīm* and Greek **Ἰουδαῖος** ('Jews') in the Gəʿəz version of both the Old and New Testaments (cf. Jer 33:2, Dan 3:30, Esth 3:6, Rom 9:24, Gal 2:14). Although the use of the term in translated literature is comparatively straightforward, its meaning(s) in original literature, and particularly in theological and historical texts from the 13th to 16th cent., is far more complicated. While in some cases it may refer to a defined and organized religious or ethnic community, the most common use of the term A. in medieval Ethiopia was as a description of groups viewed by an author as being in some way heretical.

There is a virtual certainty that none of the groups designated as A. used this term to refer

to themselves. A. was almost invariably a pejorative term applied by a Christian author to a despised or feared "other". Members of the monastic movement founded by ↗Ǝsṭifanos, for example, were referred to as A. by their enemies. They, in turn, joined other Christians in referring to the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel as A. Clearly they did not view themselves as A. or as belonging to the same religious group as the Betä Ǝsraʾel. Nevertheless, scholars remain sharply divided as to the identity of the A.

Much of the debate regarding the identity of the A. has revolved around the question of the relation between the A. and the people identified from the 15th or 16th cent. on as Fälaša (Betä Ǝsraʾel). On the one hand, there are those who wish to identify virtually every reference to the A. with the Betä Ǝsraʾel. On the other, there are those who claim that A. should be viewed not as an ethnic or religious designation, but primarily as a political term and deny any connection to the Betä Ǝsraʾel.

Given the diverse nature of the groups referred to as A., it would be a mistake to make any simplistic identification between the A. and the people later referred to as Fälaša. However, there are good historical reasons for believing that some of those labelled as A., particularly in the Lake Ṭana region, were ancestors of the Betä Ǝsraʾel. Clear evidence exists, for example, of a certain geographic continuity. The A. who inhabited the Lake Ṭana region, in the 14th and 15th cent. are found in precisely those areas (Səmen, Ṣällämt, Dämbəya, and Wäggära) where later sources locate the Fälaša. Some historical link must be presumed between two groups who, although separated by several generations, inhabited the same regions and shared a disdain for royal rule and Christian doctrine. Indeed, the chronicler of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl makes just such an association by calling Fälaša those who in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam are called A. While such anachronistic identifications should not be given too much weight, it should also be noted that several sources credit the A. of the Lake Ṭana region with distinctive ethnic or religious characteristics, particularly a decidedly Hebraic form of religion (Conti Rossini 1910:103–09; Quirin 1988).

These connections notwithstanding, the A. of earlier sources should not be viewed as identical with the Fälaša of later texts. The shift in terminology from A. to Fälaša reflects not only the passage of time, but also substantial political, religious and economic changes. At least a portion of the A. appear to have formed the nucleus of what in the 15th and 16th cent. became known as the Fälaša.

The term A. appears to have been particularly wide-spread during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, who sought to purge the Church of many of its dissident elements. In the ↗*Ṭomarä təsbəʾət*, for example, he outlines the punishments meted out to those who consult magicians before setting out to battle. "If you are a priest, your priesthood should be stripped from you, and if you are a Christian, you shall be called a Jew and an idolater." Zärʾa Yaʿəqob believed that being labelled as "acting like the Jews and the idolaters" was the worst thing that a Christian could suffer. Moreover, since political and religious rebellion were frequently synonymous in medieval Ethiopia, the term A. was often applied to his political enemies. His son *abba* Gälawdewos is said to have become a Jew, forsaking his Christianity and denying Christ. However, since it is also known that Gälawdewos was allied with *abba* ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat, it appears unlikely that his alleged "Jewishness" should be interpreted too literally.

A major part of his *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*milad* is an attack on the "Jews" who denied the incarnation of the Word of God in the person of Jesus Christ. A question which does not have a definitive answer is whether there was a Jewish community or the king was merely labelling his enemies as "Jews". It seems unlikely that he would have expended so much time and energy refuting a view unless he sincerely viewed it as a threat to the Christianity of his kingdom. However, the king's preoccupation with the danger posed by the A. cannot be viewed as condusive proof that they formed a united and organised community.

Although several scholars have commented in recent years on the problems involved in identifying the A., this term/group has yet to be the subject of a comprehensive study. Such a work might resolve many of the questions left open in the discussion presented above.

↗Judaism

Src.: KURT WENDT, *Das Maṣḥafa Milād* (*Liber Nativitatis*) *und Maṣḥafa Sellāsē* (*Liber Trinitatis*) *des Kaisers Zarʾa Yāʿqob*, Louvain 1962 (CSCO 221, 235 [SAe 41, 43]); GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zärʾa Yaʿəqob* (*Ṭomara Təsbəʾt*), Louvain 1991 (CSCO 522, 523 [SAe 95, 96]), s. index; STEVEN KAPLAN, "The Fälasha and the Stephanite: an Episode from Gädlä

Gäbrä Mäsiḫ", *BSOAS* 48, 2, 1985, 279–82; JOSEPH HALÉVY, "La guerre de Sarsa-Dengel contre les Falashas", *Revue sémitique* 14, 1906, 392–427; ID., 15, 1907, 119–63, 263–87; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Appunti di storia e letteratura Falascia", *RSO* 8, 1919–20, 563–610; ID. (ed., tr.), *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum. I. Acta Sancti Abakarazun II. Acta Sancti Takla Hawaryat*, Louvain 1910 (CSCO 56 [SAe 25]), 103–09 (text).

Lit.: VERONIKA KREMPEL, *Die soziale und wirtschaftliche Stellung der Falascha in der christlich-amharischen Gesellschaft von Nordwest-Äthiopien*, Ph.D. thesis, Freie Universität Berlin 1972; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia: from Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York 1992, 60–64; GETATCHEW HAILE, "A Preliminary Investigation of the Tomarä Təsbaʾt of Emperor Zärʾa Yaʿəqob of Ethiopia", *BSOAS* 43, 2, 1980, 207–34; JAMES ARTHUR QUIRIN, "The ʾAyhud and Bĕta ʾEsräʾĕl-Falăshă in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: Oral and Written Traditions", *NEASt* 10, 1988, 89–104; ID., *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia 1992, 11–15, 40–86.

Steven Kaplan

Aymälläl ↗ Soddo

Ayne

A. (**አይኔ**) is located 33 km north of ↗Ankobär and 4 km north of Däbrä Sina, in ↗Yəfat district. A. was the second capital of the Šäwan dynasty after Ayyabär (10 km north-east of Mäzäzo). It was founded by ↗Nägaśi Krəstos Wärädä Qal in 1683 and was also the chief residence of his successor, Səbəste, who built the church, Ayne Maryam (BTafA 501, Asfa-Wossen Asserate 1980:73).

Under ↗Abbəyye the centre of the kingdom moved southwards, first to nearby ↗Doqaqit and then across the Awadi river to Ḫarr Amba. But when Abbəyye was attacked by an imperial army, he took up position at A. and won the battle (BTafA 510f.). A. is a natural stronghold, on a hill overlooking the Ayne-Robi river. The "town of Nägaśe" can still be identified by local informants, about 100 m north of the church. After the capital moved to Ankobär, A. did not function in a military capacity. Much of the land later belonged to Ayne Maryam, which was part of the estate of the Fərkuta Kidanä Məḫrät church in eastern Gera Mədər in Mänz.

Lit.: ASFA-WOSSEN ASSERATE, *Die Geschichte von Šawā (Äthiopien) 1700–1865*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 53), 73–84; BTafA 501–13; SVEIN EGE, *Class, State and Power in Africa. A Case Study of the Kingdom of Shäwa (Ethiopia) about 1840*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 46), 23ff.; VOLKER STITZ, *Studien zur Kulturgeographie Zentraläthiopiens*, Bonn 1974 (Bonner Geographische Abhandlungen 51), 100f.

Svein Ege

Ayšal

A. (**አይሻል**) is the name of a plain in the Däräbe district of Goğğam, 25 km south-west of Agämne, in the Däbäyṭəlatgən *wäräda*, Bəčäna *awraǧǧa*. It was at A. that one of the decisive battles between *ras* ↗Ali Alula, the then ruler of central Ethiopia, and *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Ḫaylu (↗Tewodros II) took place on 23 *Säne* 1845 A.M. [29 June 1853 A.D.].

The military support *ras* Ali offered *däǧǧazmač* ↗Goššu Zäwde in his struggle against the latter's rebellious son ↗Bərru Goššu – along with Ali's decision to transfer Kaśa's governorship of Dämbəya and neighbouring districts over to Goššu – resulted in the battle of the "four *däǧǧazmačočč*" at Bəččäñ on 5 *Miyazya* 1845 A.M. [12 April 1853 A.D.]. Kaśa Ḫaylu defeated the units sent by Ali (who himself did not take part in the battle), killed two of the *däǧǧazmačočč* (Bərru Aligaz and Bäläw Täklä Haymanot) and burnt down ↗Däbrä Tabor, Ali's residence.

In June, when *ras* Ali concentrated his forces in the plain of A., it came to a new battle. At first it looked like Ali's army was winning, but in the afternoon Kaśa Ḫaylu took over. As chroniders witness, "the men of *ras* Ali were falling like leaves [of a tree shaken by wind]" (Mondon-Vidailhet 1904:4 [text]) and their "blood was running in torrents" (Moreno 1942:158). The numerous wounded could not be taken care of and many of them died of cold. Heaps of stones covering the plain today are said to mark the site

of burials of the Muslim soldiers (GueCopMen I, 132). *Ras* Ali escaped with much difficulty and took refuge, first at an asylum in Dämbäča, and then fled further to Maḫdärä Maryam, to Yänäğğa in Wadla and finally to his home ↗Yäğğu, where he stayed till his death in 1866.

This victory at A. thus put an end to *ras* Ali's political career and manifested the beginning of the end of the whole ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* era.

Src.: FRANÇOIS MARIE CASIMIR MONDON-VIDAILHET (ed., tr.), *Chronique de Theodoros II, roi des rois d'Éthiopie (1853–1868) [d'après alaqa WALDA-MARYAM]*, Paris 1904 (repr. Westmead ²1971), 3f. (text) = 5f. (tr.); *däbtära* ZÄNNÄB, *The Chronicle of King Theodore of Abyssinia*, ed., tr. by ENNO LITTMANN, Princeton, NJ 1902, 14f.; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, "La Cronaca di Re Teodoro attributa al Dabtara Zaneb", *RSE* 2, 1942, 143–80, here 158; LUIGI FUSELLA (ed.), **ያጤ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yaṭe Tewodros tarik*, 'Chronicle of Emperor Tewodros'), Rome 1959, 10 [tr. ID., "La cronaca dell'Imperatore Teodoro II di Etiopia in un manoscritto amarico", *Annali IUO* 6, 1954–56, 61–121, here 70f.]; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Nuovi documenti per la storia d'Abissinia nel secolo XIX", *RRALm* 8, 2, 1947, 357–416, here 407f.; GueCopMen I, 205 [n. 5], 232; BTafA 451, 887; SVEN RUBENSON (ed.), *Correspondence and Treaties 1800–1854*, Addis Abeba – Evanston 1987 (Acta Aethiopica 1), nos. 169, 172, 174, 176.

Lit.: ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANIEL-NIEĆKO, *Geschichte Äthiopiens*, Berlin 1978, vol. 1, 232f.; SVEN RUBENSON, *King of Kings Tewodros of Ethiopia*, Addis Abeba – Nairobi 1966 (Haile Sellassie I University Department of History, Historical Studies 2), 42f.; PankHist II, 57; MORDECHAI ABIR, *Ethiopia: the Era of the Princes. The Challenge of Islam and the Reunification of the Christian Empire, 1769–1855*, London 1968, 139f.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Ayyaana ↗ Calendar; ↗ Waaqa

Ayyälä Gäbrä

Blatta A.G. (**አየለ፡ ገብረ**, b. 1886, Gərawa, d. 1960, Addis Abäba), was a statesman who served his country as minister, diplomat, deputy-governor and Member of Parliament of the Imperial Ethiopian Government for over four decades.

A.G. was born in Gərawa town in Gara Mulläta *awraǧǧa*, Harärge province. His father *ato* Gäbrä Andärgačč'äw was from a noble family in the Gondär region and his mother was *wäyzäro* Däbritu Bisäwre, also from Gondär. He married *wäyzäro* Marta Nəway in 1918. After attending a traditional church school in his birthplace A.G. moved to Harär city in 1905 to join the ↗Capuchin Mission School, where he completed his elementary education. While perusing his formal education, he started working as a clerk in the post office of Dərre Dawa in 1911, where he served for six years. He was then transferred to the customs office of Dərre Dawa as the Head, where he was later promoted to the rank of Director. In 1928 A.G. was promoted to the higher position of Acting Head of Customs in Addis Abäba. A year later he was given the prestigious post of Director of the Municipality of Addis Abäba. Three years later in 1932 he was made the Head of the ↗Special Court that adjudicated disputes between Ethiopians and foreigners.

When the Italians occupied Addis Abäba in 1936, he was induced by the Italian officials to cooperate with them as an advisor. Later on, when they realized that he was discreetly supporting the patriots, they detained him and sent him to Azinarra for imprisonment.

A.G.'s record of collaboration does not seem to have negatively affected his career in post-liberation Ethiopia. He was among the first ministers appointed by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I after the latter's entry into Addis Abäba in May 1941. He was twice given the portfolio of Minister of Justice, where he served from 1941 to 1949 and later from 1955 to 1957. In his last term in the Ministry, he acted as the chairman of the Imperial Codification Commission of Ethiopia. Between 1942 and 1945 he was the Ethiopian Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in London.

From 1945 to 1955 he served as *əndärase* (Viceroy) or Deputy–Governor of Harärge Governorate-General, and as Senator from 1957 to 1960. He spoke, in addition to Amharic, fluent French, English, Italian and Arabic.

In December 1960, he was killed with other high officials of the Imperial Government by the instigators of the attempted ↗Coup d'état 1960.

Src.: HAILE SELLASSIE I, *My Life and Ethiopia's Progress: Haile Sellassie I King of Kings of Ethiopia*, vol. 2, Addis Ababa, 1966 E.C., ed. by HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS et al., tr. by EZEKIEL GEBISSA et al., East Lansing 1994 (African Historical Sources 6), 82.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, "Some Aspects of Post-Liberation Ethiopia 1941–1950", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 277–89; TIM CARMICHAEL, "Haile Sellassie's Hands-Off Direct Rule: Blata Ayele Gebre and the Hareri Kulub Movement of 1948", in: MELVIN EUGENE PAGE et al. (eds.), *Personality and Political Culture in Modern Africa: Studies Presented to Professor Harold G. Marcus*, Boston 1998; CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Haile Sellassie's Government*, London 1969; ABERRA JEMBERE, *An Introduction to the Legal History of Ethiopia, 1434–1974*, Münster 2000.

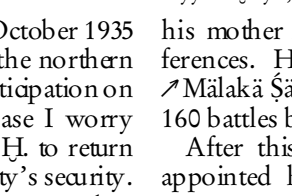
Aberra Jembere – Shiferaw Bekele

Ayyälä Ḫayle

Wähni azzaž A.Ḫ. (**አየለ፡ ኃይሉ**, b. 10 February 1905, Ankobär, d. 13 April 1942, Ankobär) was a resistance fighter and a government official. His father was Ḫayle Wäldä Rufe, *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. His mother, Mulunäš Fərde, later was known as one of the woman patriots. *Laǧ* A.Ḫ. attended elementary school at ↗Ankobär and the Mənilak II Secondary School in Addis Abäba, and then was sent to Alexandria, where he studied Arabic, French and English. After returning, he assumed several offices during the pre-1935 period, as the head of the Department of Statistics in the Ministry of Finance and later as a secretary of the Parliament in the pre-war period, with the title of ↗*fitäwrari*.

When Italy invaded Ethiopia in October 1935 (↗Italian War 1935–36), he joined the northern front. It is said that his energetic participation on the battlefield made *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I worry about him. The Emperor ordered A.Ḫ. to return to Addis Abäba to take care of the city's security. Addis Abäba was occupied on 5 May 1936, but A.Ḫ. refused to go into exile, against the wish of both the Emperor and his father. During the first three days of May 1936 he removed the various firearms from the imperial headquarters and distributed them. On 4 May 1936 he left Addis Abäba for Ankobär and decided to resist: "… until we expel the enemy from our land, it will not be Addis Abäba or Ankobär which will be our *mäññəta gʷada bet* ['bed- and salon rooms'] but the wilderness of ʿAfar …" (s. Dämse Maggäǧa, ms.). He gained extensive support in ↗Yəfat and ↗Bulga.

The Italian administration put him on the list of the five "most dangerous patriots" (s. Dämse Maggäǧa 1939 A.M.), after *ras* ↗Abbäba Arägay and *ləǧ* ↗Ḫaylä Maryam Mammo and followed by *fitäwrari* ↗Wändəmnäh Kidanä and *šaläqa* ↗Mäsfən Səläši. As a result, *banda* elements such as *šayḫ* Muḥammad Sulṭān and *fitawrari* Dingo ʿUmar were ordered by the Italians to march against him in 1937. Other pro-Italian Ethiopians repeatedly approached him through a secret agent, Andarge, and tried to reconcile A.Ḫ. with Italian officials, namely, with General Pietro Maletti, the governor of Däbrä Barhan, Major Piacenti, the head of the Italian police at Däbrä Sina, and the governor of Ankobär, Tlinti Scarpo. A.Ḫ. tried to buy time and forged, instead, an alliance with *ras* Abbäba Arägay after his mother had successfully resolved their differences. He collaborated with the camp of ↗Mälakä Śäḥay Iyasu and organized and fought 160 battles between April 1937 and March 1941.



Ayyälä Ḫayle, photo courtesy of the author

After this turn of events, *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase appointed him governor of Ankobär in late May 1941 with the title of *wähni azzaž*. He was among the few patriots with progressive ideas, but was not successful in his approach to the Emperor. A.Ḫ. soon afterwards died of pneumonia, at the age of 37.

↗Resistance

Src.: interviews with Aklilu Yəfru, Yəfat, January 1999; Ešäte Garrädäw, Dässem, October 1993; Ṭəlahun Wäldä Mikaʾel, Ayres, October 1993; with *šayḫ* Hando and *šayḫ* Sadiq, Šäwa Robit, January 1994; with Hassan Omer, Efeson, July 1986; with *šayḫ* Mäḥammäd Swalih, Addis Abäba, February 1992; DÄMSE MAGGÄǦA, **የከፉ፡ ዘመን** (*Yäkäffa zämän*, 'The Worst Time'), ms., 1939 A.M. [1946/47 A.D.], 17, 26.

Lit.: AHMED HASSEN OMER, *A Historical Survey of Ethnic Relations in Yefat and Temmuga, Northeast Shawa, 1889-1974*, M.A. thesis, Addis Abäba University 1994, 100f.; TADDÄSÄ ZÄWÄLDE, **ቀሪን፡ ገረመው፤ የአርበኞች፡ ታሪክ** (*Qärin gärrämäw: yäʾarbäññočč tarik*, 'Those who Survived were Amazed: a History of the Patriots'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.], passim; ID., **ያባላሸኝ፡ ዘመን** (*Yabbalašəñ zämän*, 'The Time of Annihilation'), Addis Abäba 1955 A.M. [1962/63 A.D.], 45-51, 99ff.; ŚÄNNAYT ḪAYLE, **ጀግንት፡ ቢወረስ** (*Ǧägnənnät biwärräs*, 'If Valour were Bequeathed'), Addis Abäba ²1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.], 34-51.

Ahmed Hassen Omer

Ayyalew Bərru

Däǧǧazmač A.B. (**አያሌው፡ ብሩ**, "horse name" Abba Yərga, b. May 1886, Gayənt, d. April 1948, Addis Abäba) received a rudimentary

Däğğazmač Ayyalew Bərru, © Institute of Ethiopian Studies

church education in Gayənt. His mother, *wäyzäro* Gässäsäč Märso, was a first cousin of *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul, at whose court A.B. and his elder brother Admasu Bərru (Abba Näwṭ) were trained as pages. *Däğğazmač* Admasu Bərru later governed Yäğğu and Gayənt, respectively, but he was overshadowed by the prestige of his younger brother.

Between 1902 and 1911, A.B. governed Wälläne, Kämbata and Käfa, respectively, and acted at the same time as commander of the *ətege's* army. A.B. was regarded by the Šäwan notables as a potential protagonist in the political struggle between the *ətege* and the Regent Plenipotentiary (*əndärase*), *ras bitwäddäd* ↗Täsämma Nadäw, in 1910–11, and consequently he was arrested and sent into confinement. He was released in 1916 and sent to the Awaš valley at the head of a military contingent of the central government to fight the deposed *ləğ* ↗Iyasu.

A.B. subsequently administered Č̣älləya for a short time before he was appointed governor of Səmen, Alläfa and Q^{w}ara in 1917, a post which he held until 1936. In the same year, he married Männalläbbəš, a daughter of *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu. In 1927, he induded temporarily the overlordship of the whole of Təgray. In March 1930, he participated in the battle of Ančəm and, hence, some parts of Bägemdər were added to his governorate. In 1935–36, he campaigned against the Italian invasion on the north-western front in collaboration with *ras* ↗Əmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase. But he soon surrendered to the Italians, who imprisoned him on the island of Asinara until 1939, when he was repatriated and rehabilitated. He deserted and fought the Italians at Däbarq, where he was taken captive. *Aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I kept A.B. in the capital without any post until he was appointed governor of Yäğğu in 1945. He died of illness in Addis Abäba and was buried in the cemetery of Qəddus Gäbrə'el church in Dabat.

Lit.: *Zürcher Illustrierte*, 21 February 1936; *Addis Zämän*, 14 *Gənbot* 1940 A.M. [22 May 1948 A.D.]; MahHorse 253f.; ANTHONY MOCKLER, *Haile Selassie's War*, London 1984, 388f.

Bairu Tafla – Tsegaye Tegenu

Azaboo

A. (Tgn. ᶜAzäbo) is an Oromo group of the ↗Baarentuu branch. During the period of the great Oromo population movements of the 16th cent., the Baarentuu established many settlements in the central and north-eastern regions of Ethiopia. Various clan and sub-clan groups of the Oromo apparently continued to settle in these regions throughout much of the 17th and 18th cent. Among such Oromo groups were the Karrayyu, the Hubbanna, the Gille, the Marawwa, Ašange, Ilu, Raayyaa (↗Rayya) and the A. Although the main settlement of the A.-Oromo has been in the area of Ənda Maḵonni, the history of this group is closely related to the Raayyaa. Therefore, both the A. and Raayyaa Oromo groups are referred to as Raayyaa-Raayyuma, a name which is still widely mentioned in the tradition of the present Raayyaa and A. areas of northern Wällo and southern Təgray.

Raayyaa-Raayyuma, indicated in the tradition, means the 'Raayyaa-ness' of these two groups. They unanimously support the tradi-

tion of their origin as Awašgama, which literally means 'beyond the ↗Awaš'.

There is no unanimity among scholars regarding the origin of the word A. They simply conclude that A. was the name of an Oromo clan descending from its predecessor, named Marawwa.

Nathaniel Pearce has also left an interesting tradition about the A. (s. Salt 1814). Pearce claimed that the A. Oromo practised traditional religion and the ↗*wanza* tree was held by them as "sacred", although no very clear record could be found with respect to their peculiar mode of belief. Nevertheless, he states that the land which they inhabited is an extended dense forest, that they lead an "un-cultivated life" [nomadic life] and make "the earth their bed and their canopy the sky". They engaged in pastoral activities and occasionally made predatory inroads at the expense of their neighbouring inhabitants, although they were, by then, on relatively good terms with the early-19th-cent. ruler of Təgray, *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase.

The Oromo of A. used to infiltrate into Ǝndärta in Təgray. In particular, ↗Gugsa Märsa led the A. and the ↗Yäğğu Oromo against *ras* Wäldä Śəllase in the early 19th cent. In the second half of the 19th cent. the A. refused to acknowledge the authority of the Ethiopian rulers. A case in point was *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, who marched against the A., plundered and burnt their villages, destroyed their forces and put their autonomous existence under his control. He did this because they openly refused to acknowledge his effort to control and receive tribute in safeguarding the trade route of northern Ethiopia or accept his religious policy. *Aṣe* Mənilək II left religious matters to themselves. The only dashes that took place during his reign were when the imperial army sacked A. villages and slaughtered many of their cattle during its journey back from ↗ᶜAdwa after defeating the Italians in 1896.

During the reign of *ətege* Zäwditu, the A. rebelled against their Təgrayan governor. In the year 1928, *ras* ↗Gugsa Arᵊaya was appointed to govern them. Due to his corrupt administration, he was unable to establish his rule over them. Throughout the late 1920s, however, the A. were subject to *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən's fury because of their cattle-raiding. To settle past scores they opened fire against the retreating Ethiopian army after it had been defeated by the Italians in 1936. After the defeat of the Italians the A. territories were incorporated in Raya-Azäbo *awraǧǧa* with Mayčäw as its capital. In the period till 1974 they suffered much under the imperial rule.

Src.: CARL WILHELM ISENBERG – JOHANN LUDWIG KRAPF, *Journal of the Rev. Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf, Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, Detailing their Proceedings in the Kingdom of Shoa and Journeys in other Parts of Abyssinia, in the Years 1839, 1840, 1841 and 1842*, London 1842, 429; HENRY SALT, *A Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior*, London 1814, 276.

Lit.: ABERRA GESSESE, *A Tentative History of the Oromo of Rayya Azabo*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1980, 1–23; GETACHEW MERESSA, *The Gaz Tradition among the Rayya and the Afar*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1998, 1–32; BAHRU ZEWDE, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855–1974*, London – Athens – Addis Ababa 1991, 157; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Political Geography of Ethiopia at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 613–31, here 618.

Ahmed Hassen Omer

Azaïs, François Bernardin

Père A. (b. 31 January 1870, Saint-Pons, Hérault, d. 6 April 1966, Toulouse) was a French missionary, father of the Capuchin order (↗Capuchins) and archaeologist. A. arrived at the leper house of Harär in 1897 and was ten years later put in charge by André ↗Jarosseau to establish a mission in Dərre Dawa.

A. was a soldier during World War I and was then sent as a military chaplain of the French expedition to Thrace (1920), where he supervised fruitful "archeological" researches by plundering tumuli. Subsequently, he was commissioned to carry out a series of archaeological surveys in southern Ethiopia with Roger ↗Chambard until 1927. The results, published in 1931, provided a great deal of ethnographical observation (on Oromo, Gurage and other southern peoples), mingled with the discovery of numerous stele and megalith sites; though imprecisely described and photographed, they nevertheless laid the foundations of subsequent deeper enquiries.

A. remained in Ethiopia until 1933, working as an archaeologist for the Ethiopian government. Upon his return to France, he pursued his apostolate in Lacanau (Gironde).

Src.: FRANÇOIS AZAÏS, "Etudes sur la religion du peuple Galla", *Revue d'Ethnographie* 7, 26, 1926, 113–20; ID. – ROGER CHAMBARD, "Folklore Oromo", *ibid.* 6, 22, 1925; FRANÇOIS AZAÏS – ROGER CHAMBARD, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Ethiopie. Province du Harar et Ethiopie méridionale*, Paris 1931.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "La missione archeologica Azaïs nell'Etiopia dell sud", *Oriente Moderno* 7, 1927, 514–16.

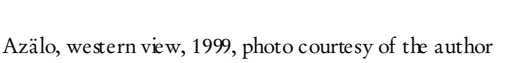
Eloi Ficquet

Azälo

A. (አዘሎ, also Azalu or Ayelu; 10°05'N, 40°42'E) is a mountain situated east of the main Addis Abäba-ᶜAsäb asphalt road and to the south of the town of Gawwane in the ↗ᶜAfar Depression. It is known to the ᶜAfar of the region as Ayyalu and to the Oromo of north-east Šäwa and north-western Harärge as Mağit or Hayyalu. The Ethiopian chronicles have also mentioned it as mount Hazälo (ሃዘሎ). Upon this mountain there is a huge crater lake.

Both local Muslim ᶜAfar tradition and Christian legends indicate that there was, on this mountain, an orthodox Christian church or monastery. It may have been for the Christian Ethiopian soldiers who used to settle in this area and play the role of an advance guard to check possible raids from the vast lowlands around it. It seems to have been as a result of the presence of such regiments in the area of A. that the spread of Christian religion was facilitated among the ᶜAfar and Doba pastoral population groups.

It is at the foot of this mountain that the ↗Awaš river bends to make its way further into the lowlands until it reaches Lake Abbe. It is exactly this very spot where the Awaš provides the only possible chance of crossing for someone who comes there from the direction of Harärge. It was the strategic importance of this site which was used by the successor of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ), *amīr* ↗Nūr b. Muğāhid when he left for his city of Harär by crossing the Awaš after killing *aṣe*



Azälo, western view, 1999, photo courtesy of the author

↗Gälawdewos in 1559, following the right side of the A. Currently, the people inhabiting the region around mount A. are the ᶜAfar, although in former times the Haräris, the Warğih, the ᶜAfar and the Doba pastoralists used to live there.

Src.: *Haǧǧu Qāḍī Muḥammad Dāʾūd aš-Šonkiyy asakin fī Ǧille*, October 1999, ms. in possession of *qāḍī* Mohammed Dawd, Qore in Jille, 34–41; BassHist 173–76.

Lit.: MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Political Geography of Ethiopia at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 613–31, here 624f.

Ahmed Hassen Omer

Azäzo

The town of A. (አዘዞ) is located about 13 km southwest of the historic city of Gondär. A. was a major political and religious centre during the time of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos (r. 1607–32) and *aṣe* Fasilädäs (r. 1632–67). A. remained the seat of the ↗*əčč̣äge*, the abbot of Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa and the most influential person in the Ethiopian monastic movement until the 19th cent. It became the place where the monastery Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa was re-established (↗Azäzo Täklä Haymanot). When the capital moved to Gondär, the *əčč̣äge* established a new quarter known as the ↗*Əčč̣äge bet*. However, the *əčč̣äge* also held his residence in A. even after the establishment of this new quarter in Gondär.

In 1607 when Susənyos came to power, he had decided to ally himself with the ↗Jesuits in the country. A. served as a residence for the Emperor as well as that of the Jesuits at this time. It had a rich tradition of architecture, painting and ecclesiastical teaching. A. is the site of castles, palaces and churches built during the times of Susənyos and Fasilädäs, and the location of a large garden with fruits, vegetables and different kinds of citrus.

During this time Pedro ↗Paez built two churches for Susənyos, one in A. and the other in ↗Gorgora. The chronicle mentions that when the church in A., known as ↗Gännätä Iyäsus,

was under construction, it was Susənyos himself who laid the corner-stone for the church. Paez served as the architect and the decorator of the church as well as the supervisor of its construction. It was in this church that he declared Catholicism as the state religion, and at his death, it was in this same church that Susənyos was buried and the remains of his son Fasilädäs were laid to rest. Fasilädäs's bones were subsequently moved to Daga Əsṭifanos in Lake Ṭana.

In 1632 Susənyos abdicated in favour of his son Fasilädäs. Although Fasilädäs moved his residence to Gondär, he also built a new villa at A. During Fasilädäs's time, both the *əčč̣äge* and the metropolitan alternated their residence between A. and Gondär although their regular residence was Gondär. A. remained a royal residence as well as a residence for the *əčč̣äge* throughout much of the 18th and 19th cent. It was often visited by emperors, including Yoḥannəs I, Iyasu I and Iyasu II.

Many of the religious debates between the Catholics and the Ethiopian Church were held in A. The thousands of monks and clergymen settled in Gondär and A. were constantly engaged in intense debates with Jesuits and others on religious matters. The theological controversy, which also included the debate between the Unionists (↗*Täwaḥədo*) and the Unctionists (↗*Qəbat*), focused on the nature of Christ.

In 1720, a new Metropolitan, *abunä* Christodulus (↗Krəstodolu) arrived in Gondär to replace *abunä* Marqos, who had died four years earlier. Soon after the *abunä* arrived, *aṣe* ↗Dawit III, who was known to favour *Qəbat*, held a religious council among the followers of the two doctrines. *Abunä* Christodulus refused to play a role in endorsing *Qəbat* (BassÉt 73ff.).

On 9 April 1721 the monks of Däbrä Libanos, the Unionists, who also had the support of the *əčč̣äge* and the *abun*, began to celebrate their *Täwaḥədo* faith openly by singing about their victory over the "infidels", read as Unctionists. They held a procession, marching to the palace, singing that the Unctionists, including the Emperor were not followers of the true faith. *Aṣe* Dawit III was, as Bruce put it, "violently affected at the seditious behaviour of the monks" (BruNile II, 590). Later the demonstrators moved to the *əčč̣äge*'s house and continued with their religious procession and singing. The Emperor dispatched his royal troops, the ↗*Ğawe*, to disperse them and the encounter resulted in the massacre of some one hundred monks, including *abba* ↗Niqolawos, the champion of the *Täwaḥədo* faith for over 40 years. Thus, A. remained as the centre of ecclesiastical controversy during this time.

During the Italian occupation (1935–41), the Italians established a large military garrison at A. They also built a warehouse and a government service centre (*Guida* 359). A. remained the site of a military garrison during the Ḫaylä Śəllase I and *Därg* eras. Today it still serves as a major military base for a large contingent of the Ethiopian army.

Src.: BassÉt 73ff.; BruNile, vol. 2, 585ff.; DombrChr s. index; MELESSA GHIORGHIS, "Gondar Yesterday and Today", *EthObs* 12, 3, 1969, 164–76; *Guida* 359.
Lit.: IAN CAMPBELL, "The Royal Fortress at Azazo", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 6–15; DONALD CRUMMEY, *Priests and Politicians: Protestant and Catholic Missions in Orthodox Ethiopia, 1830–68*, Oxford 1972, 14–27; ID., *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia: from the 13th to the 20th Century*, Chicago 2000, 73–93; PankHist I, s. index (Lit.).

Mulatu Wubneh

Azäzo Täklä Haymanot

According to local priests, the Church of A. (**አዘዞ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት**) was first built by *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, who also richly endowed it with a large amount of land and other gifts. The church was constructed at the time when Fasilädäs was living in his father's castle in ↗Azäzo. The priests see the proof to this tradition in the fact that the adjoining buildings, including a gate house and a domed castle, are built in the tradition of Fasilädäs's castles.

A Fasilädäs-style building at Azäzo Täklä Haymanot, 1998, photo courtesy of Jeremy Hespeler-Boultbee

James Bruce (BruNile II, 580ff.) maintains that it was ↗Iyasu II who built the church of A. Iyasu II is also credited with having built a large house and laid a garden at Azäzo in which many kinds of fruits and vegetables grew.

The church of A. is located at the centre of the hilltop. It is surrounded by a large courtyard and a circular stone wall with the square tower. The current church is circular in shape and has the character of modern Ethiopian churches. It was repaired during the Italian occupation (1935–41) and later decorated during the Ḫaylä Śəllase I period. At one end of the courtyard is a semi-circular domed castle where, according to local tradition, the ↗*tabot* of St. Mary of Däbrä Libanos, the premier Ethiopian monastery, established by *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, was first installed when it was moved from Däbrä Libanos to Azäzo. Later the *tabot* was moved to different sites to protect it until it was returned to Däbrä Libanos.

Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's conquest of central and southern Ethiopia pushed the centre of political power further north to the shores of Lake ↗Ṭana. In 1532 his forces burnt the church of *abunä* Täklä Haymanot of Däbrä Libanos and also destroyed the community established around the church. By 1586, much of northern Šäwa, including Zega Wädäm gorge, where Däbrä Libanos is located, was overrun by the Oromo. Zäträ Wängel, the 16th abbot, decided to evacuate the monastery and move further north to the shores of Lake Ṭana, probably to Guzara (in ↗Ənfəraz), where the new capital for the royal court was being established.

Əčč̌äge ↗Abrəham, the 17th abbot, who took office in 1591, moved the *tabot* of St. Mary, the sacred *tabot* of Däbrä Libanos, from Zega Wädäm gorge to Azäzo. Where the *tabot* was kept immediately after it was moved to Azäzo is not clear. During the first reign of *aṣe* Fasilädäs, the *tabot* of St. Mary was installed by *əčč̌äge* ↗Bäträ Giyorgis, the 20th abbot, in the uppermost storey of the three-storey castle located inside the compound. According to the Chronicle of Yoḥannəs I (GuiIohan 17), the *tabot* was introduced into the church of Täklä Haymanot at Azäzo (or Azäzo Zädäbrä Libanos) on 10 September 1674. Other sources (s., Melessa Ghiorghis 1969:166), however, indicate that *əčč̌äge* Abrəham installed the *tabot* in a church called Ənrka Täklä Haymanot; however, today the local people cannot identify the name Ənrka Täklä Haymanot (Campbell 1994:15, n. 2).

The story of the movement of the *tabot* of Däbrä Libanos to different locations is quite intriguing and deserves further investigation. It is possible that *əčč̌äge* Abrəham first took the *tabot* from Guzara to Fərqabər, a small town on the road from Guzara to Azäzo (s. *Guida*, map between pp. 368–69), and "Fərqa" was later corrupted to "Ənrka". Where the *tabot* was kept between 1591 (when it was first brought to the Lake Ṭana area by *əčč̌äge* Abrəham) and its introduction into the church of A. in 1674, according to Guidi, is not clear.

During the Mahdist invasion of Gondär in 1889, the *tabot* was again moved to Bäläsa. According to *aṣe* Mənilək II's chronicler Gäbrä Śəllase, when Mənilək requested the Gondär priests to return the *tabot* of St. Mary to Däbrä Libanos, it was not located in Azäzo, but in Bäläsa under the custody of *däğğazmač* Mäšäša Wärqe (GueCopMen 283f.). Regardless of the sketchy information on the specific site and time concerning the whereabouts of the *tabot* in Gondär, one fact is certain: it remained in and around A., making it home for the abbots and monks of Däbrä Libanos, for over 260 years until it was moved back from Azäzo to Zega Wädäm in 1902 during the time of Mənilək II.

Src.: GueCopMen 283f.; BruNile vol. 2, 580ff.; GuiIohan 17 (text); *Guida* 359.

Lit.: IAN CAMPBELL, "The Royal Fortress at Azazo", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 6–15; MELESSA GHIORGHIS, "Gondar Yesterday and Today", *EthObs* 12, 3, 1969, 164–76; DONALD CRUMMEY, *Priests and Politicians: Protestant and Catholic Missions in Orthodox Ethiopia, 1830–68*, Oxford 1972.

Mulatu Wubneh

Aze

A. (**አዘ**) was the chief of a Muslim ↗Hadiyya group south of the upper Awaš River who is mentioned in the Chronide of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl as one of his major opponents. From the historical and geographical sources it can be assumed that A. was a political leader of the Semitic-speaking "seven houses of the Hadiyya" (i.e. the Səlṭi, Ulbaräg, Azərnet, Bärbäre, Wuriro, Wäläne and Gadabano) in today's East Gurage country. He carried the title *gärad* (in Arabic sources *ǧarād*), which was common among the Hadiyya rulers.

According to the report in the chronicle, A. started hostile actions against the Ethiopian empire in the areas south of ↗Damot. He betrayed and murdered the Christian leader Rom Sägäd and refused to pay tribute to Śärṣä Dəngəl. The Ethiopian Emperor then decided to attack him in his country in 1568. A. had gathered an army of 1,700 horsemen, including 500 so-called ↗*mäläsay* wearing cuirasses, and a huge number of infantrymen. The *mäläsay* seem to have been a special contingent sent from the Harär-ᶜAdal sultanate to support the Hadiyya forces in their struggle against the Christians. Śärṣä Dəngəl let his officer Giyorgis Ḫayle bringup the rear and commanded the assault on A.'s army in person. The Emperor gained a complete victory and captured 300 horses. However, A. succeeded in regrouping his forces, and two weeks later he gave battle to Śärṣä Dəngəl's general Täklä Giyorgis. He was defeated again and fled, whereupon most of the other Hadiyya leaders (*ağam*) surrendered to the Christian army. During the rainy season of 1569 A. submitted to the Emperor as well.

Although the wars against the Hadiyya continued throughout almost all of Śärṣä Dəngəl's reign, A. does not seem to have played any prominent role thereafter.

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *RRALm* ser. 6, 4, 1931, 72; CRHist 24ff. (text) = 28ff. (tr.), 40ff. (text) = 46ff. (tr.), 57 (text) = 67 (tr.), 62 (text) = 72 (tr.).
Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Geschichte der Hadiya Süd-Äthiopiens: von den Anfängen bis zur Revolution 1974*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 50), 23ff.

Ulrich Braukämper

Azevedo, Luiz de

A. (b. ca. 1573, Carrazedo Montenegro, d. 1634, Dämbəya), a Portuguese missionary, joined the Society of Jesus (↗Jesuits) in 1588. In 1592, he was sent to India, where he was dean of the Jesuit house in ↗Goa and of the College of Tana. In 1605, A. entered Ethiopia, where he remained an active member of the Jesuit Mission for 29 years. Among the highlights of his work are his translations of Catholic texts into Gəʿəz, including works by the Jesuits Francisco Toledo (*Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans*) and Francisco Ribera (*Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Hebrews*) as well as the *Canonical Hours* and the *Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary*. Also important is his missionary labour conducted among the ↗Agäw, where he baptized several people. When *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs expelled the Jesuits in 1634, A. was too old to join them. He stayed in ↗Dämbəya where he died that same year.

Src.: BALTHAZAR TELLEZ, *Historia geral de Etiopia a alta*, Coimbra 1660, 528ff.; CAMILLO BECCARI (ed.), *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti a Saeculo XVI ad XIX*, Roma 1903–17, vol. 1, 352, vol. 11, 60f., 82–138, 142–71 et passim, vol. 12, 43f., 172ff., 69ff. et passim.
Lit.: ÉLESBAN DE GUILHERMY, *Ménologe de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Poitiers 1867–1902, vol. 2, 188f.; ANTÓNIO FRANCO, *Ano Santo da Companhia de Jesus em Portugal*, Porto 1930, 99.

Leonardo Cohen

Azmač

A. (Amh. **አዝማች**, from *azämmätä* 'to lead a military expedition'; Tgn. **አዝማቲ**, *azmati*) was a common term for an Ethiopian commander or war-lord (cp. KaneDic 1617, BasDic 722); however, between the 16th and the 19th cent. it was often used to designate the regional offices, such as *Bägemdər azmač*, *Goǧǧam azmač*, *Mäqet azmač* etc.

There were three grades of such commanders: the junior was called **ግራዝማች** (*grazmač*, 'A. of the left'), the intermediate grade was called **ቀኛዝማች** (*qäññazmač*, 'A. of the right') and the senior **ደጃዝማች** (↗*däǧǧazmač*, 'A. of the vanguard regiment'). Their names corresponded precisely to the common disposition of the Ethiopian army before battle, when on the flanks of the royal regiment stood the left and

the right regiments commanded by a *grazmač* and a *qäñña zmač*, respectively, while in front of it stood the van guard regiment with its *däğğazmač*. There was also a fourth grade, i.e. of ↗*fitawrari*, a commander of the reconnaissance detachment, whose position was before the vanguard regiment.

Formally the rank of *fitawrari* was lower than that of *grazmač*, who was lower in rank than *qäñña zmač*, who, in his turn, was lower than *däğğazmač*. It was a relatively coherent system within an army pattern, i.e. of one army and one overlord. In a broader military context there was no coherence at all. The situation was well described by a Russian contemporary of *aṣe* Mənilək II, Lieutenant K.N. Arnoldi (1905:22f.): "This hierarchy is extremely intricate and it is impregnated with the same feudal spirit as the majority of Abyssinian institutions. As in the European Middle Ages, a knight of a king differed much from a knight of a minor sovereign prince, and a baron of France was not equal to a baron of Aquitania, so in Abyssinia ranks which are equal by name are not always equal by their importance. Not every *fitawrari* is higher than a *grazmač*, and sometimes *qäñña zmač* means more than *däğğazmač*. First of all one should distinguish a *däğğazmač*, a *fitawrari*, etc. of the Imperial army from the same titles in vassals' armies. These are by no means equal figures and any *fitawrari* of the *nəguś* has incomparably more land and soldiers than the best *däğğazmač* of a *ras*. Every *däğğazmač* has also *fitawraris* and *qäñña zmačes* of his own, but again a *qäñña zmač* of a *ras*'s *däğğazmač* is incomparably lower in position than a *qäñña zmač* of a *nəguś*'s *däğğazmač*. Thus, for example, a *nəguś* has a trusted officer whom he charges with the command of the main bulk of his troops. By his title he is *fitawrari*, but even a *däğğazmač* of a *nəguś* bows to him waist-deep, and a *ras* seeks his favour. So we can see that the Abyssinian Table of Ranks is very flexible and the idea of seniority is rather intricate" (tr. and italics by the author).

This was the general pattern, to which every epoch introduced its specific features. Thus, since the 17th cent., when Ethiopian kings were spending too much time in their capital city of ↗Gondär, they began to grant the title of *däğğazmač* to the governors of frontier areas as well, and soon *däğğazmač* became a normal title of a governor. At the royal court in Gondär it was not infrequent when a military rank was bestowed as an honorific title upon those courtiers who had nothing to do with military service. However, it was always rather difficult to draw a strict line between military and civil service in Ethiopia, for the Emperor at any time could (and did) entrust an army contingent to any of his courtiers and send him on a campaign as military leader. Later, when *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II decided to reorganize his administrative system on the model of European cabinets of ministers and to establish an office of Minister of War, the latter was granted the title of *fitawrari*, though he had *däğğazmačes* under his command. This can be explained by the fact that the War Minister was in charge of the armed forces, of which the high command belonged to the emperor himself, who was considered its *däğğazmač*. Therefore, in this instance, the War Minister could be granted only the title of *fitawrari*, though he was by no means a common *fitawrari*, but one who was subordinated directly to the Emperor.

Src.: K.N. ARNOLDI, *Voennye ocherki Abissinii* ('Military Essays on Abyssinia'), St. Petersburg 1905, 22f.; BTafA 887f.; DombrChr 299ff.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, *An Introduction to the History of the Ethiopian Army*, Addis Ababa 1967.

Sevir Chernetsov

Azmari

Definition

A. (**አዝማሪ**) is an Amharic word designating the Ethiopian musician, derived from the root **ዘመረ** (*zämmärä* 'to sing'). Centuries ago it meant 'one who praises', resulting from the fact that A. was usually employed by a nobleman who wished his prowess at warfare and good deeds to be made known to others through singing. Gradually, the A. began not only to praise his patron, but to sing poems of criticism against his patron's peers and enemies. Over the years, A. came to mean 'one who criticizes' and then 'one who defames'. Today, A. connotes the latter meaning and is a pejorative term deplored by Ethiopian musicians.

Today Amharic speakers tend to call all musicians A. In addition, A. have been equated with the poet-musicians known as minstrels and troubadours/trouvères of mediaeval Europe. But strictly speaking, the word A. is not a collective term and only applies to professional ↗*mäsinqo* players. It cannot yet be substantiated that the ↗*kərar* (5- and 6-string plucked lyre) player could also be an A.

Regional Distribution

The areas of origin of the A. correspond to the geographical highlands, including Šäwa, Wällo, Bägemdər, Goǧǧam, Wälläga, and Təgray and are associated primarily with the Amhara, the Təgrañña-speaking population and the Oromo. A. live a fairly mobile existence, often travelling throughout the country to wherever opportunities are rumoured to be good. Similarly, A. frequently work at another profession and many migrate in order to ply a trade other than music. In Addis Abäba many A. live in the Great Market area (Märkato, or ↗Addis Kätäma), but also in and around Arat Kilo, Mexico Square, Ǝnṭoṭṭo, Mäsfən Harrar, Aqaqi, Kazančis and other districts (Kimberlin 1976:12ff.). Before 1974, about 6,000 A. lived in Ethiopia, induding 500 in Addis Abäba.

Argot

Some A. admit to knowing an A. argot and indicate that A. throughout Ethiopia speak A. argots among themselves, though there is none common to A. throughout Ethiopia. The A. argot in Addis Abäba seems to be a sort of twisted Amharic, where radicals within words are reversed, left out or pronounced with different vowels. The existence of A. argots indicates that A. find it convenient to keep some conversations among themselves secret from non-A. (Leslau 1964; Kimberlin 1976:10).

Status

A. are primarily male, although there are said to be a few female A., such as Fantu, who performs with the Lalibäla Music Group in Däse, Wällo. The profession is not hereditary, as it was found that sons and daughters are discouraged by parents from taking up the *mäsinqo*, because to be an A. traditionally entails having the lowest occupational status along with illiterates, like blacksmiths, carpenters or servants, or who possess other jobs requiring use of the hands. These jobs are thought to be "low-class" because they require only practice, with no thought or study (Tsegaye Debalke 1967).

Some individuals become A. because they have the ability to sing or are unsuited for other jobs open to them, but of these "low-class" jobs, A. can command the most money and the most free time. Performing at private parties and wedding celebrations is the most lucrative job an A. can obtain. One A. related how he was retained for 350 *bərr* plus transportation to play a one-night stand at a wedding. Another followed the coffee harvest for a few weeks each year, entertaining the employees and prospective coffee buyers. The wedding and festive seasons correspond closely with the church calendar. A., therefore, have relatively little work for part of the year and must work in other occupations in order to earn a livelihood. A. augment their income by working as carpenters, weavers, security guards, gardeners, instrument makers, and even as teachers and store proprietors. It is common for an A. to work at the ↗*ṭäǧǧ bet*. He frequently goes from one *ṭäǧǧ bet* to the next until a willing owner lets him play for gratuities. The dozen or so private music groups in Addis Abäba specializing in traditional music occasionally employ A., enabling them to make a steady income throughout the year. Many of the A. who play in groups "moonlight" occasionally at weddings or *ṭäǧǧ bet* but are usually forbidden to do so by their group contract.

Those A. who want more popularity and wealth can make a record and hope it sells, or join a performance group and hope it succeeds. A relatively recent phenomenon, which began during the 1950s and has steadily increased (excluding 1974–91), is for A. to give up playing traditional instruments and take up Western instruments, thus essentially ceasing to be A. The musician who plays a Western instrument is not thought of as a low-status person. The establishments where Western-oriented groups perform are prestigious places, such as the Crown, Hilton or Sheraton hotels. The Ethiopian playing Western instruments is considered to be sophisticated and a member of the middle class. Although a musician cannot become a member of the nobility and still retain his musical

Azmari in a 19th-cent. village in Šäwa, from Audon 1889

profession by becoming a Western-oriented musician – following the fad, so to speak – he can be assured that his status will not be that of the A. (Kimberlin 1976:8; 1983:235).

Songs

The A. who is starting out will already know a number of songs by the time he decides to learn to play the *mäsinqo*. One must find a teacher, usually another A. The apprentice-pupil remains with the A.-teacher, often acting as his assistant until he feels that he has no more to learn, or that he has learned enough to go out on his own.

A. sing about life experiences and chronicle the news, including songs about Ethiopia, wars, notable people and events, but also personal songs about love, retribution, conflict and work. Song texts include proverbs, narratives, and dialogues. Attitudes reflected in the songs cover the gamut from pessimism and fatalism to optimism, while the A.'s manner may be non-committal, critical, praising, or jesting. The most common method of repertory building includes imitating songs played on radio and television and by observing other A. at work. The most talented A. compose their own songs, or at least their own texts, to be sung with a traditional melody. Many A. know very few melodies, but several sets of words to sing with each melody. And there are certain well-known songs with which every A. is familiar (Kimberlin 1983:235).

↗Music; ↗Lalibäločč; ↗Qəne; ↗Songs

Src.: CRHist 230 (text) = 205f. (tr.); KaneDic 1615.
Lit.: ASHENAFI KEBEDE, *The Music of Ethiopia: its Development and Cultural Setting*, Middletown 1971; SYLVIA PANKHURST, *Ethiopia, a Cultural History*, Essex 1955, 422–25; CYNTHIA MEI-LING KIMBERLIN, *Masinqo and the Nature of Qene*, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 1976, 7–20; CYNTHIA TSE KIMBERLIN, "The Music of Ethiopia", in: ELIZABETH E. MAY (ed.), *Musics of Many Cultures: an Introduction*, Berkeley 1983, 234–35; WOLF LESLAU, *Ethiopian Argots*, London – The Hague – Paris 1964, 52–65; TSEGAYE DEBALKE, "Ethiopian Music and Musical Instruments", *Ethiopian Herald*, 5 November 1967; MARCEL COHEN, "Couplets amhariques du Choa", *JA* 204, 1924, 1–100; FRANÇOIS MARIE MONDON-VIDAILHET, "La musique éthiopienne", in: *Encyclopédie de la musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, Paris 1922, vol. 1, part 5; HENRY AUDON, *Voyage au Choa (Abyssinie méridionale), 1884–1888*, Paris 1889 (ill.).
Discography: ASHENAFI KEBEDE, *The Music of Ethiopia: Azmari Music of the Amharas*, recording commentary; *Anthology AST-6000*, 1969, 1–7; BÁLINT SÁROSI, "Melodic Patterns in the Folk Music of the Ethiopian Peoples", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 280–87.

Cynthia Tse Kimberlin

Azqir: Gädlä Azqir

G.A. (**ገድለ፡ አዝቂር**, 'Acts of Azqir') is the story of the martyrdom of A., the priest of ↗Nağrān (in the Gəᶜəz version Nagran), the centre of Christianity in South Arabia, who is said to have been the first to spread Christianity in the area during the reign of Šaraḥbiʾil Yakkuf (Gəᶜəz: Särabəḥil Dankəf), king of ↗Ḥimyar (Gəᶜəz: Ḥämer). Azqir was imprisoned by the local authorities and sent to the king, and on his way to the capital (Ẓafār, Gəᶜəz: Ṣəfar) he performed baptisms of the converts with miraculously obtained water. The king, advised by Jews at the court, sent him back to Nağrān to be executed publicly. He miraculously survived being burnt and stoned and was eventually decapitated.

The G.A., known only in Gəᶜəz, is included in the ↗*Gädlä sämaᶜətat*, but there is also an abbreviated version in the ↗*Sənkəssar*. Notwithstanding the miracles (not exceeding in number what is usual in hagiographical accounts), the story seems to be historical and fits what is known of Ḥimyar from other sources: both Nağrān being the centre of South Arabian Christianity and the prominent position of the Jews at the Ḥimyarite court are corroborated by the well-documented history of the persecution half-a-century later of the Christians in this city (↗Arethas). The king Šaraḥbiʾil Yakkuf is known from Sabaic inscriptions to have reigned ca. 455–ca. 475 A.D. Carlo Conti Rossini (1931) suggested that the *Acts of Azqir* were composed by a Ḥimyarite clergyman soon after the Ethiopian conquest of the country (525 A.D.), possibly in Syriac (cf. ↗*Book of the Himyarites*, which is in Syriac), and, via an Arabic (not extant) translation, reached Ethiopia probably in the 14th cent. Azqir is venerated on 24 *Ḫədar* [30 November].

↗Aksum; ↗Arabia

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Un documento sul cristianesimo nello Iemen ai tempi del re Šaraḥbīl Yakkuf", *RRALm* 5, 19, 1910, 705–50; ColSyn VIII, 122–25; BudSaint vol. 1, 275f.
Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Azqir", in: *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, vol. 5, 1931, 1377f.; ALFRED FELIX LANDON BEESTON, "The Martyrdom of Azqir", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 15, 1985, 5–10; ARTHUR JEFFERY, "Christianity in South Arabia", *The Moslem World* 36, 1946, 193–216; HUGO WINCKLER, "Zur Geschichte des Judentums in Jemen", in: ID., *Altorientalische Forschungen*, Erste Reihe, Leipzig 1897, 329–36; ALBERT JAMME, *La dynastie de Šaraḥbiʾil Yakûf et la documentation épigraphique sud-arabe*, Istanbul 1961 (Uitgaven van het

Nederlands Historisch-archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 9).

Witold Witakowski

Azzaž

A. (**አዛዥ**, lit. 'commander') is a common term for a civil administrator. Primarily (in the 15th–16th cent.) it was a title for the four highest jurists (the only civil members of the *curia regis*), well versed in the ↗*Fəṯḥa nägäśt*, who were indispensable members of the Supreme Court: **ቀኝ፡ አዛዥ** (*qäññ azzaž*, 'judge of the right') and **ግራ፡ አዛዥ** (*gra azzaž*, 'judge of the left'). Being men of profound ecclesiastical learning, they were dressed as ecclesiastics as well, in white gown and white turban, and had a small staff of subordinates, usually literate clerics. Apparently in the 15th–16th cent. these were, with the exception of the royal clergy, the only civil courtiers whose services Ethiopian kings needed. Later, with the establishment of the capital city of ↗Gondär and the rapid development of the palace complex there, the number and functions of the emperor's civil servants grew considerably, and their chiefs constituted "a group of officials in the imperial palace whose duty it was to supervise the execution of daily affairs in the various departments of the royal court" (BTafA 888). All such chiefs were called A., with some addition to this title to indicate their special function. Former A. (i.e. jurists) who remained at the court were called **ውስጥ፡ አዛዥ** (*wəsṭ azzaž*, i.e. 'inner A.', or 'A. of inner chamber').

In addition to this, other A. forms appeared, whose titles and functions were quite diverse. Some of these A. were considered as members of the State Council, such as the **ጠጅ፡ አዛዥ** (*täğğ azzaž*) who was responsible for supplying and serving mead (↗*Täğğ*) at the royal table and occupied the third from last place in the Council hierarchy; the **ጣረስምባ፡ አዛዥ** (*ṭaräsəmba azzaž*), who was responsible for the royal stables; or the **ጃንደረባ፡ አዛዥ** (*žandäräba azzaž*), the chief of the royal eunuchs, who held the 19th place in the Council hierarchy.

In the 19th cent. the word A. had two meanings: the original meaning of a higher jurist, a member of the Supreme Court and expert of the *Fəṯḥa nägäśt*, and that of 'commander, chief, intendant, major-domo (palace official)' (KaneDic 1281). Thus, new titles could be coined with this word, such as **ወህኒ፡ አዛዥ** (*wähni azzaž*, a commandant of the royal prison; ↗Wähni Amba), who had the semi-civil, semi-military duties of the chief state warder. There was such an officer during the reign of ↗Mənilək II (Bairu Tafla 1968:123ff.), at a time when other similar titles had already fallen into disuse.

↗Gəbbi

Src.: CRHist, esp. 185 (tr.); GuiIohan 309 (tr.); PerrZarYs. index; JOSEPH VARENBERG, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (Šerʿata Mangešt)", *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45, here 29, 33, 35, 40.

Lit.: KaneDic 1281; BAIRU TAFLA, "Two Ethiopian Biographies", *JES* 6, 1, 1968, 123–25; BTafA 881.

Sevir Chernetsov

B

Baabbillee ↗ Qottu

Baadaawwaccˇcˇo ↗ Hadiyya

Bäᶜal däräba
B.d. (**በዓል፡ ደረባ**, or *baldäräba*) was the name for the chief of the eunuchs in a feudal lord's household, who was eunuch himself. Such servants were quite widespread in medieval Ethiopia, and it was precisely as B.d. that Kəflo, a prominent *nägaš* of Goǧǧam (d. 1617) during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Susanyos, began his career. It should be specially stressed that in modern Amharic the word *baldäräba* has a completely different meaning, i.e. "person of status at court who is assigned to s.o. to provide him protection and settle his complaints (obs.); member of a military unit or a civilian organization" (KaneDic 869). At the royal court of ↗Gondär there was also a chief of eunuchs, but his title was **አዛዥ፡ ዣንደረባ** (*azzaž žandäräba*). He was figure of some prominence at the court and a member of the State Council, where he held the 19th place in the hierarchy.

Src.: PerChron 73; KaneDic 869.

Sevir Chernetsov

Baale

Baale language
The name B. (*bàálé*, also Bale) refers to a little-known language, spoken in the border area of southern Ethiopia and the Sudan by approximately 9,000 people, who call themselves, as well as their home area, by the same name. Amongst neighbouring groups, the language and the people are also known as Ðok (Dhok, Dhuak), Kačipo (Kičepo), or Zilmamu.

B. belongs to the ↗Surmic group within Nilo-Saharan. It is closely related to the Didinga-Murle languages further to the west in the Sudan, with which it forms the south-western branch of Surmic. B. speakers may also refer to themselves as ↗Suri (*súrí*); the latter, however, is an ethnonym covering speakers of different languages: B., Čai and Tirma (↗Čai-Tirma-Mursi). The Čai and Tirmaga people speak dialects of a distantly related language belonging to the south-eastern branch of Surmic. The Suri people (also known amongst neighbouring groups as the Surma) live in a geographically contiguous area starting from the Kibiš valley in Ethiopia and extending westwards towards the Boma plateau in the Sudan. The sociolinguistic situation for B. is characterized by "bilingualism with diglossia". The B. people also learn to speak the language of the Čai and Tirma. But the latter, who are numerically dominant, usually do not speak the B. language.

B. has been strongly influenced by Čai and Tirma lexically (involving, for example, the borrowing of kinship terms), as well as phonologically and grammatically. Unlike the Didinga-Murle languages, but similar to Čai and Tirma, B. avoids obstruents in word-final position. Constituent order in B. is relatively free from a syntactic point of view, alternative orders being governed by pragmatics, e.g. old versus new information or focus. Subject (S) and object (O) can either follow or precede the verb (V), thus giving rise to verb-initial structures VSO/VOS, which are also common in the closely related Didinga-Murle languages, as well as SVO, OVS, or SOV, as in neighbouring Čai and Tirma. As a contact phenomenon, this kind of areal adaptation in B. may be compared to the convergence of Ethiopian Semitic languages towards Cushitic.

Postverbal (but not preverbal) subjects in B. are marked with nominative case (NOM), which contrasts with absolutive case (ABS – for objects and pre-verbal subjects, as well as for nouns and pronouns in isolation): *áďàkkè bùnǧálà-nà sŏ* ('they.ruin sand.fleas-NOM feet-ABS' = 'sand-fleas are ruining his/her foot'). In addition, there are case suffixes expressing semantic roles such as instrument/location (LOC) or possession (genitive = GEN): *Mùàñá ámmèèlé bàálè-á* ('lions-ABS are.many Baale-LOC' = 'there are many lions in Baale country'); *tèèrá à bàálé-ú édènèṯṯè ìǧǧòñă* ('women:ABS of Baale-GEN they.make pots:ABS' = 'Baale women make [large] cooking-pots').

B. is further characterized by extensive verb morphology, involving the expression of pro-

nominal subject and object, tense-aspect and voice, as well as semantic roles such as instrument, beneficiary, or movement towards and away from the deictic centre. In addition, it uses prepositions to express grammatical relations and postnominal modifiers (postpositions) to specify the location of nominal entities. B. has retained a number of classical grammatical features of Nilo-Saharan, for example, the rich number-making system for nouns. The latter are inflected for number either in the singular or in the plural, depending on the noun; alternatively, both the singular may take a number suffix:

sg.	pl.	
cól	*còl-ña*	'little spear'
bàalè-ǧíní	*bàalè*	'Baale [person]'
kúúwá-n	*Kùùwà-ì*	'buffalo'

Nominal modifiers such as demonstratives, numerals, adjectives and pronominal and nominal possessor phrases as well as relative clauses follow the head-noun. Unlike the Didinga-Murle languages, but similar to Čai and Tirma, B. also allows for pre-nominal relative clauses. Pronominal possessive markers differ in form depending on whether the head itself is singular or plural. As is common elsewhere in Nilo-Saharan, the word for 'name' is treated as a plural.

cól	*à*	*n-àándí*	'my little spear'
còlñá	*à*	*g-àándí*	'my little spears'
sárà	*à*	*g-àándí*	'my name'

The standard ten-word list for B. takes the following form:

one	*óódè*	blood	*bèèðá*
two	*rámmá*	tongue	*àgá*
three	*íyyó*	tooth	*ŋígìðà*
fire	*gòò*	moon	*ñùlú*
water	*máá*	sun	*kɔ̀r*

Lit.: MOGES YIGEZU – GERRIT J. DIMMENDAAL, "Notes on Baale", in: GERRIT J. DIMMENDAAL – MARCO LAST (eds.), *Surmic Languages and Cultures*, Cologne 1998, 273–317.

Gerrit J. Dimmendaal

Baale ethnography

The B. are an ethno-linguistic group of ca. 8,000 to 9,000 people in the borderlands of south-west Ethiopia and south-eastern Sudan, settled on and around the Boma plateau, where they live together with the ↗Murle. They are also known as ↗Suri (Lyth 1947) or Kačipo, but they call themselves B. or Balethi. They belong to an old stock of (south-western) Surmic-speakers, the precise history of whom is unknown. They have long been one of the most isolated and unknown groups in the Ethio-Sudanese region, little touched by trade, missionaries or the state administration, although they are mentioned in the 20th-cent. colonial records of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

Before the 1920s the B. were predominantly cattle-herders on the plains around Boma, but regular conflicts with other groups in the area (Toposa, Murle, Añwaa), disease of humans and cattle (expansion of the tsetse-fly area) and local disturbances in the wake of British colonialism in the early decades of the 20th cent. caused the loss of most of their livestock and forced them to rely increasingly on shifting agriculture (maize, sorghum, cabbage, lentils etc.). After this period the B. also experienced a demographic decline.

Their history, insofar as it is recorded in oral tradition (s. Klausberger 1985), has been turbulent, marked by frequent violent conflicts in an insecure environment.

The B. share cultural traits with the Ethiopian Suri (Čai and Tirmaga) and have a similar socio-economic and cultural organization, e.g., a "segmentary structure", clans, mediatory rain-chiefs, ceremonial dwelling and an age-set organization. The B. are said to be the first in line to organize the initiation of their new senior age-set (carried out every 25–30 years), to be followed by the Tirmaga and then Čai. These three groups also organized joint raiding and

Ñerege, the *alan* (high priest) of the Baale of Mooga, Šiŋalali, August 2002, photo courtesy of Christian Bader

armed expeditions. Furthermore, they cooperate in herding cattle on shared pastures, the B. slowly rebuilding their stock, largely with cash gained from game products and gold-panning, which gained momentum after the mid-1980s.

The Boma area has been seriously affected by the Sudanese civil war in recent decades, which, due to Sudanese government interference and selective arming of local ethnic groups led, to more fighting, in which the B. were also involved. The presence of modern automatic rifles and the general decline in security have also contributed to more violence within their own society and with their neighbours (even with the Čai and Tirma, their traditional allies).

Lit.: FRIEDRICH WILHELM KLAUSBERGER, "Notizen zur Kultur und Sozialordnung der Boma-Suri in Süd-Sudan", *Wiener Ethnohistorische Blätter* 27, 1985, 49–76; RICHARD E. LYTH, "The Suri Tribe", *Sudan Notes and Records* 28, 1947, 106–15; CHRISTIAN BADER, "Notes sur les Balé du sud-ouest de l'Éthiopie", *AE* 16, 2000, 107–24.

Jon G. Abbink

Bäᶜaltiḥat

B. (**በዓልቲሐት**, also *bäᶜalteḥat* or *baltiḥat*) was a designation used for official wives of the Ethiopian monarch, attested for the time span from the 14th cent. till the beginning of the 16th cent., from *aṣe* ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon till Ləbnä Dəngəl. Etymologically B. is a contracted form of **በዓልተ፡ ቢሐት** (*bäᶜaltä biḥat*), which comes from *bäᶜalt* '[fem.] lord, owner', and *biḥat* originally being the proper name of the fief granted to the queen (Conti Rossini 1901, no. 22; Huntingford 1965, no. 27). According to Conti Rossini (1928:309), a locality called Biḥat is situated near Šəmäzana, Akkälä Guzay.

From ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's epoch, B. Bəlen Saba is noted. In later times, the emperor's wives were called **ቀኝ፡ በዓልቲሐት** (*qäññ bäᶜaltiḥat*, 'B. of the right') and **ግራ፡ በዓልቲሐት** (*gra bäᶜaltiḥat*, 'B. of the left'), the titles themselves conveying the idea of queens' places in the court life and ceremonies (on the right and on the left side of the King). There was also a queen called *bäᶜaltä ḥašeḥna*, which is usually explained as 'junior queen of the right' (s. TadTChurch 272). As to their importance, it seems *gra bäᶜaltiḥat*, the queen the emperor married first, perhaps was the major (cp. PerrZarYa 87, 125, 173ff.). Such organization of emperor's wives was probably to make them to counterbalance each other, for enhanced political stability at court. But soon the hierarchy became more complicated by introduction of other titles for further wives, like ↗ *ətege* and others.

In the modern Amharic B. probably resulted in **ባልቴት** (*baltet*, 'the old, wise and respected woman').

↗ Nəguś

Src.: GuiVoc 315; THMDic 1169; KaneDic 866; PerrZarYa 38, 54ff., 87, 125, 173ff., s. index; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa – Nairobi 1965 (Monographs in Ethiopian Land Tenure no. 1), 41f., no. 20; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'evangelo d'oro di Dabra Libānos", *RRALm* 10, 1901, 177–201, here 202f. [no. 19], 203f. [no. 20], 207 [no. 22].

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Storia d'Etiopia*, Milano 1928, 309; HARALD ASPEN, *Amhara Traditions of Knowledge. Spirit Mediums and their Clients*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 58), 152f., 177; ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Geschichte Äthiopiens*, Berlin 1978, 629; KrAmdS 43 (tr.), n. 249; PAOLO MARRASSINI, *Lo Scettro e la croœ. La campagna di 'Amda Ṣeyon I contro l'Ifāt (1332)*, Napoli 1993 (StAfEt 4), 119, n. 2; TÄKLÄ ṢADƏQ MÄKᵂƏRIYA, *Les noms propres, les noms de baptême et l'étude généalogique des rois d'Éthiopie (XIII–XX siècles) à travers leurs noms patronymique*, Belgrade 1966, 164ff., 177; TadTChurch 270ff., 286ff.

Dagmara Deska; Red.

Bäᶜalu Gərma

B.G. (**በዓሉ፡ ግርማ**; b. *Mäskäräm* 1931 A.M. [September 1938 A.D.], Suppe Boro, Illubabor,

d. *Yäkkatit* 1976 [February 1984]) was a well known journalist and novelist. His mother-tongue was Oromiffa, and, though he read the Psalter in Gəᶜəz, he did not speak Amharic until he came to Addis Abäba at the age of ten. In 1954, after completing his elementary education at the then Princess Zännäbä Wärq School, he joined the General Wingate School. His classmates remember him as Bäᶜalu Ğämnadas (cp. Molvaer 1997:342). It was there that he developed his love for literature; in 1958 he became school-second in a "verse-speaking contest" (s. *Chindit*, June 1958). The following years he spent studying at the Faculty of Arts of the University College of Addis Abäba and taking courses in political science and journalism. On graduation he spent six months working for the Ministry of Information before he went to the USA to continue his education at Michigan State University. Having obtained his Masters degree in Journalism and Political Theory he re-assumed his position at the Ministry.

B.G. edited the University College newspaper *News and Views* and contributed articles and poems in English. He was also the editor of ↗*Addis Reporter*, ↗*Mänän* and ↗*Addis Zämän*. His last office was that of Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Information.

His first novel in Amharic, **ካድማስ፡ ባሻገር** (*Kadmas baššagär*, 'Beyond the Horizon'), published in 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.] and devoted to the self-understanding of its two major characters, was warmly received, especially by the young generation. In his second novel **የሕሊና፡ ደወል** (*Yäḥəllina däwäl*, 'The Bell of Conscience'), first published in 1966 A.M. [1974 A.D.], a student goes to teach in Suppe to earn some money for his future education and tries to solve several problems of the school. Different members of the community resist until he finally achieves his goal with the help of an enlightened feudal lord. The book makes an appeal to bring change in society through education and manual work and reminds the readers of the danger of imitating foreign ideologies. The novel was later (in 1976 A.M. [1983/84 A.D.]) rewritten, enlarged and retitled as **ሐዲስ** (*Ḥaddis*).

In his novel **የቀይ፡ ኮከብ፡ ጥሪ** (*Yäqäyy kokäb ṭərri*, 'The Call of the Red Star', 1972 A.M. [1979/80 A.D.]), however B.G. ideologically takes the side of the government in his account of the ↗Revolution. He also sympathizes with the ideals of the revolution in **ዶራሲው** (*Därasiw*, 'The Author'), published later the same year. **ኦሮማይ** (*Oromay*, Eritrean Tgn. 'It is Pointless', from Ital. *oramai*), a novel written during his stay in Eritrea during the "Red Star Campaign", was published in 1976 A.M. [1983/84 A.D.]. B.G. modelled his characters on people he knew closely, and this time high government and party officials were the targets of ridicule and attack. This novel is believed to have contributed to his sudden disappearance.

↗Amharic literature

Src.: **ድርሰት፡ መነሻው፡ ሕይወት፡ ነው** (*Dərsät mänäša w ḥəywät näw*, 'Life is the Source of Creative Writing') [interview with B.G.], *Yäzareyitu Ityopya*, 22, 29 *Gənbot* 1973 A.M. [30 May, 6 June 1981 A.D.]; *Chindit* [General Wingate School student magazine], June 1958; *News and Views*, 9 October 1959 to March 1965.

Lit.: FEKADE AZEZE, *The Intellectual in the Ethiopian Novel, 1930–74*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Sheffield 1988, esp. 233–65; REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, *Black Lions: the Creative Lives of Modern Ethiopia's Literary Giants and Pioneers*, Lawrenceville 1997, 342.

Fekade Azeze

Baarentuu

B. is one of the two moieties into which ↗Oromo society was divided in the past. The other moiety is known as ↗Boorana. B. is also written as Bareituma, Baraytuma, Barentuma, Barentu and Barento. Of these terms Barento and B. are used interchangeably among the eastern Oromo, where Barentuma is no longer popular. In the national myth, Oromo was the common "father" of both B. and Boorana. *Abba* ↗Baḥrəy, the first historian who wrote about Oromo society, presented the B. and the Boorana as the two founding "fathers". When Baḥrəy was writing his *History of the Galla* in 1593 (s. Beck Hunt Alm 110–29), the Boorana had three "children" (confederacies), or major tribal divisions, namely, ↗Mäčča and Tulama, the ↗Guğği and the southern Boorana (Gona and Sabbo). The Mäčča and Tulama spread over central and south-western Ethiopia, while the Guğği and southern Boorana spread over southern Ethiopia. According to Baḥrəy, B. had seven "children", tribal divisions, namely, Karrayyuu, Marawwa, Wäräntiša (↗Arsi), Akičču, ↗Ittuu, Humbanaa and Wärrä Daya.

The Karrayuu are traditionally regarded as the first "son" of B. The Karrayyuu, in turn, had six "sons", tribal subdivisions: Liiban, ↗Wällo, Ğele, Obo, Suba and Bala. All of the six "sons" of Karrayyuu were already independent confedera-

cies by the time Baḥrəy was writing his *History of the Galla*.

Marawwa, the second "son" of B., had three "children". These were Anna, Uru and Abati.

Wäräntiša (from *warrana* 'spear; the warrior', known so for their fighting capacity) were popularly called Arsi and formed the largest and most powerful Oromo group. The above mentioned three "sons" of B. and their "children" spearheaded the 16th cent. pastoral Oromo migration into the northern parts of the Christian kingdom of ↗Abyssinia, where they settled, most being absorbed and assimilated into ↗Amhara society. Only the Wällo group maintained their Oromo identity. They adopted ↗Islam and formed six Oromo dynasties, one of which dominated the political landscape of Ethiopia during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. A section of the Arsi, which did not migrate into historic Abyssinia spread over three provinces in southern Ethiopia.

The fourth "son" of B. was the Akkičču, a section of which spearheaded pastoral Oromo migration through Harärge, eventually reaching the sea coast in northern Somalia. Another section of the Akkičču migrated through ↗Däwaro, ↗Fäṭägar and Amhara to the heartland of Abyssinia, where they were absorbed and assimilated by the Amhara society.

The fifth "son" of B. was the Ittuu, who, in turn, had ten "sons", all of whom settled in western Harärge.

The sixth "son" of B. was Humbanaa, who, in turn, had two "sons" — Afran Qallo and ↗Anniyya, both of whom settled in the vast land of central and southern Harärge.

The seventh "son" of B. was the Wärrä Daya, who had numerous "children". By the 1590s members of the Wärrä Daya tribal division extended to Abyssinia in the north, to Harärge in the east and to what is today northern Kenya in the south. By the beginning of the 17th cent., they were already on the coast of the Indian ocean.

What is clear from the above is that the "children" of B. spread over central, northern, eastern and southern parts of Ethiopia. During the 16th cent., migrations of the pastoral Oromo members of Boorana and B. migrated together in different directions. However, the Boorana appear to have dominated the movement to central, southern and south-western Ethiopia, while the B. dominated the movement to central, northern, eastern and southern Ethiopia. Eventually, the term Boorana became the name of Oromo in central, western and southern Ethiopia, while B. became the name of the eastern Oromo, who spread over some parts of the regions of Wällo, Bale, Arsi and Harärge.

Src.: BAḤRƏY, "History of the Galla", in: *BeckHuntAlm* 110–29.

Lit.: VSAe II, 6, 24, 109f., 277, 775; ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada: Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York 1973; ID., *Oromo Democracy: an Indigenous African Political System*, Lawrenceville, NJ 2000, 147, 152–75, 176, 182, 187; MOHAMMED HASSEN, *The Oromo of Ethiopia, 1500–1850: with Special Emphasis on the Gibe Region*, London 1983, 69–74; MARTIAL DE SALVIAC, *Un peuple antique au pays de Menelik: les Galla, grande nation africaine*, Paris 1905, 20–36.

Mohammed Hassen

Bäʿatti Maryam ↗ Rock-hewn churches

Bāb al-Mandab

The B.M. (باب المندب, 'The Gate of Tears' or 'The Gate of the Wailing Yard', also: Bāb al-Mandam, al-Bāb) is a strategic strait of great importance, which joins the ↗Red Sea with the Gulf of Aden.

In Arab tradition it is reported that in ancient times Asia and Africa were joined together, until they were split at the B.M. Yāqūt associates the name B.M. with the 6th cent. crossing of the Ethiopians over the sea to Yemen. Two Sabaean inscriptions of the early 6th cent. mention *silsilat al-Mandab* (SSLT MDBN) in connection with the conflict between ↗Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar and the Ethiopians – presumably a chain stretched across the very narrow and shallow mouth of the inlet at aš-Šayḫ Saʿīd. This seems to be at the origin of

a tradition that a chain had been stretched across the whole straits of the B.M. Amber used to be collected in the area (Lit. cf. EI²).

A volcanic desert island, Mayyūn (called also "Perim" by Westerners, from arab. Barīm), divides its narrowest part between Yemen and ↗Djibouti into the Small Strait, 2.5 km to 5 km wide, on the Asian side, and the Large Strait, about 16 km wide, on the African side. As the Small Strait is relatively shallow (about 10 m to 22 m), it is the Large Strait, about 311 m deep, which is usually used for navigation despite its coral massifs. During the south-west monsoon of June to September, the water flows out of the Red Sea and then, during the south-east monsoon from November to April, flows back.

There is no specific text which specifies the régime of the strait. Juridically it is not an international strait, therefore the international law of the sea is not applicable. However, Yemen, which claims sovereignty over the B.M. strait, has officially recognized the free circulation of ships.

Lit.: GEORGE RENTZ, "Bāb al-Mandab", in: *EI²* 1, 837 (Lit.); GEORGES FERRAND, *Instructions nautiques*, Paris 1921–25; RUTH LAPIDOTH-ESCHELBACHER, *The Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden*, The Hague – Boston – London 1982 (International Straits of the World 5); CLAUDE ROUSSEAU, "Revendication de souveraineté sur le détroit de Bab el-Mandeb 26 octobre 1973", *Revue Générale de Droit International Public* 78, 1974, 1196–98.

Colette Dubois

Babnuda

Abba B. (**ባብኑዳ**, or **በፍኖትዮስ** Bäfnotyos) is the Ethiopic version of a well-known Coptic name, either (Sahidic) Papnoute ("the <man> of God"), Arabic Babnūda, or (Bohairic) Pafnuti, Greek Paphnoutios (**Παφνούτιος**), thus Arabic Bafnutyus. There are no known Ethiopian Acts (↗*Gädl*) of a saint bearing this name, but four are mentioned in the Coptic synaxary (written in Arabic) and from there they entered the Ethiopian ↗*Sənkəssar*. They appear either as Bäfnotyos (and related variants), or as B. (and variants). The spellings in the *Sənkəssar* reading and in the following ↗*sälam* sometimes differ. B. seems to reflect the more popular form.

The best-known B. is the saint of 15 *Yäkkatit*, who would have visited Saint Onuphrius (Abunafer) and other hermits living in the "inner desert" and told their story (s. also Onuphrius's story in the *Sənkəssar* under 16 *Säne* and Pereira 1905). Another, a hermit martyred in Dändära, was a priest and is sometimes called a bishop (20 *Miyazya*, also mentioned in the Passion of Saint Thomas of Sändälat, 27 *Säne*); he is probably the same as the anchorite mentioned at the end of the Synaxary readings of 25 *Miyazya*. A third, celebrated on 11 *Gənbot*, was an anchorite and became a bishop; he was so honest that, while dying, he swore that during his tenure of office he had not taken a single drachma for himself. Lastly, a completely different B. is mentioned as the disciple of Saint Macarius the Great who witnessed his master's entry in heaven (27 *Mäggabit*). The *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gəṣṣawe* mentions those of 15 *Yäkkatit* and 11 *Gənbot*, as well as those of 20 and 25 *Miyazya*. The historical data that may lie behind these stories have not yet been sufficiently elucidated.

Src.: BudSaint, s. index, 1295, 1321; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, *Vida de santo Abunafre* (*S. Onuphrio*), Lisboa 1905; **መጽሐፈ፡ ስንክሳር** (*Mäṣḥafä sənkəssar*, 'Synaxary'), Aśmära 1991 A.M. [1998/9 A.D.], 508a, 597b [no. 52], 647b, 682b, 694b, 792a [no. 2], 823b [no. 14]; GuiSyn I, 165 [683]; ColSyn V, 104 ff. [= 548 ff.]; VI, 128 [= 424]; VII, 70 [= 550]; and 96 [= 576]; VIII, 46 ff. [= 238 ff.]; s. also IX, index.

Lit.: JOSEPH-MARIE SAUGET, "Pafnuzio", in: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* X, Roma 1968, 25–38 (five entries); RENÉ-GEORGE COQUIN, "Pafnutius the Hermit, Saint", in: *CE*, 1182–83; ARMAND VEILLEUX, "Pafnutius of Pbow, Saint", *ibid.*, 1183–84; ANTOINE GUILLAUMONT, "Pafnutius of Scetis, Saint", *ibid.*, 1184; PATRIARCHATE OF THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƏDO CHURCH (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ግጽዌ፡ ዘይትነበብ፡ እምዓመት፡ እስከ፡ ዓመት፡ ወዘሰናብት፡ ዘየኀብር፡ ምስለ፡ መዝሙራት** (*Mäṣḥafä gəṣṣawe, zäyatnäbäb əmʿamät əskä ʿamät wäzäsänabət zäyäḫa bər məslä mäzmurat*, 'The Book of the Exposition, which is to be Read from Year to Year, and of the Sundays, together with the *Mazmur*'), Addis Abäba 1976 A.M. [1983/84 A.D.]; repr. TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), Addis Abäba

1976 A.M. [1983/84 A.D.], 63, 82, 84, 88; FRIEDHELM WINKELMANN, "Die Problematik der Entstehung der Paphnutioslegende", in: JOACHIM HERRMANN – HELGA KÖPSTEIN – REIMAR MÜLLER (eds.), *Griechenland – Byzanz – Europa. Ein Studienband*, Berlin 1985, 32–42.

Ugo Zanetti

Baboons ↗ Monkeys

Bachmann, Paulus Johannes

B. (b. 1 August 1862, Pretzsch, d. 30 May 1894, Pankow) was a German Orientalist. Despite his premature death, B., a student of ↗Dillmann, contributed to the Ethiopian studies a remarkable number of short works in the field of ↗Gəᶜəz philology. First, in a series of four publications (1887–88), B. published and discussed the life and teachings of Secundus the Taciturn in their Arabic and Gəᶜəz versions. His subsequent 1890 edition of chapters 24 and 25 (on marriage and the concubinate, respectively) of the ↗*Fəṯḥa nägäśt* was soon rendered obsolete by ↗Guidi's edition of the whole of this important text (2 vols., 1897–99). In 1893 B. published a collection of nine *Aethiopische Lesestücke*, mostly historical in content. It was intended to supplement Dillmann's famous chrestomathy, in which theological texts dominate, in the academic teaching of Gəᶜəz. B.'s collection to this day remains a valuable tool, as underscored by its reprint in Hammerschmidt (1988). Finally, B. worked on the Gəᶜəz O.T. In 1893 he published the Book of Isaiah and the Lamentations; before, in 1892, he had already submitted editions of the Books of Obadiah and Malachi, intended to be the first parts of an edition of the whole *Dodekapropheton*. He did not, however, live to realize this plan.

Src.: for complete bibliography s. Lockot I, index.
Lit.: IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Sopra due degli 'Aethiopische Lesestücke' del Dr. Bachmann", *ZA* 11, 1896, 401–16; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopistik an deutschen Universitäten*, Wiesbaden 1968, 32ff., 39 (Lit.); ID. (ed.), *Anthologia Aethiopica*, Hildesheim 1988 [s. also postscript].

Michael Kleiner

Bädančo

B. (**በዳንጮ**) was the king of ↗Ǝnnarya who, according to the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl, was persuaded by the latter to accept Christianity sometime in 1586 or shortly after. He was given the baptismal name of Zämaryam and *aṣe* Särṣä Dəngəl became his godfather.

The important question here is whether, as some scholars assume, B. was the first Ǝnnarya king during whose reign Christianity was introduced into this ↗Gibe kingdom. Considering that the faith was already well established in the neighbouring kingdoms of ↗Damot, Kämbata, Wälaytta as well as further south in the Gamo highlands, it is unlikely that Christianity reached Ǝnnarya at such a late period.

As from time to time Ǝnnarya also experienced problems of succession, it is quite possible that the family of B. were usurpers, and that his father Lä'asonhi was refused baptism because the courtiers at that time were not willingly to legitimise his usurpation. In any case the kings of Ǝnnarya were not appointed by the kings of the ↗Solomonic dynasty.

Src.: PerChron vol. 2, 316f.
Lit.: BeckHuntAlm lxi, lxxxii; CRHist 120ff., 127; MHasOr 37ff.; WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga* (*Southwestern Ethiopia*), Wiesbaden 1982.

Merid Wolde Aregay

Badəme Plains ↗ Kunama

Badəmma Yaläw

B.Y. (**ባድማ፡ ያለው**, b. 1885, Goğğam, d. 1973) is best known for his role as "founding father" of the ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Iyesus. Ordained Orthodox priest (*qes*), he served in western Wälläga where he came into contact with, and espoused the cause of "Bible-readers" from Eritrea. In 1911 he was sent to Addis Abäba to seek a solution to the religious conflicts in the area. His opponents gained the upper hand with the ruler *ləğ* ↗Iyasu, and B.Y. was forbidden to return to Wälläga. He settled in Goğğam, but was in 1924 called to Addis Abäba by the ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission to teach at their school and to participate in a revision of the Amharic Bible. This program was disrupted by the Italian occupation. When Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase returned in 1941, the remaining members of the small evangelical congregation called B.Y. to be their pastor. He accepted and thus founded the independent evangelical congregation, later named the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Iyesus.

Lit.: GUSTAV ARÉN, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia: in the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers 1898–1936*, Stockholm – Addis Abeba 1999, passim; OLAV SAEVERAS, *On Church Mission Relations in Ethiopia 1944–1969: With Special Reference to the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus and the Lutheran Missions*, Drammen 1974, passim.

Sven Rubenson

Bādī

B. (بادى or Bādī IV Abū Šulūḫ b. Nūl, r. 1724–62), *sulṭān* of Sinnār (↗Funǧ), personified a crisis of royal legitimacy in the northern Sudanese tradition of statecraft. In 1720 B.'s father Nol (Nūl) had taken the throne from his predecessor Unsa; under the old matrilineal Funǧ constitution, Nol had the right to do this because he was Unsa's maternal uncle, or *sīd al-qūm*. As the *sīd al-qūm* had the duty of executing rejected monarchs, he was not allowed to sit on the royal council that determined the fate of kings. Nol, however, represented a new generation of noblemen who intended to break with tradition; they turned to patrilineal descent to proclaim themselves not Funǧ, but "Arabs". Contemporaries perceived Nol to be the founder of a new dynasty and B.'s mother may not have been a princess capable of transmitting Funǧ royal status.

B. assumed the throne as a child and his early reign was supervised by a wise regent named Doka. In 1729, however, Doka died and Funǧ traditionalists seized the regency. Not only did they appoint one Ismāʿīl as B.'s *sīd al-qūm*, they made him First Minister, thus endowed with powers of both judge and executioner over the young king.

The unsuccessful Ethiopian invasion of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II in 1744 was a godsend for B. The Sudanese victory made him a hero and, by generously rewarding his great commander, the exiled Fur general Ḫamīs Walad Ǧanqal of the Sənnar Musabbaʿāt, B. acquired a loyal force capable of crushing Ismāʿīl and the Funǧ traditionalists. B. then packed a greatly expanded royal court with partisans of Arab patrilineality. The new elite was dubbed the "Hamağ". Unfortunately, spurious Arab pedigrees proved a poor substitute for Funǧ dynastic legitimacy; B. was expendable. By 1762 a league of disaffected Hamağ officers had deposed him and named one of their own as ruling *wazīr*. B. sought refuge at the Ethiopian court of *ras* ↗Wäldä Ləʿul, but shortly afterwards he was assassinated by the agents sent from the Sudan.

Lit.: JAY SPAULDING, *The Heroic Age in Sinnar*, East Lansing 1985 (Lit.); MANFRED KROPP, "Äthiopisch-sudanesische Kriege im 18. Jhdt.", in: ROLF GUNDLACH – MANFRED KROPP – ANNALIS LEIBUNDGUT (eds.), *Der Sudan in der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Frankfurt am Main – New York 1996, 111–31.

Jay Spaulding

Bāḍiʿ

According to a series of medieval Arab authors, B. (باضع) was an important Muslim harbour lying on the African coast of the Red Sea.

Al-Masʿūdī's *Kitāb at-tanbīh* places B. beyond the land of the Beğa, "on the coast of the mine" (*min sāḥil al-maʿdin*). In Al-Maqrīzī's *Ḫiṭaṭ*, where the text of the "treaty" signed in 831 A.D. between the Arabs and the ↗Beğa is reported, it is said that, at the beginning of the 9th cent., the land of the Beğa toward the coast extended up to the islands of ↗Sawākin, B. and ↗Dahlak. Ibn Ḥawqal's *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ* puts B. between Sunğula (Mukawwar) and Dahlak.

Since the name of ↗Massawa (Məṣwāʿ) is Baṣəʿ in Təgre and Təgrañña and Baḍəʿ in Beğa, most modern scholars have correctly agreed that B. was the former name of Massawa, whose etymology is possibly connected to the Arabic word *biḍāʿa*, pl. *baḍāʾiʿ*, meaning 'goods, wares'. The historical consequence of this identification is that as early as the first years of the ↗*hiğra*, Massawa was already a landmark for the Arabs spreading over the African coast of the Red Sea into territories occupied by the Beğa tribes, contemporary with the sudden decline of the Kingdom of ↗Aksum and the port of ↗Adulis.

According to some other scholars, it would be preferable to see in B. the ancient name of the island of al-Rīḥ (Ayrī), near the gulf of Aqiq, north of Raʾs Kasar, on the modern boundary between Sudan and Eritrea, but this hypothesis appears less satisfactory.

Src.: ABŪ L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ AL-MASʿŪDĪ, *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-l-išrāf*, ed. MICHAEL JAN DE GOEJE, Leiden 1894 (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum 8), 329f., repr. Beirut ²1965 [= ID., *Le livre de l'avertissement et de la revision*, tr. by BERNARD CARRA DE VAUX, Paris 1896, 425f.]; AḤMAD IBN ʿALĪ AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Kitāb al-mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī ḏikr al-ḫiṭaṭ wal-āṯār*, ed. by GASTON WIET, Le Caire 1922 (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 46), 257, 267 [= ID., *Déscription topographique et historique de l'Egypte*, tr. by URBAIN BOURIANT, Paris 1900 (Mission Archéologique Française au Caire 17, 2), 565–68]; ABŪ L-QĀSIM MUḤAMMAD IBN ḤAWQAL, *Opus geographicum*, ed. by JOHANNES HENDRIK KRAMERS, vol. 1, Leiden 1939, 43 [= ID., *Configuration de la terre* (*Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*), tr. by JOHANNES HENDRIK KRAMERS – GASTON WIET, Beirut – Paris 1964, 42].

Lit.: WERNER MUNZINGER, "Vocabulaire de la langue tigré", in: AUGUST DILLMANN, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae*, Lipsiae 1865, iii; ID., *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Basel 1883, 114; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Aethiopica", *RSO* 9, 1923, 365–468, here 449f. [13. Il "Kitāb al-Tanbīh" e le miniere d'oro eritrée]; ID., *Storia d'Etiopia*, Milano 1928, 212f.; OSBERT GUY STANHOPE CRAWFORD, *The Fung*

Kingdom of Sennar; with a Geographical Account of the Middle Nile Region, Gloucester 1951 [repr. New York ²1978], 100–07; ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI, "Some Eritrean Place-Names in Arabic Medieval Sources", *Folia Orientalia* 12, 1970, 335f.; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "La questione di Bāḍiʿ", *RSO* 58, 1984, 179–99.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Badīt bint Māyā

The Arabic chronide of the sultanate of the ↗Maḫzūmī dynasty of eastern Šäwa mentions the name of B. (بديت بنت مايا) at its beginning (Cerulli 1941:7, 10). According to it, she was a queen (*malika*) who died in 455 H. [1063 A.D.]. No further information about B. is provided by this document. It is doubted whether she also was a queen of the Maḫzūmī dynasty of eastern Šäwa or reigned over some other Ethiopian region. As Cerulli (1941:21f.) underlines, the reign of B. must have been of really great importance, as the anonymous Muslim chronicler felt the necessity to record the date of her death in his work, which is essentially devoted to later events.

The form of her name remains unexplained and only the insertion of *bint* ('daughter') between its two components give it a vaguely Islamic aspect. Taddesse Tamrat (TadTChurch 51f.) assumes that queen B. was actually a pagan ruler and recalls the parallel case of the queen of the Banī l-Hamwīya (↗Ǝsato). For his part, Cerulli (1941:22) notes that historical evidence points out a remarkable role of female high personages in Islamic Ethiopia: according to him, the crucial political role of women may be connected with the social custom of the ↗Sidama people who were the human substratum of Islamic Šäwa.

Wagner (1976:197) suggests the identification of B. with Tadīt daughter of Māyālāmā, a female ruler mentioned in two chronological lists of Harär *amīrs*. On the basis of the data contained in these two documents, Wagner hypothetically thinks that Badīt/Tadīt and her father Māyālāmā could have been the rulers of a region of Lake Haramāyā (or Harämaya, nowadays Alämayya in Amharic), between Harär and Dərre Dawa.

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 5–42, here 7, 10, 21f.

Lit.: BELAYNESH MICHAEL, "Badīt", in: *DicEthBio* 33; TadTChurch 51f.; EWALD WAGNER, "Die Chronologie der frühen muslimischen Herrscher in Äthiopien nach den Hararіner Emirslisten", in: BRIGITTA BENZING – OTTO BÖCHER – GÜNTER MAYER (eds.), *Wort und Wirklichkeit. Studien zur Afrikanistik und Orientalistik Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*, Meisenheim 1976, 186–204.

Alessandro Gori

Badittu ↗ Koorete

Badlay b. Saʿdaddīn ↗ Aḥmad Badlay

Badoglio, Pietro

General B. (b. 1871, d. 1956 Grazzano Monferrato) was celebrated by Mussolini, though he was not a member of the Fascist Party, and received crucial responsibilities in Italian colonial enterprises. He was appointed Chief of Staff (*capo di Stato maggiore*) in 1925 and Marshal of Italy (*maresciallo d'Italia*) in 1926. He was sent out to Ethiopia in November 1935 as High Commissioner for Eastern Africa and Supreme Commander of the Italian forces. He was to replace Emilio de ↗Bono who officially had accomplished the task of occupying Mäqälä, but whose prudence (e.g., refusal to employ asphyxiating gases) had annoyed Mussolini. It was nevertheless not until January 1936 that B. was able to retake the initiative.

B. put aside any restraints and pursued a strategy of all-out annihilation of the enemy – "the destruction of the Ethiopian army and the conquest of the Negus Empire", as he defined the objectives of the mission Mussolini had assigned to him – i.e. exploiting the great superiority of the Italian expedition force. The military operations culminated in the Italian victory of ↗Mayčäw at the end of March 1936 enabling entry into Däse and Addis Abäba, which B. saw as the main strategic target.

B. was designated the first viceroy (*viceré*) but he asked to be relieved of the job which he knew to be very difficult. Furthermore, B. thought to implement a system of indirect administration through Ethiopian notables that Mussolini disparaged. B. left Addis Abäba on 21 May 1936 and a few days later departed for Italy, to be replaced by Rodolfo ↗Graziani.

B. was compensated by the Fascist regime with enormous allowances, an honorary card of the Party, and the title of Duke of Addis Abäba. Influenced by Italian enthusiasm for the victory in Ethiopia, long awaited since the defeat at ↗ᶜAdwa in 1896, B. addressed words of servile exaltation to Mussolini's genius and guide. In the foreword to the book B. wrote upon the campaign, Mussolini praised B.'s efforts as truly "fascist". The name of B. was on the list of the

Italian officers and colonial administrators submitted for trial after World War II, but the United Nations did not take into consideration Ethiopia's grievances.

↗Africa Orientale Italiana

Src.: PIETRO BADOGLIO, *La guerra d'Etiopia*, Milano 1936.
Lit.: AMEDEO TOSTI, *Pietro Badoglio*, Milano 1956.

Giampaolo Calchi Novati

Bäʾədä Maryam I

Aṣe B.M. I (በእደ፡ ማርያም, b. 1448, r. 1468–78) grew up in Zängo, near Yälabaš in Fäṭägar, a frontier site. His mother may have been ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob's youngest wife, Žan Källäla, although some sources identify her as Ṣəyon Mogäsa, who was also the mother of *aṣe* Tewodros I. Zärʾa Yaʿəqob accused Ṣəyon Mogäsa of trying to depose him in favour of B.M. He had her flogged, as a result of which she later died. B.M. was also detained for having secretly celebrated the anniversary of her death ca. 1462. There is some confusion regarding his name prior to ascending the throne and there are at least hints that he is the Gälawdewos also named as a rebellious son of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob. B.M. was restored to favour shortly before his father's death and ruled Ethiopia for just over ten years from 26 August 1468 to 8 November 1478. He succeeded his father Zärʾa Yaʿəqob following the latter's death and was designated as king by the *ʿaqqabe säʿat* ↗Ammänəḫa Ṣəyon. B.M. reversed many of his father's administrative decisions. He replaced his policy of direct rule with the appointment or reappointment of local officials, but retained his program of religious nationalism. Much of the early period of his reign was spent in the town of ↗Atronsä Maryam.

B.M. fought against the Islamized residents of Dobaʾa around 1471. Although the kingdom of ↗ʿAdal, which had been subdued by his father, initially offered no threat to B.M., he later directed two successful campaigns against ʿAdal from Däwaro and Bale. However, a third, conducted in 1474, resulted in a major reversal. B.M. also sent troops against the ↗Ayhud of Ṣällämt and Səmen and defeated them.

B.M. is said to have had close ties to Däbrä Libanos and its abbot ↗Märḫa (Yəmrəḫanna) Krəstos. In 1477 he convened a council at which it was proposed to discontinue the spiritual dependence on Alexandria. B.M. supported the position of Däbrä Libanos and continued the reliance on Alexandria. The *ʿaqqabe säʿat* during his reign was Ammänəḫa Ṣəyon, who had also been an ally of his father. During his reign the relics of ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat were translated.

B.M.'s wives included Romna, Žan Säyfa, Ǝreš Gäzet and Dawit Era. Although Romna was not one his principal wives, she did gain favour by providing the king with two potential heirs. When B.M. was succeeded by his six-year-old son ↗Ǝskändər, a son of Romna, she was recalled from exile in Amhara. Another of their children, Ǝnqo Ǝsraʾel, became Emperor under the name ↗Naʿod. A third son, Tewodros, was the son of Ǝreš Gäzet. B.M. did not take his father's young wife ↗Ǝleni as one of his wives, but she retained her position in court during his reign. After his death problems of royal succession recurred.

The major source for the history of B.M. is his chronicle, which has been edited and published by Jules Perruchon (PerrZarY 105–82). As Perruchon notes (ibid. xxviii-xl), the document he published is a composite work which contains two variant accounts of his reign. One which he dates to the reign of Ǝskändər may have been written by the guardian of B.M.'s sons. The other he dates to the period of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl (r. 1508–40).

Src.: PerrZarY 105-82; BassÉt 12; STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Marḫa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 52ff. (tr.) = 57-65 (text); GETATCHEW HAILE, "Martyrdom of Abunä Taklä Hawarəyat of Shoa and the Translation of his Relics", in: YAQOB BEYENE – RODOLFO FATTOVICH – PAOLO MARRASSINI – ALESSANDRO TRIULZI (eds.), *Etiopia e Oltre: studi in onore di Lanfranco Ricci*, Napoli 1994 (StAfEt 1), 93-113.
Lit.: TadTChurch 245ff., 284f., 294f.; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 519-27; BERTRAND HIRSCH – BERTRAND POISSONNIER, "Recherches historiques et archéologiques à Meshalä Maryam (Mänz, Éthiopie): résultats préliminaires", *AE* 16, 2000, 59-87.

Steven Kaplan

Bäʾədä Maryam II

B.M. II (በእደ፡ ማርያም, r. 1794–95) was one of a series of nominal rulers during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. He was placed on the throne to replace ↗Täklä Giyorgis by a number of local chiefs, the most important of whom were *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Mikaʾel Ǝsäte and *ras* ↗Aligaz. Other sources (Tekle Tsadik Mekouria in PICES 8, 208) indicate that it was *ras* ↗Wäldä Gäbrəʾel who placed B.M. on the throne. He was crowned as *nəguś* by *abunä* ↗Yosef and the *əčč̣äge* on 12 *Gənbot* in the royal castle of Gondär. They

"placed the crown which was of fine gems on his head, and there was dancing at Gondär and peddlers, and dancing girls" (Weld Blundell 1922:433). It is difficult to identify any significant achievements from B.M.'s period on the throne, during which court officials were appointed and deposed on a regular basis. During all of this period Täklä Giyorgis was a rival ruler. B.M. was followed on the throne by ↗Sälomon II.

Src.: HERBERT WELD BLUNDELL, *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia 1769–1840 with Translation and Notes*, Cambridge 1922, 161–64 (text) = 432–39 (tr.).
Lit.: TEKLE TSADIK MEKOURIA, "Histoire abrégé du Hailou Eshete", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 189-214, here 208.

Steven Kaplan

Bäʾədä Maryam III

B.M. III (**በእደ፡ ማርያም**) was one of the rulers of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. He was placed on the throne by *däğğazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Maryam Gäbre at Mount Mänta in 1826. His immediate predecessor and sometimes rival was *aṣe* ↗Gigar. B.M's period in power was short and does not appear to have lasted beyond the death of his patron.

Src.: HERBERT WELD BLUNDELL, *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia 1769–1840 with Translation and Notes*, Cambridge 1922, 196ff. (text) = 484ff. (tr.).

Steven Kaplan

Bäʾəntä Maryam

The B.M. (**በእንተ፡ ማርያም**, 'For the sake of Mary') is the initial expression of a litanical prayer addressed to Jesus. The prayer was designed to obtain mercy and compassion from him through the intercession of Mary, and that Jesus would hear, bless the ↗*məḥəlla* ('supplication') and raise it on his heavenly altar, for the sake of Mary. This brief form of invocation, recited on many occasions, shows Mary's role in the mediation between her Son and the worshipping congregation (Oudenrijn 1960/61).

The B.M. is usually reserved for specific occasions when the community is undergoing a stressful period: in time of calamities, war, drought, famine, invasions from people of other religions.

The B.M. is also a beggar's cry. The beggar asks for help crying *Mənta Maryam*! (corrupted form of B.M.) or *Sälä Maryam*! (in Amharic, equates to the Gəʿəz B.M.) invoking her name, because he knows nobody would refuse him alms or compassion after hearing the name of Mary, who received from her Son the Pact of Mercy (↗*Kidanä məḥrät*). According to the pact, one can be saved by invoking her name or doing good deeds for the poor, even by giving them a glass of fresh water in her honour. Two enemies would not hesitate from making peace when they are asked for Mary's sake to reconciliate with each other.

↗Mary; ↗Litanies

Src.: EMML vol. 9, 28, no. 3541, fols. 13b–18a; *liqä mäzämmərən* MOGÄS ʿƎQUBÄ GIYORGIS (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዓታት** (*Mäṣḥafä säʿatat*, 'The Book of the Hours'), Aśmära 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.], 208–23, 236f.; MARCUS VAN DEN OUDENRIJN (ed., tr.), *Helenae Aethiopum reginae quae feruntur preces et carmina*, Louvain 1960/61 (CSCO 208, 211 [SAe 39, 40]), 112 (text) = 89 (tr.).

Habtemichael Kidane

Bäʾəntä qəddəsat

B.q. (**በእንተ፡ ቅድሳት**, lit. 'For the sake of holiness /holy things', also called **ስእለታት**, *səʾələtat*, 'petitions, demands') are litanical prayers which the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, like all Oriental Churches, has preserved in its liturgy (↗Qəddase). They are used during the mass and each time the Liturgy of the Word is required, that is to say, when sacraments are administered outside of the mass; they will be said for a sick person, joined with other liturgical pieces from the *Testamentum Domini* (↗*Kidan zäʾəgziʾənä Iyäsus Krəstos*). The Ethiopian tradition also has other types of intercession, called **መስተብቍዓት** (*mästabqʷəʿat*), which have another form and are used on other occasions.

The B.q. list a number of purposes for which prayer is offered, opening up universal dimensions, and may be considered rightly as Common Prayers or Universal Prayers. These have a tripartite structure: (1) *bäʾəntä*, 'for', (2) an invitation to prayer (**ናስተብቍዕ**, *nastäbäqʷəʿ*, 'let us beseech') and (3) a precise request (**ከመ፡ እግዚአብሔር**, *kämä əgziʾabəḥer* …, 'that the Lord [may grant] …'); after the deacon prodaims the request, the assembly answers: "Amen. Kyrie eleison. Lord have mercy on us." They are always the same, but their order may vary in the manuscripts, as well as with regard to the *Testamentum Domini*. In fact, it is from chapter 33 of this latter text that they have been taken.

The primary meaning of the first intention, B.q., is the one found in the *Testamentum Domini*, a request for "the peace which comes from on high". It has been somehow blurred in

Gəʿəz and still further distorted in the modern translations: the official Amharic and Təgrañña editions interpret it as: "For the sake of His body and blood which makes us one", dropping the word *qəddəsat* which is in the *incipit* (*Bäʾəntä* [*qəddəsat*]). This latter, however, was certainly original: it alludes to the words which are pronounced during the elevation (e.g., Anaphora of the Apostles, no. 90; Brightmann 1896:237): **ቅድሳት፡ ለቅዱሳን** (*Qəddəsat läqəddusan*, 'Holy things to the holy'), which is then a reference to the body and blood of Christ from which one will communicate.

As in other liturgical traditions, the place of the B.q. in the liturgy has been moved forwards. While the *Testamentum Domini* places them after the Gospel, they are now found towards the beginning of the mass, just after the ↗*Fəṯḥat zäwäld*, 'Absolution of the Son'. The history of the Ethiopian mass has not yet been written, only a study of the manuscripts will reveal when and why this displacement occurred.

This litany as such has no direct paralld in the Coptic mass. The *Oratio universalis* found in the present Coptic service after the Gospel (Brakmann 1995:116) still exists in Ethiopia, but it is now said in a low voice by the assistant priest (cf. Daoud 1960:54ff., ch. 3, paragraphs 194–216, and any orthodox missal); this, together with a direct borrowing from the *Testamentum Domini*, may be the origin of the B.q. biddings.

↗Litanies

Src.: FRANK EDWARD BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western: being the Texts, Original or Translated, of the Principal Liturgies of the Church*, Oxford 1896, 237; MARCOS DAOUD, *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, Cairo 1960, 33–36, 54ff.; ROBERT BEYLOT (ed., tr.), *Testamentum domini éthiopien*, Louvain 1984; GEOFFREY J. CUMING, *The Liturgy of St. Mark*, Roma 1990 (OrChrA 234).

Lit.: HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, "Le déroulement de la messe copte: structure et histoire", in: ACHILLE MARIA TRIACCA – ALESSANDRO PISTOIA (eds.), *L'eucharistie. Célébration, rites, piétés: Conférences Saint-Serge, XLIe Semaine d'études liturgiques, Paris, 28 juin–1 juillet 1994*, Roma 1995 (Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae, Subsidia 79), 107–32; HABTEMICHAEL-KIDANE, *L'ufficio divino della Chiesa etiopica. Studio storico-critico con particolare riferimento alle ore cattedrali*, Roma 1998 (OrChrA 257).

Habtemichael Kidane

Bäʾəntä śəllasekä

B.ś. (**በእንተ፡ ሥላሴኪ**, 'Through love of Your Trinity') are long prayers in the form of a litany beginning with this formula, asking Christ for His pardon through the invocation of the Holy Trinity and alluding to the events of His earthly life, as well as that of the Virgin Mary. They are part of the collection of invocations known under the name of Glory to the Beloved (↗*Səbḥatä fəqur*,), to which they are attached. At each invocation, "pardon us, through the love of the Lord", is repeated.

Two uses for the B.ś. exist: it can be sung every day or just three days a week. Those who only use it on certain days sometimes alternate it with the hymn **እ፡ ዘወረድኪ** (*O zäwärädkä*, 'O You, who descended …'), another litany which alludes to the earthly life of Jesus. In this case, the B.ś. is reserved for Saturdays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, and the *O zäwärädkä* for the four other days.

It seems that the B.ś., like the *Səbḥatä fəqur*, may have been composed in the time of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, perhaps even by the order of this Emperor.

↗Litanies

Src.: EMML vol. 5, 22 [no. 1525], fols. 122a–24b; 28f. [no. 1529], fol. 80a; VatAeth 47; BN (Paris) 130; *liqä mäzämməran* MOGÄS ʿƎQUBÄ GIYORGIS, (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዓታት** (*Mäṣḥafä säʿatat*, 'The Book of the Hours [Horologium]'), Aśmära 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.], 208–23.

Habtemichael Kidane

Baeteman, Joseph-Émile

B. (b. 29 September 1880, Corbigny, Nièvre, d. 1938) was a French missionary and religious writer. Starting from 1892 he received his missionary education in Troyes and Paris, where he joined the ↗Lazarists. Already in 1905 B. departed for Ethiopia and engaged in teaching. During World War I he returned to France, served at the front, but returned to Ethiopia in 1919, to Gəwala, where, according to his own words, he suffered defeats in anything he did. After travelling around Šäwa he founded the Lazarist mission of Mändida around 1920, which he left in 1929 due to illness. Back in France he concentrated, with great success, on his spiritual writings, some of which enjoyed a number of editions.

B.'s first work after his return was the posthumus edition of ↗Coulbeaux's history of Ethiopia. His dictionary, printed in Ethiopia and dedicated to "*nəguś* Täfäri", was the result of his year-long work in Šäwa and became standard for the study of ↗Amharic. It is a profound work of more than 400 pages, concentrating on the dialects of Šäwa and Gondär, and

based on many sources including collections of vocabulary made by the Ethiopian Lazarist *abba* ↗Täsfa Śəllase Wäldä Gärima, on modern texts, such as a chronicle of *aṣe* Mənilək II's reign, and on oral conversations that he himself had carried out in his daily work. The fact that B. took into account the cultural context for the understanding of a language and included around 1,000 proverbs makes the dictionary a pioneer work.

Src.: BaetDic; JOSEPH BAETEMAN, *Le Camouflé du Bon Dieu, Comment se fondent les missions en pays schismatiques*, Lens 1928; JEAN-BAPTISTE COULBEAUX, *Histoire politique et religieuse d'Abyssinie depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à l'avènement de Ménélick II*, Paris [1929].

Lit.: SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "J. Baeteman, Dictionnaire amarigna-français […]", *Aethiops, Bulletin Geʿez* 3, 2, April 1930, 31–32 [book review]; MAURICE COLLARD, *Coeur d'apôtre, Joseph Baeteman*, Paris 1942; MICHEL PRÉVOST – JEAN-CHARLES ROMAN D'AMAT (ed.), *Dictionnaire de Biographie française*, Paris 1948, vol. 4, 1176f.

Wolbert Smidt

Bafäna

Wäyzäro B. (**ባፈና**; d. ca. 1900, Däbrä Libanos) was the consort of Mənilək, *nəgusś* of Šäwa (later *aṣe*↗ Mənilək II), during the years 1865–82. She was a noble lady from Märḥabete, where she probably helped Mənilək establish his authority after his escape from the stronghold of ↗Mäqdäla. She was older than the *nəgusś* and already had five children (three sons and two daughters) whom Mənilək eventually brought up as his own.

The liaison held harmoniously for ten years before a conflict broke out, probably on account of jealousy, as a daughter (↗Zäwditu) was born to the *nəgusś* by a Wällo woman in 1876. But B. was also said to be "very intelligent and highly ambitious" and as such "she was the cause of a great deal of embarrassment to her husband". In 1876–77, she took her daughter away from *däğğazmač* ↗Mäšäša Säyfu (a cousin of the *nəgusś*) and gave her to someone else in marriage without due process of divorce, thereby arousing Mäšäša's suspicion that it was done with the blessing of his royal cousin. He soon rebelled and the army split. Civil war was averted through the intercession of ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase, the uncle of both Mənilək and Mäšäša.

But B.'s intrigues continued during the long expeditionary journey of the *nəgusś* to Bägemdər. Under her influence, the *nəgusś* arrested Mäšäša and imprisoned him before his departure at the end of 1876. She also instigated *märəd azmač* ↗Ḫaylä Mikaʾel Śahlä Śəllase (another uncle of Mənilək) to rebel and he took over ↗Ankobär, then the capital of Šäwa. B. convinced her consort, who was then campaigning in Goğğam, that she could quell the rebellion and, hence, was allowed to advance to Šäwa. According to one source (HerTar 29), she also took with her a set of blank sheets of paper with the royal seal on them which she could use in the name of the *nəgusś* for her own purpose.

Ḫaylä Mikaʾel was defeated and taken prisoner by other officials prior to her arrival; but she herself rebelled, looted the royal stores at Ǝnnäwari and, taking with her the princely prisoners, she established herself at the stronghold of Tamo. Mənilək ordered *däğğazmač* (later *ras*) Darge and *däğğazmač* Wäldä Mikaʾel to besiege Tamo and he himself marched to Wällo to pursue B.'s son-in-law, Mäḥammäd Ali (later *nəgusś* ↗Mikaʾel), who had rebelled and burnt the town of Wärrä Illu. B. and her accomplices could not stand the long siege and no help came from *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, who was slowly marching against Šäwa. Some of the important accomplices escaped from the stronghold and submitted to the besiegers. Mənilək was also under pressure, as the Emperor was gradually approaching with a huge army. Hence, the rebellion ended with a reconciliation from which Mäšäša profited most.

B. continued to live with the *nəgusś* for some more years until Mənilək chose to marry ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul formally in 1883. B. retired to her estate in Märḥabete and eventually became a nun in Däbrä Libanos, where she died.

In spite of the difficulties Mənilək had with B., he treated her children favourably even after her departure for good. One of her sons, *däğğazmač* Ammänä Šäwa, commanded a part of the royal army until his sudden death in 1887, which distressed the king; Mənilək had to be persuaded by the *ətege* and his councillors to give his daughter, Šäwarägga, to *ras* Mikaʾel in marriage in 1892, as he had regarded B.'s daughter, Mikaʾel's former wife, as his own.

Lit.: ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ነገሥታት፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾityopya nägäśtat tarik*, 'History of Ethiopian Sovereigns'), Addis Abäba 1928 A.M. [1935/36 A.D.], 47–50; HerTar 29; ZEWDE GABRE-SELLASSIE, *Yohannes IV of Ethiopia: a Political Biography*, Oxford 1975, 89–92, 262f.; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "Kniga povestvovaniya o veyzaro Bafane Valda Mikael, pervoy zhene Menelika II" ('The Book of the Narration about *Wäyzaro* Bafäna, the First Wife of Mənilək II'), *Hristiansky Vostok* 1 [7], 1999, 236–57.

Bairu Tafla

Bäg mälkäññä

B.m. (በግ፡ መልከኛ, lit. 'sheep minister') is the designation of one of the major social duties of any Ethiopian lord, namely the organization of public feasts (↗*Gəbər*) for his subjects and followers, where beef was certainly the highlight. To provide it there was the special office of ሥጋ፡ መልከኛ (*śəga mälkäññä*, 'meat minister' or 'meat measurer'; where *śəga* means 'meat', *mälkäññä* probably can be traced back to *läkka* 'to measure'; s. KaneDic 87ff.), who "was responsible for looking after cattle on the lord's premises, as well as for its subsequent slaughter. In return for these services he was entitled, Arnauld d'Abbadie states, to no less than one tenth of all meat butchered, as well as the right to dispose of two-thirds of all skins" (Pankhurst 1988:176).

At the royal court feasts were certainly organized on a far larger scale, and the same functions were fulfilled by an officer of much higher rank, called B.m. (በግ፡ መልከኛ; *bäg* means 'sheep, ram'). B.m. had a greater number of guests to entertain than a *səga mälkäññä* did, and his reward was accordingly also greater: he received from his sovereign not part of meat, or skins, but a fief for his service. A B.m. called Täkle is mentioned in the Chronicle of *aṣe* Bäkaffa as one of the guardians of his son Iyasu.

Src.: KaneDic 87ff.; ARNAULD D'ABBADIE, *Douze ans dans la Haute-Éthiopie* (*Abyssinie*), Paris 1868, vol. 1, 349; GuiIyas 8.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "Hierarchy at the Feast: the Partition of the Ox in Traditional Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 3, 173–82, here 176.

Sevir Chernetsov

Bägäna

Cultural Context

Although its origin remains in doubt, Ethiopian tradition says the B. (በገና) came to Ethiopia from Israel during the time of ↗Mənilək I and also that it was used by the biblical David to soothe King Saul's nerves. Ethiopian manuscripts depict the instrument as early as the 15th cent. (Leroy 1967:XI). There are said to be 99 B. melodies, each of which can be used as an accompaniment for innumerable texts. The etymology of the word B. is not clear (LesCDic 89). According to folk etymology (as confirmed by ᶜAlämu Aga, a noted B. practitioner), the word B. comes from the Amharic for Christmas, *gänna*, with the prefix *bä* added to give B. the meaning 'during Christmas'.

The B. has always been associated in Ethiopia as the instrument of the upper classes and, according to Ashenafi Kebede (1975:145), it is considered a God-given, holy instrument. Men and women play it primarily as an accompaniment during meditation and prayer because of its quiet and mellow sound.

B. music was banned from being taught at the Yared Music School and from being heard in public during the Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam regime (1974–91). Today, however, it is part of both the curricula and is played at festive occasions. During Lent, for example, it is the instrument most heard on the radio.

Morphology

B. is a ten-string lyre consisting of a resonating box, two pillars forming a slight "V" shape, and a crossbar. Each string (አውታር, *awtar*) is wound around the crossbar (ቀንበር, *qänbär*) and a peg lever (የቅንት፡ ማስተካከያ, *yäqəñət mastäkakäya*). The pegs are placed against the crossbar and are always perpendicular to it when rotated to adjust the string pitch. Five strings (1, 3, 6, 8, 10) are sounded and the remaining strings are used for the finger rests or stops after the strings have been plucked. If the plectrum is used, then all ten strings are sounded, with each of the five pitches duplicated at the same pitch or at the octave.

There are two string thicknesses; strings 8 and 10, the two highest pitches, are thinner than the others. Strings are made by cleaning, then twisting small intestines from sheep, although strings made of cow-gut are used. Depending on the required length and thickness, two or more single gut strings may be twined together to make one string. After twisting, the strings are rubbed frequently with garlic, while left to cure. Depending on the environment, curing may take several weeks. Strings are then frequently treated with garlic to keep them pliable. Broken strings are usually tied back together and the repair seems to have no effect on the subsequent sounds produced.

Some players prefer using a thong buzzer (እንዚራ, *ənzira*), a U-shaped leather thong placed between the string and the bridge (ብርኩማ, *bərkumma*). The thongs for each string are adjusted so that the string, when plucked, repeatedly vibrates against the edge of the bridge, producing the characteristic buzzing sound.

The sound-box (ገቡቴ, *gäbäte*) front and back shapes approximate two unequal squares, with the larger square on the front side. A trapezoidal

shape is revealed from any side. The box is covered with parchment (called መአጐሚያ፡ ቆዳ, *mäläg*ʷ*ämiya qoda* or የከብት፡ ቆዳ, *yäkäbt qoda*).

A procedure requiring someone with an ear attuned to the musical aesthetics of the B. and the accompanying specialized skill of the B. maker includes selecting and preparing the wood for the frame of the sound box, the pillars, the crossbar, the bridge and the pegs. After the parts are put together, the instrument is massaged lightly with fat. In most cases, decorative designs are carved along the pillars and the crossbar.

B. components have cultural designations in addition to their ordinary descriptive names. According to tradition, strings 1, 6, 8 and 10 are called "sheep", while number four is called "eagle", after the animals whose sounds King David thought the strings imitated. Each B. has a Latin cross burned into the back of the sound box, in remembrance of the time when David marred his B. by using it to block King Saul's spear. The left pillar of the B. represents St. Gabriel (የግራ፡ ምሰሶ፡ ገብርኤል, *yägra məsässo Gäbrəʾel*) while that on the right represents St. Michael (የቀኝ፡ ምሰሶ፡ ሚካኤል, *yäqäññ məsässo Mikaʾel*).

King David playing a *bägäna*, psalter illumination (ms. BN d'Abbadie no. 105), photo courtesy of Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Text

Subject-matter includes futility of life, inevitability of death, saints, mores, morality, prayers and praises to God. Texts can consist of a series of couplets with a common or divergent theme, tell a story, describe a person, lament a situation, or talk of love. Songs can last a few minutes or several hours or days depending on the text and the persistence of the player.

B. texts can be taken from the Bible or religious poetry collections. A player may compose his or her own texts, which sometimes take the *qəne*-form. The music is text-dependent and the verse pattern affects the style and format of the B. accompaniment.

Melody

The B. is tuned in either *anči hoy* (አንቺ፡ ሆይ) or *təzzəta* (ትዝታ) mode (ቅኝት, *qañña*t). *Qəññət* is an interval set on which Amhara music is built and could be loosely translated as mode. It consists of two mutually exclusive, intervalically permutated interval sets. There are two known *qəññət* in each set: *təzzəta* and *bati* (intervalic permutation of *təzzəta*), *anči hoy* and *ambassäl* (correspondingly intervalic permutation of *anči hoy*). B. strings are not tuned from lowest to highest, left to right, or vice versa, but according to finger dexterity or flexibility. This method minimizes the performance difficulty. Pitch frequencies vary in Ethiopian music with the tessitura of the performer. However, for any *qəññət*, intervals between pitches are culturally fixed. Though many pitches can be played in rapid succession on the B., two or more pitches are never played simultaneously, unless played with the plectrum, where the strings are strummed. Repeated pitches are used frequently because of the syllabic singing style and the B., as a plucked instrument, has no sustaining power.

Vocal and instrumental relationships can be heterophonic, where the voice and instrument simultaneously play variants of the same melody, play in unison, or play two independent though related melodies. Songs commence with an instrumental introduction and interludes. The B. may play alone but the voice is always accompanied by the instrument. Songs are usually cyclical, where the entire melody or segments thereof recur repeatedly but with variations. Songs can be in litany, with the same melody repeated with a different text, or they can be antecedent-consequent melodies, where one section of the melody "complements" another section. Unless the complete phrase pattern set is played, indi-

A modern *bägäna*, photo courtesy of the author

vidual phrases sound incomplete. Phrase beginnings and endings of the B. and vocal lines do not always coincide. Tempo varies depending on the song's mood and on the player's skill.

Referent Pitch

Variation in *qəññət* occurs in the selection of referent pitch, defined as the root or base of a pitch set. There is always a primary referent pitch, but there may be a secondary referent pitch. The latter functions temporarily as a primary referent, but, at the same time, retains its own place in the pitch hierarchy. Choice of referent pitch is important, as it gives a particular identity to a song, distinguishing it from other songs in the same *qəññət*. In addition, because many melodies are not long, alternation of the primary and secondary referents provides the music with an ambivalent feeling – of not always coming to a final end. This factor is significant in that both cyclic and litanic melodies can be organized so that they are suitable for a few minutes' duration or for an indefinite period, depending on the selected text. Reference pitches are also used as final notes. Though there are slight pauses at the end of phrases, the only definite retardation occurs at the very end, and the last note is held. This elongation signals the end, with emphasis on the primary or secondary referent pitch.

Src.: LesCDic 89.

Lit.: ASHENAFI KEBEDE, *The Music of Ethiopia: its Development and Cultural Setting*, Ann Arbor 1975, 144f.; CYNTHIA TSE KIMBERLIN, "The Bägäna of Ethiopia", *Ethiopianist Notes* 2, 2, 1978, 15–32, esp. 14, 16, 24; MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (ed.), *Music, Dance, Drama in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1968 (Patterns of Progress 9), 17f.; CASIMIR MONDON-VIDAILHET, "La musique éthiopienne", in: ALBERT LAVIGNAC (ed.), *Encyclopédie de la musique et Dictionnaire du conservatoire*, Paris 1922, 1, 5; MARCEL COHEN, "Couplets amhariques du Choa", *JA* 204, 1924, 1–22 (Note sur la poésie et musique); GUIGLIELMO BARBLAN, *Musiche e strumenti musicali dell'Africa orientale italiana*, Napoli 1941; MICHAEL POWNE, *Ethiopian Music: an Introduction*, London 1968, s. index.

Ill.: JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and during the Gondar Dynasty*, New York, 1967, plate XI: portrait of King David.

Cynthia Tse Kimberlin

Bägemdər

The area to the east of Lake Ṭana, known today as B. (በጌምድር), is a high plateau country bounded on the east by the upper Täkkäze valley and on the west by the Lake Ṭana basin. Its earliest known inhabitants appear to have been the ↗Agäw, Cushitic-speaking agriculturalists. The region was certainly known to the ancient Aksumites, although references are few, vague and often legendary. Clearer indications come from the late ↗Zag^{w}e period, by which time a Christian outpost existed in the southwest of the area, most likely at ↗Ṭana Qirqos. The area comes into sharper focus in the early 14th cent., when *aṣe* ↗^{c}Amdä Ṣəyon incorporated it into the Christian kingdom after a series of victorious campaigns. Known by then as B. or Mägemdər, it had long been the scene of cultural contact and interaction between the indigenous Agäw and the ↗Amhara on the east and south-east. This interaction accelerated during and after the 14th cent. as the Agäw adopted the Amharic language and converted to Orthodox Christianity, propagated from monasteries in Ṭana and on the upper Täkkäze. By the 16th cent., the population had become almost completely Amhara and Christian, and B. was the largest province in the kingdom, stretching from Ṭana in the west to the Täkkäze in the east, and from the

Bäšəlo and Abbay in the south to approximately the Bälăsa river in the north.

Among Agäw groups that sought to avoid Amhara domination were those whose culture and religion contained strong Judaic elements and who occupied the land from Ṭana northwards to Səmen and the Täkkäze. From the 14th cent. onward, these Agäw fiercely resisted incorporation into the Christian kingdom. Finally subdued in the early 17th cent., they were deprived of their lands because of their resistance. They responded by taking up craftwork and tenant farming. Known henceforth as ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel or Fälaša, they retained their separate identity and religion. In the 1970s, they numbered an estimated 28,000, although 19th-cent. estimates ranged from 80,000 to 250,000.

A related Agäw group, the ↗Kəmant, did not resort to warfare but accepted Amhara overlordship and in return retained their lands, social organization, language and religion. In the mid-1630s, the Amhara planted a new capital, Gondär, in their midst. Since then, the Kəmant have increasingly succumbed to Amhara acculturation. Estimated at 20–25,000 in the mid-1960s, their numbers continue to dwindle.

Yet another group, the ↗Wäyṭo, whose origins remain uncertain, are Muslims who have adapted to life on the shores of Lake Ṭana and nearby stretches of the Abbay. By tradition hippopotamus hunters and fishermen who were held in low esteem by their neighbours, they have become tenant farmers in more recent times. The Wäyto numbered no more than perhaps 500 to 1,000 in the 1960s.

By the 14th cent., several long-distance trade networks were well established in the Lake Ṭana basin. Major caravan routes led east across the Täkkäze to salt markets in Wällo and Təgray, west to commercial centres and gold fields in the Nile Valley, south through Goğğam to coffee-, gold-, civet- and slave-producing regions in the southern highlands and north via Səmen and Təgray to Massawa and the commercial world of the Red Sea. Almost all trade, as well as much weaving of cloth, was in the hands of Ethiopian Muslims, known as ↗*ğäbärti*. Their origins lay with Muslim traders from the Red Sea coast and eastern Ethiopia who had introduced Islam into B. long before the 16th cent. In the 1530s, their numbers increased further as a result of the Muslim invasion and occupation of Ethiopia under ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ). Aḥmad Grañ eventually established his headquarters in B. and it was at Wäyna Däga, not far from Ṭana's north-eastern shore, that he was defeated and killed in 1543. Muslims in B. lived apart from other social and religious groups and they retained their dominance of commerce until well into the 20th cent.

From the mid-16th to the mid-19th cent., B. lay at the geographic and political centre of the kingdom, the districts of ↗Ǝnfraz, ↗Dämbəya and ↗Däbrä Tabor being especially prominent. In the mid-1570s, *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl moved his camp from Šäwa to B., settling initially at Ǝnfraz and, at the end of his reign, at Ayba. In both locales he constructed stone castles and churches, initiating a building tradition that continued in the region for the next two hundred years, mostly in ↗Gondär.

In the early 17th cent., the Jesuits extensively proselytized in districts immediately north, east and south of Ṭana, home to many of the more than 100,000 Catholics whom the Jesuit fathers claimed as converts by the late 1620s. The Jesuits also constructed a number of European-style buildings in or close to Dämbəya, including Catholic churches at ↗Gorgora, ↗Azäzo and ↗Dänqäz.

Throughout the Gondärine period from 1630 to 1769, B. was a major player in the kingdom's affairs, along with Təgray, Goğğam, Damot and Qʷara. Its commanders carried the title of *däğğazmač* and its soldiers were a mainstay of royal armies. B. became a major source of provisions for Gondär, the commercial, cultural, political and religious capital of the kingdom.

This era also saw the ↗Däbrä Libanos monastic community relocated from Šäwa to Azäzo.

During the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, effective power lay in the hands of *ras* ↗Ali G^{w}angul and his relatives, Yäğğu Oromo based in B., who made their camp, Däbrä Tabor, the administrative capital of the kingdom. In the mid-19th cent., B. became the main base of operations of ↗Tewodros II. Däbrä Tabor served as Tewodros's headquarters, the province's soldiers served loyally in Tewodros's army and they were among the last to abandon him before his defeat and death in 1868.

In the late 1920s, *ras* ↗Gugsa Wäle, governor of B. and former husband of *ətege* Zäwditu, rebelled against Šäwan rule. Gugsa sought to shift the seat of power back to B., but his death in battle in early 1930 ended his bid for a northern renaissance.

During the Italian occupation from 1936 to 1941, B. was incorporated into the governorship of Amhara, together with Səmen, Q^{w}ara, Goğğam and Šäwa. The Italians expanded and improved the road network that Tewodros had begun and they introduced motorized transport between Gondär and Däse via Däbrä Tabor and ↗Gayənt (↗Africa Orientale Italiana). The province was also the scene of substantial resistance against the occupation. B.'s patriots organized a system of taxation, food supply and spies, and although, they never operated under a unified command, they confined Italian control to little more than major towns and military outposts.

In the post-war era, the Imperial Government created the Governate-General of B. and Səmen, with its capital at Gondär. The province, comprised of seven *awrağğas* – ↗Čəlga, Däbrä Tabor, Gayənt, Gondär Zurya, ↗Libo, Səmen and ↗Wägära – encompassed 74,000 km² between the Täkkäze and the Sudan border. It had an estimated population by 1970 of 1.4 million inhabitants.

Src.: EMMANUELIS D'ALMEIDA, "Historia de Ethiopia a Alta ou Abassia", in: CAMILLO BECCARI (ed.), *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti a Saeculo XVI ad XIX*, vol. 6, Romae 1907, 387–90, vol. 7, 1908, 345f.; vol. 7, 293ff.; BeckHuntAlvar 459f.; CRHist 54, 63, 95ff., 127, 133, 156 (tr.); MINISTRY OF LAND REFORM AND ADMINISTRATION (ed.), *Report on Land Tenure Survey of Begemedeir and Simien Province*, Addis Ababa 1970, 3; *Guida* 368 [map], 390–95; GuiIohan 61, 152, 306f. (tr.); GuiIyas 50, 88f., 131–39, 153 (tr.).

Lit.: ABDUSSAMAD H. AHMAD, "Trade and Islam in the Towns of Bägemdir, 1900–1935", *JES* 29, 2, 1996, 5–21; MORDECHAI ABIR, *Ethiopia: the Era of the Princes*, London 1968, 30–39, 44–62, 138f.; BAHRU ZEWDE, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855–1974*, Addis Ababa 1991, 27–42, 135ff.; ROBERT ERNEST CHEESMAN, *Lake Ṭana and the Blue Nile: an Abyssinian Quest*, London 1968, 92–95, 163–212; FREDERICK C. GAMST, *The Qemant. A Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia*, New York 1969, 1–16, 116–22; GIRMA BESHAH – MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso-Ethiopian Relations (1500–1632)*, Lisbon 1964, 79–95; YURI M. KOBISHCHANOV, *Axum*, ed. by JOSEPH MICHELS, tr. by LORRAINE KAPITANOFF, University Park 1979, 171–78; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Gondar and Adwa. A Tale of Two Cities", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 57–61; JAMES QUIRIN, "Society and the State. Reflections from the Northwest, 1300–1900", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 221–31; ID., *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews. A History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia 1992, 1ff., 47–62, 72–86; SVEN RUBENSON, *King of Kings Tewodros of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1966 (Haile Sellassie I University Department of History, Historical Studies no. 2), 73–79, 81f.; ALBERTO SBACCHI, *Legacy of Bitterness: Ethiopia and Fascist Italy, 1935–1941*, Lawrenceville 1997, 183ff.; SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270*, Addis Ababa 1972, 162, 166, 232; FREDERICK J. SIMOONS, *Northwest Ethiopia. Peoples and Economy*, Madison 1960, 21–52; TadTChurch 190–94, 197–200; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London – Oxford – New York 1965, 87ff., 150–53.

LaVerle Berry

Bäğərond

B. (በጅሮንድ) was initially a title given to the chief treasurer of the king. As the man in charge of the court craftsmen (ጥጉ፡ ሸላሚ, *žan šällami*), and as custodian of the throne and the crown, he was himself at the same time a master craftsman, probably in jewellery or embroidery. The B. was in charge of what the Jesuit Francisco Alvares described as "manguez bete" (that is, *mängəšt bet*, s. BeckHuntAlvar 441, esp. n. 1). Täsämma Habtä Mikaʾel (THMDic 506: በጅር፡ ወንድ, *bäğər wänd*) and Dästa Täklä Wäld (DTWDic 157) link this term with ጅር (*ğər*), a word to which they give the meaning 'craftsman' and 'craft'. It was thus an old title that did not appear in the early chronicles because it was then given to the chief of the court craftsmen (↗Handicrafts).

The title first appears in a land deed of the reign of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl (r. 1508-40), as በዚር፡ ወንጅ (*bäzir wänğ*). Starting at least from the reigns of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I and his son ↗Iyasu I, however, the title and office of B. began to be given to highly born persons, induding members of the royal family and their relatives. It becomes the title most frequently encountered in the chronicles. It seems that the frequency of

rebellions and the increase in the number of pretenders required that the throne and the crown accompany the reigning king in all his movements and that the office of custodian of these symbols of sovereignty be entrusted to highly reliable persons. Yosṭos, the prince who usurped the throne in 1711, was, for example, the B. of Iyasu I. With the devaluation of titles during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* and after this title was given by the regional rulers to the jewellers who executed orders, especially processional crosses and vessels for the churches which the notables established.

Src.: BTafA 890; DTWDic 157; THMDic 506; BassÉt I, II; WELD BLUNDELL (ed., tr.), *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia 1769-1840*, Cambridge 1922; BruNile; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Documenta ad illustrandam historiam I. Liber Axumae*, Louvain 1909–10 [repr. 1961–62] (CSCO 54, 58 [SAe 24, 27]), 36f. (text), no. 41; CHARLES WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (tr., ed.), *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1965 (Monographs in Ethiopian Land Tenure no. 1), 48f., no. 40; BeckHuntAlvar 441.

Merid Wolde Aregay

Bäggəʿu

B. (**በግዑ**) was a saintly monk who lived in the second half of the 13th cent. A robber and notorious highwayman, he repented after meeting a priest and adopted a life of extreme asceticism, binding his arms and legs with iron chains, locking himself in a cell and fasting and praying day and night. He became a disciple of *abba* ↗Iyäsus Moʾa. He is said to have been one of those who bestowed his blessing upon the monastery of Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad. He died before the death of his master in 1292 and was buried at ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos. Some traditions also record that he was translated by angels into heaven. His Acts (↗*Gädl*) were written shortly after his death by one of his disciples. They are found in several manuscripts, but have not yet been published.

Src.: STANISLAS KUR (ed., tr.), *Actes de Iyasus Moʾa, abbé du couvent de St-Étienne de Ḥayq*, Louvain 1965 (CSCO 259, 260 [SAe 49, 50]), 49 (text) = 40 (tr.); BORIS TURAIEV, *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum, II. Acta S. Aronis et S. Phillipi*, Louvain 1905 (CSCO 30 [SAe 13]), 158 (text) = 142 (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il 'Gadla Filipos' ed il 'Gadla Yohannes' di Dabra Bizan", *RRALm* 8, 1901, 62–170, here 118; *Gädlä Bäggəʿu*: EMML vol. 5, 435, no. 1940, fol. 84r–105r; EMML ms. 1960, fol. 58r–81v; SixTana 3, 186 [Ṭamsee ms. 153, fol. 53ra–76rb].

Lit.: TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Däbrä Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 89, n. 13; KinBibl 66, no. 27.

Steven Kaplan

Bägiʿo ↗ Aksumawi

Baḥa

B. is a type of women's traditional self-help organization in ↗Harär. Contrary to the ↗*afōča*, where membership is compulsory, the B. are voluntary associations in the narrower sense. Unlike with the *afōča* institutions, there are no B. clubs for men and membership in a B. is not a social must. The B. may be defined as a "union to save money and help during special events" (Yusuf Ahmed 1965) and may thus be compared to the ↗*ʾəqqub* "lottery club" among the Amhara.

Members are primarily young women with small children who do not yet want to submit themselves to the strict rules of *afōča*. They often retain their B. membership even after they join an *afōča*.

The women meet regularly once a week (every week in the house of a different member). Every member commits herself to pay regularly at such meetings a fixed amount into a B. fund. She decides herself how much she wants to pay. The hostess of the day is given the total sum paid into the fund at that particular meeting. This is determined by what she herself had paid into it (i.e., if she had regularly paid 1 *bərr* and there are 30 members, she will receive 30 *bərr*; if she had paid 2 *bərr*, she will receive 60 *bərr* etc.). The surplus is paid into a general fund; deficiencies are taken out of that fund. At every meeting the *fātaḥ* (a standard prayer derived from the *Fātiḥa*, the first *sūra* of the Qurʾān) is offered and tea is served.

As with the *afōča*, membership has to be applied for. There are functionaries like a head and a treasurer. These have no higher rank than the ordinary members. The number of the members of such clubs ranges between 20 and 30. The clubs aim at having not too many members in order to maintain an atmosphere of familiarity.

Some B. clubs have recently also taken over some of the tasks of the *afōča*, that is, they share help and assistance in the preparation of weddings or funerals.

A B. may be dissolved or may merge. Embezzlement of funds is said never to have occurred.

Lit.: ELISABETH-DOROTHEA HECHT, *Die traditionellen Frauenvereine (Afōča) der Harari in Harar und in Addis Ababa, Äthiopien*, Berlin 1993, here 33ff. (Marburger Studien zur Afrika und Asienkunde, A: Afrika, 30); YUSUF AHMED, "Afoča", *JES* 3, 2, 1965, 125–32.

Elisabeth-Dorothea Hecht

Bahāʾī

The B. Faith, founded in Persia in 1844, was introduced in Ethiopia when an Egyptian B. named Sabri Elias (Ṣabrī Ilyās) came to the country in January 1934 with the mission to teach and establish the B. Faith there. In 1935 he established the Local Spiritual Assembly of the B. in Addis Abäba, which translated, published and distributed an introductory book and pamphlets about the B. faith. A copy of the book was presented to *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1936 in Jerusalem.

The number of B. dwindled during the Italian occupation, and started to increase again in 1944. In 1953, more B. from Egypt, Iran, and the United States began to settle in Ethiopia. There were B. in Gondär, ʿAdwa, Asmära and mainly in Addis Abäba. Systematic teaching activities were run at the Centre that was rented and eventually bought by the B. and in the homes of the expatriate B. families. As a result, a number of students from the Civil Aviation School, the Addis Ababa University and several high schools had become B. by 1963. The Local Spiritual Assemblies of the B. of Addis Abäba and Asmära were officially registered with the Ministry of Justice in 1955 and 1958, respectively. The first National B. Center was inaugurated on 12 November 1972.

In the 1970s the community launched expansion programs to surrounding areas. The believers travelled to such places as Ǧəmma, Däbrä Zäyt, Wänǧi, Adaamaa (Nazret), Ambo, Säbäta, Holäta, Wäliso and Awasa. The drastic growth started in 1968 at a place called Gämäto, 280 km south of Addis Abäba among the Sidama. By 1973, the number of Local Assemblies in the Sidama area alone had reached 56 and by the late 1970s it rose to 264.

The B. of Ethiopia used to fall under the jurisdiction of one National Spiritual Assembly comprising Egypt, Libya, the Sudan, Djibouti and Somalia until 1975, when the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'í of Ethiopia evolved to have its own National Assembly, with Djibouti under its jurisdiction.

As the B. community grew and became visible in different parts of the country, opposition also increased from several directions. As early as in the early 1960s there were increasing incidents of B. being arrested and harassed for teaching the tenets of their Faith.

Lit.: DAGMAWIT ESHETU, *History of the Bahai Faith: Ethiopian Experience, 1928–1998*, part of B.A. thesis, Kotebe Teachers Education College, Addis Ababa 1998.

Daniel Hailu

Bäḫaylä Mikaʾel ↗ Məśṭirä sämay wämədr: Maṣḥafä məśṭirä sämay wämədr

Bäḫaylu Gäbrä Maryam

B. (**ብኃይሉ፡ ገብረ፡ ማርያም**, fl. 1920s) was a popular traditional Ethiopian artist whose work is akin to that of the better-known painter ↗Bälaccäw Yəmär. B. was reportedly born in Təgray and travelled to Gondär, where he studied traditional church painting. He subsequently made his way to Addis Abäba, where he went to school and later taught two or three pupils to paint. He worked with their help, turning out paintings on canvas, mainly for foreigners and local drinking houses. Eight of his works were later acquired by the Musée d'Ethnographie in Geneva. Their themes, which caught the imagination of the time, depicted a banquet at the Addis Abäba Palace, given by Empress ↗Zäwditu; *ras* Täfari Mäkʷännən (later ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) in ceremonial clothes, and on horseback riding above a lion; *šayḫ* ↗Ḫʷağalī al-Ḥasan of Beni Šangul; the battle of Mäqdäla; hunting of wild animals; the story of the "cannibal" Bäläᶜe säbᵊa; and six Ethiopian rulers from Tewodros II to *laǧ* Iyasu.

Lit.: EUGÈNE PITTARD, "Les arts populaires de l'Afrique. Quelques peintures d'Abyssinie", *Archives Suisses d'Anthropologie Générale* 5, 1, 1928, 87–103; ID., "Une exposition temporaire de peintures d'Abyssinie", *Les musées de Genève* 10, 1947 [2 pp.]; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Some Notes for a History of Ethiopian Secular Art", *EthObs* 10, 1966, 5–80, here 43f.; GIRMA FISSEHA – WALTER RAUNIG, *Mensch und Geschichte in Äthiopiens Volksmalerei*, Frankfurt am Main 1985, 145f., 150f., 196 and plates 17, 27, 111.

Richard Pankhurst

Baḥər Dar

B.D. (**ባሕር፡ ዳር**) is a town located at the exit of the ↗Abbay from Lake ↗Ṭana at an altitude of about 1,820 m A.S.L., at 11°36' N and 37°25' E. Originally the settlement was called Baḥər Giyorgis. In the 19th cent. B.D. was visited by Belgian, French, British and Italian travellers, who described it alternatively as a village or a town. The Italian traveller Mario Alamanni (1891) estimated its population between 1,200 and 1,600.

During the early 20th cent., the British, desiring to construct a barrage at the outlet of Lake Ṭana, dispatched several study teams, such as

those of Dupuis (1902), Grabham and Black (1920–21) and Cheesman (1926–34). In 1930 the Ethiopian Government sent to B.D. its own team of experts, who described B.D. as a village with considerable trading activity, with a population from the interior as well as from Lake Ṭana ports such as ↗Zäge. At this time B.D. was characterized by various traditional settlement areas, each of which was distinguished by the social position its members occupied. The *kahənat* (clergy) and ↗*balabbat* communities were the most important. In addition, three groups of tenant-craftsman communities, tanners, Muslims weavers and the Wäyṭo stone-mill grinders, lived on *balabbat* lands. Although all were economically interdependent, there was no intermarriage between the tenant communities or between them and the *balabbat* and *kahənat*.

In 1936, B.D. was occupied by the Italians, who gave it modern urban features. Abolishing communal family ownership of land, they instituted private ownership. Alienating the *balabbats* from their ↗*rəst*, they allocated land for administration, the army, an airstrip and port facilities. New residential and commercial zones were demarcated. B.D. was connected by motor-boats with other Lake Ṭana ports and by motor roads with Gondär, Däbrä Marqos and Addis Abäba. The physical and social appearance of B.D. was considerably changed. New settlement patterns emerged: an Italian camp, a Muslim community and a Wäyṭo quarter, while the tanners' quarter remained unaffected. B.D. became a melting-pot of different peoples and cultures. In the commercial zone, different types of shops, tea-rooms, tailor shops, bars and restaurants run by Italians, Arabs, Somalis and Sudanese made their first appearance. Ethiopian participation in this realm was insignificant.

The Italians gave B.D. political importance, making it the administrative centre of the Lake Ṭana southern territories. They also showed interest in the possibility of developing the Lake Ṭana and Blue Nile basin agriculturally and of exploiting their waters for hydroelectric power.

In 1941, the Ethiopian Government was reinstated. It made B.D. a capital, first at a sub-district and then at a district level. Various offices and public services were set up. In 1945 B.D. was raised to the status of a municipality. In the early 1950s, it was considered to be the best site selected for the construction of an alternative capital of Ethiopia.

During the 1960s and 1970s, B.D. grew rapidly, being the capital of the *awraǧǧa* by the same name in the Goǧǧam province. The central government developed it as a market and transportation centre for the economic growth of Lake Ṭana and the Blue Nile basin. A comprehensive master plan, with new zoning, was prepared by German experts. Its implementation changed completely the physical appearance of B.D., which grew as a centre of industrial and economic development. It was provided with a water-supply, hydroelectric power, improved lake-port facilities, the Abbay bridge, textile mills, a hospital and institutions of higher education which now form B.D. University.

In the 1990s B.D. experienced remarkable growth and expansion. It has become the capital of the Amhara National State. The country's free-market economic policy has encouraged investment and other market potentialities. Today B.D. is not only a centre of administration, but also a nucleus of commerce, industry, transport, communication, health, education and tourism.

Lit.: ALBERT DUCHESNE, *A la recherche d'une colonie belge: le consul Blondeel en Abyssinie, 1840–1842, contribution à l'histoire précoloniale de la Belgique*, Bruxelles 1953 (Mémoires, Institut Royal Colonial Belge 30, 3); ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, "Mémoire sur le tonnerre en Éthiopie", *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des sciences de l'Institut de France* 16, 1858, 1–158; ARNAULD D'ABBADIE, *Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute-Ethiopie* (*Abyssinie*), Città del Vaticano 1980; WALTER CHARLES PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country*, London 1869; CARLO PIAGGIA, "Relazione di viaggio nell'Abissinia e nel Goggiam", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 5, 12, 1875; ENNIO QUIRINO ALAMANNI, *La Colonia Eritrea i suoi*

commerci, Torino 1891; WILLIAM EDMUND GARSTIN, *Report upon the Basin of the Upper Nile with Proposals for the Improvement of that River: to which is Attached a Report upon Lake Tana and the Rivers of the Eastern Soudan by Mr. C. Dupius*, Cairo 1904; GEORGE WALKER GRABHAM – R.P. BLACK, *Report of the Mission to Lake Tana 1920–1921*, Cairo 1921; ROBERT ERNEST CHEESMAN, *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile, an Abyssinian Quest*, London 1968; L.G. WHITE ENGINEERING CORPORATION (ed.), *Report on Lake Tsana Outlet Control Works and Ethiopian Highway from Addis Ababa to Lake Tsana*, New York 1932; HAILE SELASSIE I, *My Life and Ethiopia's Progress, 1892–1937*, tr. and ed. by EDWARD ULLENDORFF, Oxford 1978; SELTENE SEYOUM, *A History of Bahir Dar Town 1936–1974*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1988 (Lit.).

Seltene Seyoum

Baḥər Mängäša ↗ Zärʾa Yaʿəqob

Baḥər nägaš

Baḥər nägaš before the 18th century

B.n. (ባሕር፡ ነጋሽ, 'ruler of the sea') was the title and office of the governor of the Red Sea coastal provinces.

The fortunate position of ↗Ḥamasen as the best caravan route from the hinterland to the sea (*baḥər*) always attached a great economical and political importance both to the region and its ruler. During the ↗Zagʷe period, both were called ማእከለ፡ ባሕር (*maʾəkälä baḥər*, 'the middle of the coast'; Conti Rossini 1901:198f., 204), and thus the ruler was called also during the reign of *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon (Marrassini 1993:52). It seems that the title was abolished by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, who wanted to unify the entire administrative system of his kingdom.

However, Zärʾa Yaʿəqob's son, *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam, established the special title of B.n. for the three northern provinces of Angot, Qeda and Təgray. Soon it was used only for Təgray province, sometimes as a synonym for the name of ↗*Təgre mäkʷännən*. Later, however, these two became different titles, and with good reason. Both local rulers and their overlords in the south wanted to control the region with its lucrative trade, but they did it in different ways: whereas the rulers did their best to consolidate their local authority, their overlords tried to divide it between their nominees and made B.n. and *Təgre mäkʷännən* two rival governors in the region.

The appearance of fire-arms in quantities in the Red Sea basin at the turn of the 16th cent. gave to the B.n. the greatest fire-power in the country, which stimulated their desire for independence. The case of B.n. ↗Yəshaq is a good example of this. The B.n., sometimes loyal, sometimes rebellious, was a necessary link between the commercial coast and agrarian hinterland and remained such until Ethiopian kings were able to control both. When, during the Gondärine period (1636–1769), they lost their control over the coast, the office of B.n. disappeared and was not even mentioned in the book of the official hierarchy of the time, ↗*Śərʿatä mängəśt*.

At this time the office of *Təgre mäkʷännən* rose in prominence and occupied the fifth place in the official hierarchy. Now it was the *Təgre mäkʷännən* who controlled the access to the sea (i.e. international trade, modern goods and technology) and accordingly were growing more independent. Some of them (like ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul) tried to seize the supreme authority, others wanted to separate, some remained loyal to their overlords, but no one could provide the link to the sea for which the regular B.n. had been invested, because further development prevented any lasting control by Ethiopian monarchs over the coast.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'evangelo d'oro di Dabra Libanos", *RRALm* ser. 5, 10, 1901, 177–219, here 198f., 204; PAOLO MARRASSINI, *Lo scettro e la croce. La campagna di 'Amda Ṣeyon I contro l'Ifāt (1332)*, Napoli 1993 (StAfEt 4), 52; KaneDic 855f.; PerrZarY 47, 111; BeckHuntAlvar 114ff., 127ff., passim.

Lit.: MORDECHAI ABIR, *Ethiopia and the Red Sea. The Rise and Decline of the Solomonic Dynasty and Muslim-European Rivalry in the Region*, London 1980, 106, 126, 127, 143, 145, 148, 150, 155f., 166; BTafA 890.

Sevir Chernetsov

Baḥər nägaš in the 18th to 20th centuries

After the decline of the B.n. (Tgn. *baḥri nägaśi, baḥrägasi*), the ↗Märäb Mällaš was dominated by the ↗Däqqi Täššəm, most of their leaders holding the quasi-hereditary title of *däggyat*. Some members of this new local dynasty were also called B.n. (e.g. ↗Sälomon Täsfa Ṣəyon).

This title was now, however, inferior to the *däggyat*, and corresponded to the office of a (hereditary) leader of a locally dominant clan, thus, especially in the 19th cent., different regions having different B.n. (Kolmodin 1914:A83). These regions were, among others, Dəbarwa (↗Boḵru Sälomon), Säfʾa (↗Asgodom) and later ↗Asmära (in the mid-19th cent. under B.n. Gʷəradä Zärʾay), all of them in Ḥamasen. Also Akkälä Guzay had several B.n. (Salt 1814:239, 243, 246, s. also ↗Dəgsa). Only once in the 18th cent. it is reported that an emperor appointed a B.n. The Ḥabab leader in Saḥəl, Ezar (d. ca.

1790) was granted it as an honorific title. Even if the link with the Emperor was broken after him, his Muslim descendants still used the title as late as the 1940s in a changed form ("Signor del Sahel, e del Mar Rosso", d'Avray 1996:24, 53).

This multiplication of the title followed an older pattern, as already in the 17th cent. several B.n. were appointed simultaneously by the emperor (e.g., by Iyasu I, s. Poncet 1949:146–49), which weakened their dominance in those border areas. In the 1630s two brothers were B.n. (s. Beccari 1913:53, 94ff.: "Barnagar Joanes Acay" or "Barnagaes Akay", brother of "Barnagaes Aradon").

Nevertheless, the old glory of the title was still remembered and the Egyptians therefore tried to restore it (KilHDic 106) when they built up their own Red Sea province. In 1866 their deputy in the Sämhar plains received the new title *nāʾib al-baḥr*, styled after the title B.n. (Talhami 1979:59). In January 1876 the B.n. Godäfay of Guraᶜ with his 14 villages submitted to the Egyptians, which led to the battle of ↗Guraᶜ (Douin 1944:877, 893). Tewodros II also tried to get hold over the title again, when he confirmed it to the B.n. of Saḥarti, Habtäṣen Wäldä Gabär, a son-in-law of the powerful Ḥamasen leader ↗Ḥaylu Täwäldä Mädhən. *Aṣe* Yoḥannəs confirmed it, but he was destituted by *ras* Alula in 1888 (ErDizBio 161).

In the 20th cent., among the last prominent persons to hold the title was ↗Abbay Habtä Ṣəyon, "indigenous spokesperson" of Asmära.

Lit.: CAMILLO BECCARI (ed.), *Relationis et Epistolae variorum. Pars prima – liber IV*, Romae 1913 (Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales, vol. 8), 53, 94ff., s. index; KilHDic 105f.; JOHANNES KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega*, III: *Annales et Documents*, Roma 1914 (Archives d'études orientales 5:3), A83; CRHist 186; CHARLES JACQUES PONCET, "A Voyage to Æthiopia Made in the Years 1698, 1699, and 1700", in: WILLIAM FOSTER (ed.), *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, London 1949 (Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., no. 100), 91–165; HENRY SALT, *A Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of that Country, Executed Under the Orders of the British Government in the Years 1809 and 1810*, London 1814, 239ff.; ErDizBio 161; GEORGES DOUIN, *Histoire du règne du khédive Ismail*, vol. 3, 3B, Roma 1944, 877, 893; ANTHONY D'AVRAY, *Lords of the Red Sea, The History of a Red Sea Society from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 45), XII, 24, 53; GHADA HASHEM TALHAMI, *Suakin and Massawa under Egyptian Rule, 1865–1885*, Washington, D.C. 1979, 59.

Wolbert Smidt

Baḥər zaf ↗ Eucalyptus

Baḥrä ḥassab

B.ḥ. (**ባሕረ፡ ሐሳብ**, 'Sea of Computation' or Computus) is the designation of a type of calendar or astronomical treatises, dealing primarily with the mathematical system used by the Coptic and Ethiopian Orthodox Churches for determining their movable feasts and fasts. Manuscripts under this title can contain different treatises with a great variety of topics, ranging from short computus summaries to larger works with astronomical and meteorological tables and numerous important historical notes. Treatises like ↗*Märḥä ᶜəwwur* should also be subsumed under this class of texts. Fragments of B.ḥ. treaties may also appear in a large number of Ethiopic manuscripts.

According to Ethiopian tradition, the B.ḥ. system was first introduced by Moses. Thereafter, revisions were made by the Apostles and adopted by Archbishop Demetrios of Alexandria (ca. 230–40 A.D.). In all likelihood, the tradition confuses Demetrios with the Coptic monk Anianos who set the dates within the grand cycle of 532 years, locally called **ዓውደ፡ ቀመር** (*ᶜawdä qämär*; cf. ↗*ᶜAwdä ṣäḥay*). The system was finally refined by Abū Šākir in the 13th cent. The Ethiopian teachers also refer to the system of the B.ḥ. ↗*Abušakər*, a reference to one of several sources for the system.

The system fixes three primary dates: (a) it determines the date for Easter by relating it to the Jewish Pasch which also falls on different dates each year; (b) it makes sure that the Crucifixion falls on a Friday (Good Friday) and Easter or Resurrection on a Sunday; and (c) following the decision taken by the Council of ↗Nicaea in 325 A.D., it makes the Passion Week (the Christian Passover) follow the Jewish Pasch.

As described in B.ḥ., the system relies on a 19-year cycle called **ዓውደ፡ አበቅቴ** (*ᶜawdä abäqte*, 'the epact cycle'). At the beginning of this cycle the lunar and the solar calendars coincide. By studying the differences between the lunar and the solar years in one epact cycle, a beginning date called ↗*Mäṭqəᶜ* is computed for each of the 19 years. The Christian fathers also decided to have the fasts and feasts related to Easter to fall always on the week-days and occur within a constant number of days from Easter. To accommodate all of this, a computation sets the beginning date for the first Old Testament fast of *Nänäwe* 'Nineveh'. *Nänäwe* does not repeat

itself for 28 ᶜ*awdä abäqtes*, which constitute the ᶜ*awdä qämär* or grand cyde of 532 years (28 times 19).

Since all other movable fasts and feasts are offset by a constant number which is unique for each holiday, a complete 532 year calendar is all that is needed to determine the date of any such fast or feast. In about 400 A.D., the monk Anianos, whose name is not preserved in the Ethiopian tradition, wrote out 28 tables in which he fixed for perpetuity the dates of the fasts and feasts in each ᶜ*awdä qämär* cycle.

Src.: EMML, s. index.

Lit.: GETATCHEW HAILE, **ባሕረ፡ ሐሳብ፡ የዘመን፡ ቁጠራ፡ ቅርሳችን፡ ከታሪክ፡ ማስታወሻ፡ ጋራ** (*Baḥrä Ḥassab. Yäzämän qʷäṭära qəṣaccən kätarik mastawäša gara*, '*Baḥrä Ḥassab*. Our Heritage of Reckoning Time, with Notes of History'), Collegeville, MN 2000; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Il 'Marḥa ᶜEwûr'", *RRALm* ser. 5, 5, 1896, 363–85; MAURO DA LEONESSA, "Un trattato sul calendario redatto al tempo di Re ᶜAmda-Ṣyon I", *RSE* 3, 1943, 302–26; OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus*, Wien 1979 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 347), 68f., 166.

Ute Pietruschka – Amha Asfaw – Getatchey Haile

Baḥrəy

Abba B. (**ባሕርይ**), an ecclesiastic, was a 16th-cent. ethnographer and historian. He entered the service of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngal after being driven from his home in Gamo by ↗Oromo incursions. His **ዜናሁ፡ ለጋላ** (*Zenahu lägalla*, 'History of the Galla') – which takes its title from the manuscript's opening words – considered how a well-armed, populous and centralized state ruled by a Christian king could be defeated by pagan and ungoverned Oromo ("Galla"), amongst whom "each man did what seemed best to him" (BeckHuntAlm 114). Theological explanations were dismissed and the two polities analysed. B.'s direct method and laconic style were both uncustomary but clearly deliberate; the manuscript was a position-paper on how to halt the Oromo. The emperor could only muster a small field army because the system of social stratification discouraged monks, *däbtära*, bureaucrats, court bodyguards, landowners, agricultural labourers, artisans and minstrels from active military service, whereas the Oromo were mobile and had an egalitarian social organization in which "all men, from small to great, are instructed in warfare" and are "always alert and ready for war" (ibid. 124).

B. made three major contributions to our knowledge of the Oromo: a detailed account of Oromo migrations and expansion; a reconstruction of the two Oromo divisions, ↗Boorana and ↗Baarentuu, and the interconnected descent groups of which each was composed; and a detailed account of the cyclical generation set system (now generally known as ↗*gadaa*), through which, every eight years, power was transferred from one set, ↗*luuba*, to its designated successor. His vision was restricted by his own position as cleric and patriot and ignored the Oromo custom of adoption, ↗*moassa*, of vanquished peoples and, more importantly, Oromo religion and cosmology. The military system which B. admired was legitimated by customary sequences of prayers, anointments, blessings and sacrifices based in belief in the harmony of all things in God's (↗*waaqa*), creation.

Mohammed Hassen (1991) and Chernetsov (1994) suggest that B. was the inspirer of *aṣe* ↗Zädəngəl's military reorganizations and his campaigns against the Oromo. Chernetsov (1984) argues convincingly that B. was also the author of "The History of King Śärṣä Dəngəl".

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 109–29 [BAḪRƎY, *History of the Galla*]; ID., "Historia gentis Galla", in: *CRHist* 223–32 (text) = 195–208 (tr.); ADOLF WALTER SCHLEICHER, *Geschichte der Galla* – **ዜናሁ፡ ለጋላ**, Berlin 1893.

Lit.: SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "The 'History of the Gallas' and Death of Za-Dengel, King of Ethiopia (1603–1604)", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 803–08; ID., "Who Wrote 'The History of King Sarsa Dengel' – was it the Monk Bahrey?", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 131–36; MOHAMMED HASSEN, "The Historian Bahrey and the Importance of his "History of the Galla", *Horn of Africa* 13, 14, 1991, 90–106; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Documenti per la storia degli Oromo", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 14–15, 1991–92, 163–69; ID., "Tradizioni amariche sulle origini degli Oromo", *Annali IUO* 53, 1993, 267–77; JOSEPH TUBIANA, "Un ethnographe éthiopien au XVIe siecle", in: BERNARD KOECHLIN et al. (eds.), *De la voûte œleste au terroir, du jardin au foyer: mosaïque sociographique. Textes offerts à Lucien Bernot*, Paris 1987, 655–59.

Paul T.W. Baxter

Baḥrəy: Mäṣḥafä baḥrəy

M.b. (**መጽሐፈ፡ ባሕርይ**, 'The Book of the Pearl', possibly too 'The Book of the Essence') is a ritual for the anointing of the sick, compiled by *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob "at the end of the eighth year of his reign", that is, 1442 A.D.

According to its author, M.b. "has been ordained by our holy fathers the Apostles, (and) given to us, Christians, for (our) healing from bodily and spiritual sickness and for the remission of (our) sin, with the confession of sins to

priests". It is also called casually ጸሎተ፡ ባሕርይ (*Səlotä baḥrəy*, 'Prayer of the Pearl/Essence'), and ጸሎተ፡ ዘይት (*Səlotä zäyt*, 'Prayer of the Oil'). Why it is called *baḥrəy* is not clear, even after the author's explanation that he "called this book *baḥrəy* because it is the word of the divinity and the salvation of the soul and body takes place through it". There is more scriptural reading in it than prayers. These include, following the Nicene Creed, Gen 1:1–2; Mt 6:7–13; Mk 6:12–13; Mk 16:12–20; Lk 1:46–55; Jn 1:1–5; and Jas 5:10–20.

The reason given for the need for this ritual and the instruction are extensive, suggesting the theory that Zär'a Ya'əqob most probably composed it to reinforce his all-out campaign to root out the practice of seeking help from soothsayers and diviners (↗Magic) rather than priests. In one of his writings he thus admonishes such people: "When you fall sick, you call the magician to consult him whether you will die or live, instead of calling priests to pray over you, anointing (you) with the oil of prayer in the name of the Lord in order that you may be healed from your sickness, as the Apostle James has also said … O man who is called Christian, behold, you consult the magician so that he will tell you whether you will live or die. And he will say to you: 'You will live, you will not die', so that you may not repent, and (so) you will die with your sins and go to hell" (Getatchew Haile 1991:73f. [text]).

The fact that the few important copies of this work (e.g. EMML no. 1480, fol. 109b–114a; and BN, ms. d'Abbadie no. 69, fol. 124aff., s. Conti Rossini 1913:21f.) are transmitted to us, copied together with the Emperor's other works attacking magical practices, lends credence to the suspected reason for its composition. The rarity of its surviving copies, compared to those of other service books, indicates, however, that the Emperor's intention of eradicating pagan practices through it was not successful. Interestingly, the few copies of it we do have (especially EMML 1480 and Abbadie 69) come from the time of its author, the 15th cent. That means that there was not much demand for it by the churches. The ritual the churches use, instead, is the *Mäṣḥafä ↗qändil* ('The Book of the Lamp'), the Gə'əz version of the Coptic ritual. This is a totally different composition, even though some of the scriptural readings are inevitably the same in both texts (cf. Chaîne 1913; 1914). From the instruction in it we learn that the ritual was prepared to combine the ritual of the Anointing of the Sick and that of Penitential Baptism, much like the *Mäṣḥafä ↗qədər*. The penitent is required to be baptized and anointed with the water and oil over which the service has been performed.

Src.: TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), አንቀጸ፡ ንስሐ፡ ምስለ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ቀኖና። (*Anqäṣä nəssəḥa məslä śər'atä qännona*, 'The Gate of the Penitence and the Order of the Penance'), Addis Abäba 1974 A.M. [1981 A.D.], 13–36; GETATCHEW HAILE (ed., tr.), *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zär'a Ya'əqob of Ethiopia* (*Ṭomärä Täsbə't*), Louvain 1991 (CSCO 522–23 [SAe 95–96]), 73f. (text); EMML 1480 [EMML vol. 4, 601f.]; BN ms. d'Abbadie no. 69; CRAbb III, 21f.; ChAbb 46f.

Lit.: MARIUS CHAÎNE, "Le rituel éthiopien. Rituel de l'extrême-onction", *Bessarione* 29, 4, 1913, 420–51; ibid. 30, 1, 1914, 12–41, 213–31.

Getatchew Haile

Baḥrəy Gəmb

B.G. (ባሕርይ፡ ግምብ) is a small village located about 32km south of Gondär on the main Gondär – Baḥər Dar highway. It is the site of an old church known as Baḥrəy Gəmb Däbrä Gännät Mika'el, with a unique architectural style. The church has a large central dome, a system of double vaulting and a series of pillars. The church was not known to Europeans until the 1930s when Alberto Pollera identified the site (Pollera 1936:73). Later on some other scholars paid attention to the church's unique architecture (Monti della Corte 1938:105–11; Annequin 1965:17–22).

The earliest mention of B.G. is to be found in the royal chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Iyo'as I, who spent

Baḥrəy Gəmb, Däbrä Gännät Mika'el, 1998, photo courtesy of Jeremy Hespeler-Boultbee

the architectural style of B.G. has elements that are also found in some buildings in the Ṭana area, such as *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl's castle in Guzära, which was built in the early 16th cent. (Annequin 1965:22–25).

Src.: GuiIyas 244; Guida 379.

Lit.: ALBERTO POLLERA, *Storie, legende e favole del paese dei Negus,* Firenze 1936; ALESSANDRO AUGUSTO MONTI DELLA CORTE, *I Castelli di Gondar*, Roma 1938, 105–11; GUY ANNEQUIN, "Église de Barié-Guemb"; "Chateau de Gouzara", *AE* 6, 1965, 17–22; VERNHARD LINDAHL, *Architectural History of Ethiopia in Pictures*, Addis Ababa 1970, 69f.; LAVERLE BERRY, "The Bahri Gemb and the Genesis of Gondar-style Architecture: a Review of the Evidence", in: PAUL B. HENZE (ed.), *Aspects of Ethiopian Art from Ancient Axum to the 20th Century*, London 1993, 83–92.

Mulatu Wubneh

a night at B.G. on his way to Goğğam in 1768 (GuiIyoas 244). According to local traditions, the church of B.G. was built during the reign of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl (r. 1508–40). The construction was commissioned by a local governor named *däğğazmač* Baḥrəy (Annequin 1965:17) and some foreigners are believed to have worked on the project. But it was interrupted because of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's invasion in the 1540s, after which construction was abandoned. The building was later destroyed by the Dervishes (↗Mahdists) in 1889 and work on the church was never resumed. The church has no endowed lands or grants as is common in the founding of new churches of that era. The main reason for this is said to have been the incomplete construction of the church and the fact that it was commissioned by a local official rather than a member of the royal dynasty. However local priests have performed church services for generations.

Although the establishment of the church is dated by the tradition to the time of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl, no one has been able to ascertain whether the B.G. architecture is of the 16th cent. or later periods (Lindahl 1970:69; Berry 1993:87–90). The presence of elements of Gondärine style architecture (central dome, the style of double vaulting, arched domes and windows) seems to place the period of foundation of B.G. in the Gondärine period, possibly in the mid-18th cent. Also the lack of endowments suggests the same century (at the same time it can be explained by the fact that work on the church was never completed). Nevertheless,

Bahta Ḥagos

Däggiyat B.Ḥ. (ባህታ፡ ሐጎስ, b. between 1839–50, Sägänäyti, d. 17 December 1894, Ḥalay) was born into a rich peasant family. He rose to prominence after killing *fitawrari* Ǝmbayye, the son of the then Təgray governor, ↗Arᵓaya Śəllase Dəmṣu, in October 1875, whose soldiers had raided Akkälä Guzay. B.Ḥ., together with his two brothers (Sängal and Kaḥsu), became a ↗*šəfta*. He made his camp in ᶜAgämäda (between the Sāho area and Massawa) and ambushed Arᵓaya's and later *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda's trade convoys, trying to increase the number of firearms at his disposal (Caulk 1986:293f.).

When *ras* Alula was appointed by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV as Chief Army Commander of the highlands and extended his raids, B.Ḥ. and his followers fled to the ↗Ḥabab territory. The Ḥabab chief, *käntiba* Ḥamid, welcomed B.Ḥ. and made him the defender of Ḥabab with the title of ↗*käntiba*. B.Ḥ.'s influence grew and many other highland chiefs joined him. He started to confront Alula.

After the Egyptian power collapsed in the region, *ras* Alula began to attack the Ḥabab and the ↗ᶜAnsäba valley frequently. Then in 1885 B.Ḥ. signed a protection treaty with the Italians. He was appointed *capo di banda* and received the title *däggiyat* (↗*Däğğazmač*). B.Ḥ. settled in his former camp, ᶜAgämäda, and fought against the raids of *fitawrari* ↗Däbbäb Arᵓaya.

Due to his Catholic faith (he was converted by Giustino de ↗Jacobis in late 1870s) and record of service, B.Ḥ. was considered by the Italians one of the most loyal of the Eritrean

‘Sängäl, my brother, don’t be so stupid,
Gäbrämädhən, my brother, don’t be so stupid,
If a white snake once bites you,
You will find no cure’.

Lit.: RICHARD CAULK, “Black Snake, White Snake”, in: DONALD CRUMMEY (ed.), *Banditry Rebellion and Social Protest in Africa*, Portsmouth, NH 1986, 293–306 (Lit.); GÄBRÄ MIKAʾEL GƎRMU, ደጊያት፡ ባህታ፡ ሐጎስ፡ ሰገነይቲ (*Däggiyat Bahta Ḥagos Sägänäyti*, ‘*Däggiyat* Bahta Ḥagos of Sägänäyti’), ed. by BƎRHANÄ ABRÄHA, Asmära 1977; YƎSḤAQ YOSEF, ቀዳሞት፡ ጀጋኑ፡ ኤርትራን፡ ባህልናን (*Qädamot ǧäganu Erətran bahəlnan*, ‘The First Eritrean Heroes and our Culture’), Asmära 1997 (Lit.); KEVIN O’MAHONEY, *“The Ebullient Phoenix”. A History of the Vicariate of Abyssinia*, 3 vols., Asmara 1982, 1987, 1991; JOHANNES AXEL KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega. Traduction française*, Leipzig – Paris 1916 (Archives d’Études Orientales 5:2); MUSSIE TESFAGIORGIS, *Resistance and Collaboration: a Case Study of the Revolt of Daggiat Bahta Hagos*, Senior essay, University of Asmara 2000 (Lit.); TEKESTE NEGASH, *No Medicine for the Bite of a White Snake*, Uppsala 1986; KilHDic 106f.; YEMANE MISGHENNA, *Italian Colonialism: a Case Study of Eritrea, 1869–1934: Motive, Praxis and Result*, Lund 1989 (Lit.); VICO MANTEGAZZA, *La guerra in Africa*, Firenze 1896, 253 (ill.).

Mussie Tesfagiorgis

Baḥtawi ↗ Hermits

Bahta Ḥagos, from Mantegazza 1896:253

chiefs. However, on 14 December 1894 he called for an open revolt against the occupants and their colonial policy (expropriation of land, assassination and imprisonment of Eritrean chiefs, “womanization”). With about 2,000 men he attacked the Italian base at Ḥalay and was killed on 17 December. His followers attempted another attack from Kʷäᶜatit, but were defeated and forced to retreat to Təgray (among them his brother Sängal).

B.Ḥ.’s rebellion was among the events which compelled the Italians to rethink their land and social policy. In 1895, the Office of Colonist Settlement was abolished. On 24 May 1903 a decree ended the land expropriation and ordained the leasing of the confiscated land to the natives. The colonial government adopted a conciliatory policy towards the traditional Eritrean elite and pardoned many who fought the Italians on B.Ḥ.’s side. An epigram, with which B.Ḥ. is said to have called for an uprising, entered into popular memory:

Sängal ḫawwäy əmbəza aytᶜašu
Gäbrämädḫən ḫawwäy əmbəza aytəᶜašu
Ṣaᶜəda tämän entänäk̲isu
Dälalik̲a ayrəkkəbənyu fäwsu.

Bäkaffa

Aṣe B. (**በካፋ**, r. May 1721–September 1730) was a son of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I. His brothers *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot and *aṣe* ↗Dawit III reigned before him. B.’s accession brought to an end 15 years of conflict and weak rule and ushered in five decades of relative peace and order, a second period of cultural flowering in ↗Gondär. B. was placed on the throne by palace guards known as ↗*wəllağ* and one of his first actions was to suppress them. He was vigorous in asserting royal authority. The reigns of his predecessors, starting with his father Iyasu, had been wracked by conflicts over Christian theology. B. acted firmly to shore up the Alexandrian party and to marginalize their challengers, who operated under the banner of ↗*Qəbat*. He was an active founder of churches and an avid devotee of the Virgin Mary. His major foundations were the churches of Däfača Kidanä Məḥrät, just outside Gondär, and Qälamuǧ Kidanä Məḥrät on one of the Ṭana islands. He was also attached to the monastery of Bərgida on the north shore of Lake Ṭana.

B. was succeeded in turn by his son *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II and his grandson *aṣe* ↗Iyoʾas. However, continuity through their reigns came from

the influence of their mother, Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa), who had herself crowned in December 1730, as *nəgəśtä nəgəśtat*. Məntəwwab was not B.'s wife. This honour belonged to Awalədä Nəgəśt, to whom he was married briefly in 1723 before her death. Məntəwwab seems to have been a consort of the Emperor's later years, and appears nowhere in his Chronicle, which breaks off three and a half years before B.'s death. B.'s reputation has been much affected by the enmity which Məntəwwab and her circles nursed toward him. This is quite evident in the account of James Bruce, who claims: "He is considered as a bloody, merciless tyrant, and his memory regarded with the greatest detestation" (BruNile vol. 2, 594). There are some hints in the sources closer to B.'s reign which support this view. The principal Chronicle tells us that he sent his son away from court so that the boy might not suffer from the unpopularity which the Emperor attracted. Another chronicle tells of a succession of plots, all suppressed harshly. B. faced a number of rebels, one of them a pretender called ↗Həzqəyas, who claimed a tradition of pretenders dating back over one hundred years to the troubled reign of *aṣe* Susənyos.

Src.: BégChron vol. 2, 109–22; BruNile vol. 2, 592–608; GuiIohan 289–344 (tr.); DombrChr 270–89.
Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia: from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*, Urbana 2000, 99–102.

Donald Crummey

Bako ↗Aari

Bakri Sapaloo

Šayḫ Abuu Bakar Usmaan Odaa, popularly known as *šayḫ* B.S. (b. 1895, d. 5 April 1980), was a prominent Oromo traditional scholar and poet. The name "Sapaloo" comes from the name of the village (in Oborra district) where he was born. As a young man, B.S. spent 20 years acquiring an advanced Islamic education in different parts of ↗Harärge.

After becoming a *šayḫ*, he was involved in correspondence learning with l-Azhar University in Cairo. In addition to Islamic philosophy, his teaching ranged over geography, history, mathematics, astronomy, Arabic and the composition of writings in the Oromiffa language. His eight major works, which deal with secular as well as religious subjects, were written mainly in Arabic (Hayward – Mohammed Hassen 1983:552), although some were written in Oromiffa – at a time when, writing, preaching, teaching and broadcasting in this l anguage were prohibited.

Through his literary works, B.S. questioned the legitimacy of the Ethiopian ruling elites. He taught and preached tirelessly in various parts of Harärge and "stirred the imagination and captured the love of the Oromo masses by means of his poems, which were composed in their language and were short enough for the people to learn by heart" (ibid. 553).

B.S., who knew the Arabic and Ethiopic scripts, realized the problems inherent in writing Oromiffa using both scripts. In 1956 B.S. invented a writing system for Oromiffa, a purposefully designed system "in which all the major issues of Oromo phonology are properly

Oromo script designed by Bakri Sapaloo, from Hayward – Mohammed Hassen 1981:556

provided for" (op. cit. 555), and he started teaching it in Sapaloo. When Ethiopian officials heard about it, they banned the use of the new writing system and sentenced B.S. to ten years of house arrest in ↗Dərre Dawa, though they permitted him to teach traditional Islamic education. B.S. used his writing system to compose revolutionary poems and a 20-page anti-Šäwan pamphlet called *Šalda*. However, as the ban prevented the script from becoming popular among the Oromo in Harär, his message was accessible only to the narrow circle of B.S.'s students who were able to read it. Between 1975 and 1977 B.S. produced numerous exhilarating revolutionary poems. Most of them appeared in the pages of ↗*Barüsaa*, the weekly Oromo newspaper.

In 1978, the Ethiopian military regime branded B. as a "narrow nationalist reactionary religious leader". He escaped execution by fleeing to Hiran refugee camp in northern Somalia, where he died at the age of 85.

Lit.: RICHARD J. HAYWARD – MOHAMMED HASSEN, "The Oromo Orthography of Shaykh Bakri Sapolo", *BSOAS* 44, 3, 1981, 550–66, here 552f., 556 (ill.); ALIYI KHALIFA, *The Life and Career of Sheikh Bakrii Saphalo (1895–1980)*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2000; MAHDI HAMID MUUDEE, *Walaloo Bariisaa* ('Bariisaa Poems'), Atlanta 1996, 135–47; MOHAMMED HASSEN, "Shaykh Bakri Sapalo (1895–1980). An Outstanding Intellectual and Great Oromo Nationalist", in: GULUMA GEMEDA – BICHAKA FAYISSA (eds.), *Proœedings of the Eleventh Annual Conference of the Oromo Studies Association, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, August 9–10, 1997*, Minneapolis 1998, 111–21.

Mohammed Hassen

Balabbat

B. (**ባላባት**, 'owner-father') is an Amharic nominal compound signifying 'native', 'noble', 'squire'. The word exists also in Harari (Leslau 1963:41). The term was used to describe a person who himself or whose ancestors started to farm on more splendid land which was considered virgin. According to Ethiopian customary law, land becomes hereditary as soon as it starts to be cultivated.

The meaning of the word varies depending on the time and the region, but it usually signifies a member of the ruling class. For instance, the more-common meaning of the word B. in early times signified members of a social class which originated from the noble-born imperial settlers called ↗*ṣäwa* who, starting from the 15th cent. if not earlier, were granted the right to the land as a reward for conquering it. In Šäwa the word B. is used in the chronicle of the Šäwan princes to signify the Amhara magnates who ruled independently over areas such as ↗Mänz, ↗Märḥabete, ↗Tägulät etc. in the 16th cent.

In the territories conquered in the 19th cent. B. meant the elite of the native inhabitants of the conquered area. Land for B. was granted in exchange for a payment of rent and the carrying out of certain duties in the army and the administration. They were also bound to render services to the local representatives of authority. At times of war they took part in military expeditions.

Src.: *blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **ዝክረ፡ ነገር** (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba ²1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 112ff.; THMDic 519; ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ነገሥታት፡ ታሪክ** (*Yä'ityopya nägäśtat tarik*, 'History of Ethiopian Sovereigns'), Addis Abäba 1928 A.M. [1935/36 A.D.]; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1963, 41.

Lit.: BERHANOU ABÉBÉ, *Evolution de la propriété foncière au Choa (Ethiopie) du règne de Mènèlik à la Constitution de 1931*, Paris 1971, 10, 12, 29 et passim; JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *The Role of Land Tenure in the System of Ethiopian Imperial Government in Modern Times*, Warszawa 1980, 69.

Joanna Mantel-Niećko

Bälaččäw Yəmär

B.Y. (**በላቸው፡ ይመር**) was born either in 1869 (Taye Tadesse 1991:6) or around 1894 (Pankhurst 1966:39) near Bəčäna, Goğğam, and died in

Bälaččäw Yəmär with a son, sitting in front of one of his paintings, October/November 1928, from Norden [ca. 1930]:48

1957. According to his eldest son, Sälomon Bälaččäw (b. ca. 1919/20, d. 1997), he went to Gondär where a priest taught him to paint. Then he went to Addis Abäba and started to paint for foreign legations and visitors. He seemed to have initiated "tourist art", either alone, or together with one of his friends, Ṭasso Habtä Wäld. He was one of the most famous artists of his time and examples of his works are to be found in several books on pre-war Ethiopia. Gərma Bälaččäw (b. 1945, d. 1994), another son, also became a painter. In 1970 the latter went to live in Japan where he worked as an illustrator in Kyoto.

Lit.: GIRMA FISSEHA – WALTER RAUNIG, *Mensch und Geschichte in Äthiopiens Volksmalerei*, Innsbruck 1985, 21–24; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Some Notes for a History of Ethiopian Secular Art", *EthObs* 10, 1, 1966, 5–80, here 39–43; TAYE TADESSE, *Short Biographies of Some Ethiopian Artists*, Addis Ababa 1991, 6f.; HERMANN NORDEN, *Durch Abessinien und Erythräa*, Berlin [ca. 1930], 48.

Elisabeth Biasio

Balagär ↗ Peasantry

Baläge

B. (**ባለጌ**, 'ill-mannered, impudent, insolent …', s. KaneDic 861, 869) was the designation given to a small Christian landowner who cultivated his inherited plot of land ↗*rəst*. B. was a freeman who paid taxes only for the land he owned. The word is derived from the expression *balä ge* – ('man of the countryside'; s. Leslau 1979:140), which in the 17th cent. served as a title for minor landowning nobility. The majority of king's warriors was recruited precisely among B.'s sons who entered the military service with a hope for a new land grant in addition to his inherited plot of land. Their psychology was characterized by the spirit of independence and a steadfast loyalty towards their king and their Orthodox church. The only excuse for rebellion against the king could be his perfidy against the church, as it was with *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. With the emergence of large towns at the turn of the 20th cent. the word B. received a somewhat pejorative meaning of a rude country bumpkin.

Src.: KaneDic 861, 869.
Lit.: ALLAN HOBEN, *Land Tenure among the Amhara of Ethiopia. The Dynamics of Cognitive Descent*, Chicago – London 1973; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (*Ethiopic*), vol. 3: *Etymological Section*, Wiesbaden 1979, 140.

Sevir Chernetsov

Balambaras

B. (**ባለምባራስ**, colloquial *barambaras*, lit. 'head [*ras*] of an *amba*'; sometimes also *amba ras*) was the title of the person who was put in charge of keeping and guarding an ↗*amba* or any fortification. It is not known at what time the term came into existence, although Ethiopian tradition claims that the title was introduced by *aṣe* ↗Dawit II (B., mentioned in BeckHuntAlm xci, refers to **በዓለ፡ ሐምባል፡ ራስ**, *bäʿalä ḥambal ras*, who was in charge of king's horses and mules; ↗*Baldäras*).

In Ethiopian historiography B. is attested from the time of the ↗Gondärine kingdom. The position of B., although considered minor, could be of considerable importance, since in Ethiopia naturally fortified and hardly accessible *ambas* were often used as strategic fortresses, munitions depots, places of refuge etc. B. also might have administered the civil population living in such an *amba*.

In the time of *aṣe* Mənilək II the title B. seems to have been granted to the smaller local governors originally imposed on the central, predominantly Christian regions. Thus, *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel had the title B. while ruling the areas around Ǝnṭoṭṭo. Afterwards, the title was incorporated into the official military hierarchy of the Ethiopian Empire, occupying the 9th position immediately after *qäñazmač* and *grazmač* (↗*Azmač*). The title B. was borne by such well-known persons as ↗Abbäbä Arägay. In the post-Italian war period the title B. referred to the office of smaller local governors (also in the southern provinces, e.g., ↗Aike Birinas), but high officials and statesmen, e.g., ↗Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl, also kept it or received it (like ↗Aššäbbər Gäbrä Ḥəywät) as an honorary title.

↗Titles

Src.: THMDic 419; BeckHuntAlm xci; *blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **ዝክረ፡ ነገር** (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba ²1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 645; GueCopMen 245, n. 7; BTafA s. index.

Denis Nosnitsin

Balämʷal

B. (**ባለሟል**, 'favourite'; s. KaneDic 862) is not so much an official title as a court epithet referring to a very limited number of people (not necessarily even courtiers) who had free access to the emperor and constituted a narrow circle of his private counsellors. They could be assigned to

some high offices or not. These men (and sometimes even women) were chosen by the sovereign for their intellectual and moral virtues and their influence, considerable indeed, depended mostly on the sovereign's attitude, changeable as it was.

Src.: KaneDic 862.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Civil Titles and Offices in the Reign of Emperor Menilek II, 1889–1913", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 597–612 (Lit.).

Sevir Chernetsow

Bäläs

B. (በለስ) is one of the largest tributaries of the ↗Abbay which flows from the north-east to the south-west and follows the general alignment of the basin. It has a catchment area of 3,474km² with a basin closure at Pawe. The B. catchment is bounded on the north by the Dəndär river basin, on the north-east by the Ṭana basin, on the south by Wänbära basin and on the west by the Dabus basin.

From the geological point of view, the lower and the middle parts of the basin are composed of metavolcanics and metasediments. The dominant rocks are granites, schists, gneisses and pegmatites. The upper western part of the basin is formed from Eocene basaltic lava flows, while the eastern part is composed of Miocene and Pliocene basaltic lava flows and trachytic lava flows and domes.

The annual total rainfall in the B. basin ranges from 1,000 mm in the south-western part to 2,000 mm on the mountainous north-eastern sector, with the average value amounting 1,280 mm for the entire basin. The mean monthly temperature in the basin falls between 21°C and 28°C.

The monthly average discharge of the river varies between 0.62 m³/second in April and 251 m³/second in August. The annual average flow of the river is about 51 m³/second. Since the B. is a perennial type, the base-flow from the groundwater reserve to the river is 61x106 m³/year while, the surface run-off from the basin amounts to 1129x 106 m³/year.

Throughout the year the river is characterized by its high turbidity, which increases during the rainy months. It contains a high sediment load in the months of July (1,778,000 tons in the year 1964), August (1,736,000 tons in 1987) and September (1,057,000 tons in 1990). This high sediment load is attributed to poor farming methods and extensive deforestation in the basin.

Prickly pear in the Eritrean mountains (photo 1990s), © Research and Information Centre of Eritrea, Rome

The water quality of the river is good and has a very low sodium adsorption ratio and very low salinity hazard. It is due to this fact that farmers use its water for irrigation purposes throughout its course.

B. was a part of the Ṭana-Bäläs Irrigation and Hydroelectric Program, launched by the *Därg*, run by the Fondo Aiuti Italiani (FAI) and finally abandoned in 1991.

↗Nile

Tamiru Alemayehu

Bäläs

B. (በለስ), as the prickly pear cactus (*Opuntia* species) is called in Amharic and Təgrəñña, is a fleshy and succulent plant belonging to the botanical family *Cactaceae*. B. is a native of the tropical parts of America and could probably have been introduced to the Horn of Africa from the Middle East, particularly Syria. The plant is devoid of true leaves and covered with clusters of spines and consists of flattened joints inserted upon each other. B. has large yellow flowers and mostly green and some purplish edible fruits covered with prickles.

Historical evidences point to an introduction by the Catholic Mission in the mid-19th cent., first to ↗Ḥebo in Akkälä Guzay and ↗Alitena in the Irob land (Tsegay Berhe 1996:6, 140).

B. is an important plant species in the semi-arid zones of Eritrea and Təgray. It is widely used for fresh-fruit consumption, animal feed, and in conservation programs. B. covers more than 10,000 ha in Eritrea and 35,000 ha in Təgray.

(Opuntia ficus-indica [Cactaceae]) in South Africa: Utilization of the Naturalized Weed and of Cultivated Plants", *Economic Botany* 47, 1993, 154–62; UNITED NATIONS FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION [FAO], *Traditional Food Plants: a Resource Book for Promoting the Exploitation and Consumption of Food Plants in Arid, Semi-Arid and Sub-Humid Lands of Eastern Africa*, Rome 1988 (FAO paper 42); OFFICE OF SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE AND ECONOMIC REHABILITATION OF TEGRAY (SAERT), *Prickly Pear Cactus Development Project for Southern and Eastern Tigray*, 1994; TSEGAY BERHE, *A History of 'Agamä, 1822 – 1914*, M.A. thesis, School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa University 1996, 6f., 140.

Tesema Chekol

Prickly pear in the Eritrean mountains (photo 1990s), © Research and Information Centre of Eritrea, Rome

Because of its drought tolerance and overall hardiness, B. is especially important in areas frequently affected by drought and for soils prone to erosion. Moreover, B. fruits are available during the grain-deficient months of July–September. B. cultivation practices in the region are very primitive and minimal, as most of it grows in the wild. The species is also a potential threat to some of the local plant genetic resources. Virulent under arid conditions, it has an advantage to outcompete the indigenous plants.

The B. fruit is mainly consumed within the vicinity of the growing-areas. However, some of the produce is carried in baskets and sold along the highways and in market places. The trade is an especially important source of income for poor farmers, who walk up to 30km to collect the fruits in the wilderness. Because of the terrain-limited accessibility to the trees, fruit collection sometimes requires use of long sticks topped with tin cups. Since the fruits ripen during the summer school recess, some students also get involved in B. selling to earn extra cash. B. consumption can be a social occasion, as people go to the market in groups of two to four and purchase and consume in turns. The seller will cut the fruit with a local knife, give the flesh to the customers and heap the rinds as a check for the amount owed. By doing so, the experienced seller will also save the customers from the prickles. It is one of the cheapest foods available in this region, but people should not consume too much B. since it gives a bulky feeling and can cause constipation.

Lit.: AZENE BEKELE-TESEMMA, *Useful Trees and Shrubs for Ethiopia: Identification, Propagation and Management for Agricultural and Pastoral Communities*, Addis Ababa 1993 (Regional Soil Conservation Unit, SIDA); M. O. BRUTSCH – H. G. ZIMMERMAN, "The Prickly Pear

Bäläsa

The B. (በለሳ), a river of Gondär province – not to be confused with the Eritrean stream of the same name (cf. the following entry) – is a left-bank tributary of the ↗Täkkäze. It rises about 20 km north-east of Gondär town. From its source the B. runs fairly straight in an easterly direction until its waters, shortly before uniting with those of the Bälägäz, flow into the Täkkäze after a course of approximately 100 km.

By extension, the name B. historically also has been applied to the region through which the B. river runs, in particular to the lands in its south. This B. region is bounded by the historical districts of ↗Dämbəya to the west and, beyond the Täkkäze, ↗Wag in the east.

It should be noted that about 60 km north of the B. river, at the north-western foothills of the Səmen mountains east of Däbarq, there is a small town also bearing the name of B.

Lit.: HuntGeogr 34, 91, 96, 171, 244 (Lit.); BTafA 891 (Lit.); DONALD CRUMMEY – SHUMET SHISHAGNE, "The Lands of the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qʷesqʷam, Gondär", in: *PICES* 10, 213–18.

Tsegaye Tegenu – Michael Kleiner

Bäläsa

The B. (በለሳ, also May Bäläsa) is the most important tributary of the ↗Märäb in the Hazəmo plains and has its source near Zalambäsa. It is already mentioned in the Chronicle of *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl, who in 1578 attacked the *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq, camping at the B. (CRHist 73). Traditionally, the B. served, together with the Märäb, as the border between the territories of the *baḥər nägaš* and the *təgre mäkʷännən* (Bruce 1791:203 calls it "Balezat"). Later, when the office of the *baḥər*

nägaš declined, it still served as a local borderline, separating ↗ᶜAgamä from the small regions within the former province of ↗Bur in the north (d'Abbadie 1868:538f.). After the battle of B. in 1843/44, the Akkälä Guzay descent groups in the north were subjugated by *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam from ᶜAgamä, who appointed *blatta* Koḳobe governor over the lands across the B. The Akkälä Guzay province having been formed in the mid-19th cent., the B. again served as border river. After the Italians had proclaimed their Colonia Eritrea in 1890, they unilaterally made the B. their border. The so-called "Märäb-Bäläsa-May Muna line" was only recognized by *aṣe* Mənilək II in the Italo-Ethiopian Addis Abäba agreement of 10 July 1900.

Src.: CRHist 62ff. (text) = 72ff. (tr.); JAMES BRUCE, *Reisen in das Innere von Africa, nach Abyssinien und den Quellen des Nils*, tr. by ERNST WILHELM CUHN, Leipzig 1791, 203f.; ARNAULD D'ABBADIE, *Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute-Ethiopie* (*Abyssinie*), vol. 1, Paris 1868, 538f.; GueCopMen 445; *Guida* 269f.; KilHDic 113.

Wolbert Smidt

Balaw

The origin of the name B. (also Bäläw), designating a mixed group including either "Beğaized" Arabs and/or Arabized B. rulers of the ↗Sawākin area, is still conjectural and balances between an ethnic and geopolitical definition. In the ↗Beğa language *balâwi* means 'an Arab'. According to Sudanese traditions (Yusuf Fadl Hasan 1967:218; Newbold 1951:330) the B. are the result of an Arab influx in the Sudan, among whom are the Ballî or Billî tribes originating from Ḥiğāz. Prudently, Zaborski (1976) excludes any relation between the B. and the ancient Blemmyes, as with the Balliyūn.

In ↗ᶜAfar, two subgroups, the Bollí Buḍá and the Balawtá, are found in Randá, north of Tağūra, where they are said to have migrated from the Massawa region in order to defend the ↗ᶜAdal *sulṭāns*. The *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (BassHist 255), reports that *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhîm al-Ġāzî was a B., whose family came from the Təgre region in the time of Saᶜdaddīn Abū l-Barakāt Muḥammad.

One may conjecture that an ethnically homogeneous group, the so-called B. resulting from the fusion between Arab elements and local Beğa, migrated from the area of Sawākin (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1964, vol. 2, 162; Conti Rossini 1928:278) towards the south, where they became part of the ruling class of ᶜAdal.

Munzinger (1864:142) thinks that the B. took power in the lowlands of ↗Wälqayt (Zaga, or Mazaga region) in the 15th cent. In the 16th cent. and after (Almeida, in Beccari 1907; also the chronicle of the wars waged by Iyasu II, s. GuiIyas), B. is used as a generic term to designate the peoples living beyond ᶜAqordät, namely the ↗Funğ, and also the Təgray Muslims (s. *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, e.g. in BassEth 319).

The B. helped the Turks to take the port of Massawa and, after they left, became governors of the town and of the coastal plain of Sämhar (Əmkullu, Ḥərgigo). In 1578, Sawākin is still described as a "Bello kingdom" (s. *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 1910, 620), but their situation declines. James Bruce mentions "Beloowee" as shepherds of the ↗Ḥabab (also of Beğa origin but Təgre speakers; BruNile vol. 4, 203).

Superseded by the Beni ᶜAmər and freed from Funğ rule in eastern Sudan, the B. gained a new political importance in the south. The chief of Zaylaᶜ, *imām* ↗Maḥfūẓ b. Muḥammad (d. 1517) was a B. His daughter was the first wife of *imām* Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī. Even though the B. of Wälqayt must have been of a different ethnic origin than the *imām*, they helped him in his raids against Səmen and Aksum. After the collapse of the *ğihād* and the death of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, the *imām*'s widow took refuge in Wälqayt.

One should note similarities in the devolution of power among the Beni ᶜAmər, ᶜAdal and ᶜAd Ḥamad Baḥīt of ᶜAqordät and the ᶜAdal in Tağūra (perhaps of Balawtá background), where after the *sulṭān*'s death, the *wazīr* was put in

charge, after his death being replaced by the former *sulṭān*'s son.

Src.: BassHist 255, 319; MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABDALLĀH IBN BAṬṬŪṬA, *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Tuḥfat an-nuẓẓār fī ġarāʾib al-amṣār wa-ʿağāʾib al-asfār*, 'The Travelling of Ibn Baṭṭuṭa …', Bayrūt 1964, vol. 2, 162; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Storia d'Etiopia*, Milano 1928, 255, 277, 278f.; WERNER MUNZINGER, *Ostafrikanische Studien. Mit einer Karte von Nord-Abyssinien und den Ländern am Mareb, Barka und Anseba*, Schaffhausen 1864, 142; MANOEL DE ALMEIDA, *Historia Aethiopiae*, Roma 1907–08; CAMILLO BECCARI, *Rerum aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, vol. 4, Rome 1907; GuiIyas; [Anonymous], *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 48, 1910, 620.

Lit.: SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, "Notes on Beni-Amer Society", *Sudan Notes and Records* 26, 1945, 51–94; DOUGLAS NEWBOLD, "Newbold's file II:330", in: OSBERT GUY STANHOPE CRAWFORD, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar. With a Geographical Account of the Middle Nile Region*, Gloucester 1951, New York ²1978, 110ff.; YUSUF FADL HASSAN, *The Arabs and the Sudan: from the Seventh to the Early Sixteenth Century*, Edinburgh 1967, 218; ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI, "Notes on the Medieval History of the Beja Tribes", *Folia Orientalia* 7, 1976, 289–307.

Didier Morin

Bäläw Täklä Haymanot ↗ Täklä Haymanot, *däğğazmač*

Bälay Zälläqä

Däğğazmač B.Z. (**በላይ፡ ዘለቀ**, "horse name" **አባ፡ ኮስትር** Abba Kostər, b. 1909, Boräna, Wällo, d. 1945, Addis Abäba) was an outstanding leader of the Patriots in Goğğam, who participated in the ↗resistance against the Italians during the occupation. He emerged from a brigand leader to become a national hero with his five-year struggle against the Italian rule in Ethiopia.

B.Z.'s father, *baššа* Zälläqä Laqäw, came from Bəčäna and served as a bodyguard of *läğ* Iyasu. His mother, *wäyzäro* Ṭaytu Assäne was from Boräna-Sayənt, Wällo. When *läğ* Iyasu was overthrown, B.Z.'s father moved first to Č̣aqäta, his wife's birth-place, and later to Lämčän in Goğğam, taking his two sons, B.Z. and Ǝğğəgu. In 1924 the local governor surrounded his residence and asked him to surrender. Zälläqä Laqäw and his relatives resisted, an exchange of fire followed and Zälläqä was killed and hanged by the local chief in B.Z.'s presence. Henceforth B.Z. was preoccupied with revenge. He became a brigand and was joined by some male members of his family. Thus, in the lowlands around the bank of the Abbay the number of his followers increased considerably even before the Italian occupation of Ethiopia in 1936.

When B.Z. learned that Italians had invaded Ethiopia he decided to fight. Within a few days he found a convoy of the Italian army proceeding from Däbrä Marqos to Bəčäna, there he ambushed and killed most of them and took their weapons. He was successful in most of his further fighting with the Italians in Goğğam, Wällo and Šäwa. As his war activities intensified and his followers increased, many began to address him as "*ləʿul* Bälay" ('His Highness Bälay') and "*aṣe* bägulbätu" ('King by his own might'). B.Z. bestowed upon his followers the traditional titles, such as *qäñña*z*mač*, *fitawrari*, *däğğazmač* and *ras*. When his brother, *däğğazmač* Ǝğğəgu, asked him: "What title is left for you, as you have given all to your followers?", he replied: "I need no title as my mother had already called me Bälay" (Amh. 'one who is superior to others').

After the restoration of independence in 1941, *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I gave him the title of *däğğazmač* and appointed him governor of Bəčäna. He tried to fill the subordinate positions with his past comrades-in-arms, but his superiors wanted to appoint judges and other functionaries themselves. When B.Z. refused to appoint those protegées, the superior Goğğam officials reported this to the Emperor, alleging that B.Z. was revolting against the Emperor's government. He did not carry out the order, even when Ḫaylä Śəllase summoned the quarrelling parties to Addis Abäba. The Emperor sent an army to arrest him, but B.Z. resisted by holding out in a fortress on Somma mountain. After losing many men, the Emperor dispatched a delegation to him with a promise that he would pardon him, but after B.Z. surrendered, he was tried by a special commission and sentenced to death.

B.Z.'s death penalty was confirmed by the Emperor, but changed later to life imprisonment. After a few years in prison he made an escape attempt under pressure from *läğ* Mammo Ḫaylä Mikaʾel, an Italian collaborator who was imprisoned in the compound of the Grand Palace with him. They were re-arrested and brought to justice. B.Z. was hanged with his brother Ǝğğəgu and other rebels on 12 January 1945 at Addis Kätäma.

Lit.: TSEHAI BERHANE SELLASSIE, "Bälay Zäläqä", in *Encyclopaedia Africana – Dictionary of African Biography*, New York 1977, vol. 1, 56; DAVID SHIREFF, *Bare Feet and Bandoliers*, London 1995, 293; ABÄRRA ǦÄMBÄRE, **አባ፡ ኮስትር** (*Abba Kostər*), Addis Abäba 1990 A.M. [1997/98 A.D.].

Aberra Jembere

Balča Śafo

Däğğazmač B.Ś. (**ባልቻ፡ ሣፎ**, "horse-name" **አባ፡ ነፍሶ** Abba Näfso; b. 1860, Agämğa, d. 1963, Bäčč̣o) was a royal treasurer and provincial governor.

B.Ś. fell victim to the war of conquest in the 1870s, in which he was mutilated and then brought to the court of Mənilək II, where he was baptized with *ras* ↗Mäk^{w}ännən Wäldä Mika^{ə}el as his godfather, and became a palace page. In the mid-1880s he ascended to the rank of *bäğəzond* and thus was in charge of the royal treasury, arms depot and other articles. In the next decade, he demonstrated his bravery and talent in military tactics and his skill in the operation of cannons, especially in the campaign which led to the battle of ↗^{c}Adwa. He was subsequently appointed governor of Sidamo with the title of *däğğazmač* and he founded ↗Hagärä Sälam as his provincial capital. On the seventh anniversary of the victory of ^{c}Adwa, he paraded in Addis Abäba at the head of a huge army raised from this province. In 1908, he was transferred to ↗Harärge, which he governed until he was reinstated to Sidamo in 1910.

In 1914, *ləğ* ↗Iyasu kept B.Ś. in confinement in his native district and thus he became one of the leading campaigners against the Prince when deposed in September 1916. He fought and defeated supporters of *ləğ* Iyasu at Mə^{ə}eso and subsequently took control of Harär. The new government reinstated him to the gubernatorial office of Sidamo, which he held until 1928 when he was accused of insubordination by the central government, and was arrested in a stratagem in Addis Abäba. He was kept in custody in Holäta (Gännät) and Addis ^{c}Aläm, respectively, before he was obliged to retire to Agämğa, where he owned a vast property.

In 1936, B.Ś. mobilized a sizeable force and attacked the Italians at Addis Abäba in collaboration with other resistance fighters, after which he retreated to Bäčč̣o (to the south of Addis Abäba), where he was killed by a pursuing Italian force. He was buried by his followers at the church of Bantu Mika^{ə}el in Bäčč̣o and his remains were later translated to the Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral in Addis Abäba. He is remembered as a courageous, generous, patriotic and religious man.

Src.: HerTar 28; MahHorse 231f.; GueCopMen 345–62, 392, 415–31ff.; KÄBBÄDÄ TÄSÄMMA, **የታሪክ፡ ማስታወሻ** (*Yätarik mastawäša*, 'Historical Memoirs'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M., ^{2}1963 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 71–74.

Lit.: JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale: journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama, septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 150f.; BAIRU TAFLA, "Four Ethiopian Biographies: Däjjazmač Gärmame, Däjjazmač Gabra Egzi'abeher Moroda, Däjjazmač Balča and Käntiba Gäbru Dästa", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 1–31; TSEHAI BERHANESELASSIE, "The Life and Career of Däjazmač Balča Aba Näfso", *JES* 9, 2, 1971, 173–89.

Bairu Tafla

Baldäras

The term B. (**ባልደራስ**, also **ቡላደራስ** *buladäras*) is usually explained as the office of the equerry or the person in charge of ↗horses and ↗mules (THMDic 520), or, in a broader sense, as a chief of the cavalry (KaneDic 869). The etymology of the term is undear, but the part *ras* ('head') clearly refers to the position of the major commander.

The term seems to have come into use in the time of the ↗Gondärine kingdom. B. became a person of importance, since the horses of noble pedigree, appropriate for the dignity of emperors, were extremely expensive and difficult to obtain in Ethiopia. In the 17th–18th cent. the number of horses rose and their importance increased in both ritual court life (↗*Gəbbi*) and the army (↗Cavalry). Nevertheless, unlike the *bä^{c}alä ḫambal ras* and *ṭaräsəmba* ↗*azzaž*, who had to deal with the royal stables as well, B. was not included in the register of court titles.

In the 18th cent. there were a number of persons bearing the title of B. The Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I mentions several B., who with other loyal dignitaries opposed rebels at the palace of Gondär: B. Isayəyyas "with his gunmen", B. Dänne, B. Rädda, B. ^{c}Aśme, B. Adäru, B. Wäldä Mäläkot, horse-tamer Dari Hon (and) Adaru mule-tamer …" (GuiIohan 58), then B. Wälde (GuiIohan 68). But at the same time the title of B. tended to be separated from the function; e.g., a certain B. Abessalom from *aṣe* ↗Iyo^{ə}as's time acted as a low-level military commander, perhaps appearing further as *azzaž*, *grazmač* and *käntiba* (GuiIyas 180f., 191, 202, 241). The Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa mentions B. Aykal's promotion to ↗*balambaras* (GuiIohan 313).

The office of B. was firmly established by *aṣe* Mənilək II, who incorporated it into the palace houshold (GueCopMen 318). The subsequent reorganization of the administrative system and the army created a growing need for horses, mules and livestock, as well as for the organization of regular fodder supplies. Thus, three B. with assis-

tants were appointed and a number of good pastures were reserved for state grazing lands, with local inhabitants (usually ↗*gäbbar*) recruited for cutting and stacking grass. The B. used to bear the title of *balambaras*, but in the time of Ḫaylä Śəllase I it was already *qäñña zmač*, with the B.'s deputy having the title of *grazmač*. In the military hierarchy B. was put in the 11th place.

Src.: KaneDic 869; THMDic 520; GuiIohan 58, 68, 313; GuiIyas 180f., 191, 202, 241; *blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **ዝክረ ነገር** (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba ²1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 22f., 642ff.; GueCopMen 318, 451.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, *Economic History of Ethiopia 1800–1935*, Addis Ababa 1968, 148 s. index.

Denis Nosnitsin

Baldissera, Antonio

B. (b. 1838, Padova, d. 1917, Firenze), having lost his father, was educated at the expense of Empress Marianne, wife of Ferdinand I. He was trained in the Austrian army and later went to Italy. In 1887 he was in Massawa commanding a brigade of the expedition corps that had been prepared after *ras* Alula Ǝngəda's victory over the Italians at ↗Dogᶜali. The following year he was Supreme Commander of the Italian military corps. He was responsible for the military and civil reorganization of the already-occupied territories, attracting various populations to the Italian orbit and, moreover, signing a protectorate convention with the ↗Beni ᶜAmər (s. Ministero degli Affari Esteri 1888–89:139–42).

After the death of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, B. occupied Asmära on 3 October 1889, setting up Italian head-quarters in the *tukul* of *ras* Alula, and subsequently laid down the basis of the Eritrean colony's institutions. B., who did not support, and above all considered dangerous, Pietro ↗Antonelli's policy of total support to *aṣe* Mənilək II, was, on the other hand, in favour of maintaining a stable agreement with *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs, governor of Təgray. Consequently, he asked for and was granted a "recall". He was sent back to Eritrea on the eve of the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa to take the position of Oreste ↗Baratieri, who was unaware of this. On 4 March 1896, three days after the defeat of ᶜAdwa, he took over supreme command of the Italian defence positions in Eritrea and then set up peace negotiations with Mənilək. He was Governor of Eritrea until March 1897 and, once back in Italy, was nominated senator.

Src.: ANTONIO BALDISSERA, *Relazione sull'occupazione di Asmara*, Roma 1889; MINISTERO DEGLI AFFARI ESTERI (ed.), *Etiopia – Mar Rosso. Documenti*, Roma 1888–89 (L'Italia in Africa, serie storica, vol. 7), 139–42.

Lit.: ROBERTO BATTAGLIA, *La prima guerra d'Africa*, Torino 1958, passim; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale. Dall'Unità alla marcia su Roma*, Roma – Bari 1976, 299–303, 710–18; NICOLA LABANCA, *In marcia verso Adua*, Torino 1993, s. index.

Marco Lenci

Bale

Bale history

The name B. (**ባሌ**, also Bali, Baalee) comes from the historical Muslim state of B., located in the northern part of the present administrative region of B. The medieval state of B. was bordered by the medieval Muslim states of ↗Däwaro and Šarka in the north, ↗Hadiyya in the west, ↗ᶜAdal and Däwaro in the east and the huge grazing-ground of ↗Oromo pastoralists in the south. Like other Muslim states in southern Ethiopia, such as Šäwa, ↗Ifat, Däwaro, ↗Fäṭägar, Hadiyya, ↗Wag, ᶜAdal, and ↗Harär, B. came into existence sometime between the 11th and the 13th cent. Islamic influences brought by traders and preachers facilitated the formation of these states. Islam gave the rulers a means of governing larger and more complex political structures by providing them with ideological unity as well as access to international Islamic thought, which enabled them to transcend narrow parochial loyalties. Islam also provided a sort of international "passport" which allowed traders, teachers and preachers to dwell in and move freely within these states from the port of ↗Zaylaᶜ on the north Somali coast to B. in the rich highlands of southern Ethiopia.

The history of the Muslim state of B. is intimately linked with the history of *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn, the great early-13th-cent. standard bearer of Islam in B. He was a Muslim scholar of Arab origin, who played a key role in the spread of Islam in B. *Šayḫ* Ḥusayn remains the single most accomplished missionary saint in southern Ethiopia, the ultimate paradigm of saintly virtues and powers (*baraka*). Since the 13th cent. the shrine of *šayḫ* Ḥusayn in B. has been the centre of Islamic diffusion and the rallying-point for all the Muslims in southern Ethiopia.

The Muslim state of B. was famous for its cotton-cloth-weaving industry, and its foreign

traders, including Arabs and Persians. Like other Muslim states of southern Ethiopia, B. was conquered by *aṣe* ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I (r. 1314–44) and became part of the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia. Of all the Muslim states of southern Ethiopia, it was B. that seems to have shaped the course of early Oromo history. Historical B. was the original home of primeval Oromo groups that were engaged in a mixed economy. It was also in B. where the Oromo oral calendar and the *qaalluu* institution developed under the influence of both Muslim and Christian ideas. In short, as one of the most vigorous Muslim states, B. was the seedbed of Islamic culture in southern Ethiopia.

Src.: *Rabīʿ al-qulūb fī ḏikr manāqib wa-faḍāʾil sayyidinā š-šayḫ Nūr Ḥusayn* ('The Springtime of the Hearts in Remembrance of the Merits and the Virtues of *šayḫ* Nūr Ḥusayn'), Addis Abäba 1927.

Lit.: BOGUMIL WITALIS ANDRZEJEWSKI, "Sheikh Hussen of Bali in Galla Oral Tradition", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 463–80; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "Islamic Principalities in Southeast Ethiopia between the Thirteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", *Ethiopianist Notes* 1, 1977, 17–55; *ibid.* 2, 1–43; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (ed.), *The Glorious Victories of Amda-Seyon: King of Ethiopia*, London 1965, 3f., 34, 36, 67; ID., *The Galla of Ethiopia: the Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero*, London 1955, 18; MOHAMMED HASSEN, "Islam as a Resistance Ideology among the Oromo in Ethiopia: the Wallo Case, 1770–1900", in: SAID S. SAMATAR (ed.), *In the Shadow of Conquest: Islam in Colonial Northeast Africa*, Trenton, NJ 1992, 76–82; TadTChurch.

Mohammed Hassen

Bale geography

B. is the name of a vast administrative region in southeastern Ethiopia. Physically, it is a highland massif of mesozoic trap rocks (above 3,000 m A.S.L.) dominated by Mount Batu (4,307 m A.S.L.). It is demarcated in the east by a loop of the headwater of the Wabi Šäbälle and in the west by the headwater of the Gänale Doriya, which, running to the south, separates B. from the mountains of the Kəbrä Mängəśt area. The volcanic highlands of B. are covered with forests and, at greater heights, by afro-alpine grassland. To the east and to the south are abrupt escarpments. The massif towers above sedimentary mesozoic plateaus and is covered by forests interrupted with clearings. The stream of the Wäyb (a tributary of Gänale Doriya) runs for 15 km under the layers of limestone through the Sof Omar caves it once created. Further east the plateau lowers down to a steppe which extends to a point 500 m short of the Somalian border. The precipitation level is under 200 mm per annum; salted and gypseous lakes are exploited by the local stockbreeders (ʿEl Där/Ceel Der).

The B. national park endeavours to protect highland forests and fauna, which seriously suffered from widespread fires in spring 2000. The authorities make great efforts to attract tourists and to organize tours of the Sof Omar caves. Each year, thousands of pilgrims perform their devotions to the tomb of *šayḫ* Ḥusayn. With the Islamicization of the Oromo in B. and ↗Arsi, this pilgrimage has little by little supplanted the traditional pan-Oromo ↗*abbaa muudaa* pilgrimage – as a reaction to the brutal conquest and the imposition of tenure. Between 1963 and 1967, the Oromo peasants under the leadership of ↗Waqoo Gutu took up arms against the Ethiopian army. They finally had to submit, and Ḫaylä Śəllase I gave his pardon in order to prevent an agreement between the revolting Oromo and the Western Somalia Liberation Front. During the ↗Revolution, various fronts tried to renew this alliance.

The B. highlands are densely populated by Oromo whereas the lowlands and plains are mostly in use by Somali nomads. The B. administrative zone (Oromiyaa *kəllə*l) had in 2000 (s. Central Statistical Authority [ed.] 2000) estimated 1,453,750 inhabitants for 63,914 km² (the average population density is 22 persons/km²). Western *wärädas* have a population density high above the national average (55 persons/km²): 164.5 persons/km² in Kokosa and 94 persons/km² in Dodola. The capital of B.,

Gobba, had 30,069 inhabitants in 2000 (vs. 3000 in 1938, s. *Guida*) and the gate city of the B. national park, Dodola, has 28,924 inhabitants.

Before the administrative reform of 1987, the B. government-general (since 1974) included, in addition to four Oromo *awrağğas* of Dollo, Mädayo, Ganale and Wabe, the Somali *awrağğa* of ʿEl Käre (Ceel Kere) with an area of 64,385 km². Since 1991 ʿEl Käre has been a part of Somali *kəllə*; it consists of Afdär Zone (384,025 inhabitants) and Libän Zone (510,990 inhabitants, which means a density of 14 persons/km² for both zones). Thus, in order to properly see the demographic growth since the censuses of 1970 (683,800 inhabitants, i.e. density of 5.3) and of 1984 (1,006,491 inhabitants, i.e. density of 7.8) in 2000 one has to take the sum of the population of the three zones (B., Afdär and Libän), which totals 2,348,765 inhabitants. One can notice the demographic stagnation between the first two censuses, which was due to the civil war, state politics and the villagization imposed by Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam at the time of the integrated rural development project of the BARDU (B. Arsi Agricultural Development Unit), launched by the Swedes in Arsi (first CADU: Çəlalo Agricultural Development Unit then ARDU: Arsi Agricultural Development Unit).

From the conquest (end of the 19th cent.) until 1935, B. induded Oromo and Somali. *Sayyid* ↗Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh Ḥasan (Maxamed Cabdulle Xasan) died from the flu in 1921 in the town of Imi located between the Oromo and the Somali territories – even for him, the border was unsurpassable. Ethnic discrepancies between the Somali and Oromo, as well as between nomadic stockbreeders and farmers are being overcome by the common religion of Islam. From 1960 to 1987, the B. was a government-general with the Oromo gathered in the north and the Somali in the south. Between 1942 and 1960 there was no administrative unit of B. as it was absorbed by the government-general of Harär. During the Italian occupation, the north belonged to Harär, whereas the south was incorporated into the ↗Italian Somaliland. This succession of disappearance-reappearance is typical of a region which is still only loosely connected to the rest of Ethiopia.

Lit.: ABBAS HAJJI, "Le rôle du culte de Chaikh Hussein dans l'islam des Arssi", *Islam et sociétés au sud du Sahara* 5, novembre 1991, 21–42; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "The Sanctuary of Shaykh Husayn and the Oromo-Somali Connections in Balé (Ethiopia)", *Frankfurter Afrikanistische Blätter* 1, 1989, 108–34; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1998; ID., *Statistical Abstract 1999*, Addis Ababa 2000; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY, *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988; GEBRU TAREKE, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest. Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge – New York 1991 (African Studies Series 71); ALAIN GASCON, *La Grande Éthiopie, une utopie africaine. Éthiopie ou Oromie, l'intégration des hautes terres du Sud*, Paris 1995 s. index; *Guida*; FOOD AND AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS (ed., with H. P. HUFFNAGEL), *Agriculture in Ethiopia*, Roma 1961; OFFICE OF THE POPULATION AND HOUSING CENSUS COMMISSION, *Ethiopia 1984. Population & Housing Census Preliminary Report*, Addis Ababa, vol. 1, no. 1, September 1984; MARGERY PERHAM, *The Government of Ethiopia*, London 1948; ADRIEN ZERVOS, *L'Empire éthiopien. Le Miroir de l'Éthiopie moderne 1906–1935*, Addis Abeba 1935.

Alain Gascon

Balgäda

B. (ባልገዳ, or በጎል፡ ገዳ *bäʿal gäda*) was a name for a special official whose responsibilities included the organization of salt caravans, which "were organized […] on almost military lines" (Pankhurst 1968:242) from the mining place at Arho in ↗Dankali desert to ↗Ǝndärta and further into the hinterland. B.'s headquarters were precisely at Ǝndärta. His functions were important both economically and politically, and for Ethiopian monarchs there was often a problem of whom to appoint to Ǝndärta. Certainly, B. had to be chosen among local rulers, who knew the situation well and were strong enough to cope with the warlike ↗ʿAfar. However, these functions increased his political and economic influence to an extent that could be dangerous for the supreme authority in Təgray, always pregnant with the idea of independence. Thus B. had to be selected from the most faithful and trusted local rulers. During the reign of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl such B., mentioned by Francisco Alvarez (1881:97f.), induded ↗Robel, who died on 7 March 1529 fighting gallantly for his sovereign. These ties of vassal loyalty were practically severed in the second half of the 18th cent. during the times of *aṣe* Iyoʾas and *ras* Mikaʾel Səḥul. Since then B. was transformed into a title of local importance (very often hereditary) and remained such until the final consolidation of Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I's firm authority throughout the country.

Src.: FRANCISCO ALVAREZ, *Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia during the Years 1520–1527*, ed. and tr. by Lord STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, London 1881 (Hakluyt Society, first ser., part 2, no. 64), 97f.

Lit.: RAIMONDO FRANCHETTI, *Nella Dancalia etiopica*, Milano 1936, 228–42; RICHARD PANKHURST, *Economic History of Ethiopia 1800–1935*, Addis Ababa 1968, 242; HAILE MICHAEL MESGHINNA, "Salt Mining in Enderta", *JES* 4, 2, 1966, 127–35; MORDECHAI ABIR, "Salt, Trade and Politics in Ethiopia in the 'Zämänä Mäsafent'", *ibid.*, 1–10.

Sevir Chernetsov

Baltasar, João ↗ Urreta, Luis de

Balugani, Luigi

B. (b. 1737, Bologna, d. 1770, Gondär) was an artist and draftsman from Bologna who was employed in Algiers in 1768 by the Scottish traveller James ↗Bruce and produced the drawings illustrating the latter's *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (BruNile). B., whom Bruce engaged for a modest salary, travelled with him from Algiers to Syria, Egypt and Ethiopia, where together they visited the source of the Blue Nile (↗Abbay). B. kept the Scotsman's scientific records and made over 300 drawings, mainly of Ethiopian flora and fauna. Bruce, seeking acclaim as the only European to have reached the source of the Nile, published a confused account of the Italian's death, which suggested, falsely, that the artist had died prior to their visit there. He also failed to acknowledge B.'s authorship of the drawings, but this is now universally recognized.

Src.: BruNile vol. 3, 341, 545.
Lit.: PAUL HULTON – FRANK NIGEL HEPPER – IB FRIIS, *Luigi Balugani's Drawings of African Plants: from the Collection Made by James Bruce of Kinnaird on his Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile 1767–1773*, New Haven – Rotterdam 1991, 41–54; CARLO ZAGHI, "Balugani", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 5, Roma 1963, 4; JAMES MACARTHUR REID, *Traveller Extraordinary: the Life of James Bruce of Kinnaird*, London 1968, 317, index.

Richard Pankhurst

Bambolo Məllaš

The B.M. (**ባምቦሎ፡ ምላሽ**, 'The land at this side of [the] Bambolo') was a large northern province, which as an administrative unit only existed when a governor was appointed over it by the emperor. B.M. had first been created in the 17th cent. by *aṣe* Fasilädäs, who unified all northern provinces under the rule of his son-in-law ↗Hab Śəllus of Ḥamasen. Already before, in a list of districts of the late 16th cent., "Bambəlo" appears in Wägära (HuntGeogr 246). It still existed as a district in the 19th cent. (e.g., GueCopMen 194).

In the Gondärine period provinces in the north were sometimes designated with the word *məllaš* or *mällaš* in connection with a river's name, i.e. the land starting from this river. Bambolo is the name of a village at the ↗Angäräb river north of Gondär, and was perhaps also used either as an alternative name for this river, or for a smaller tributary. B.M. comprised all the tigrinophone provinces, from Wälqayt to Ḥamasen, with Hab Śəllus put over the local governors.

When, shortly after his nomination, Hab Śəllus killed his wife in anger, the Emperor reversed the nomination, but made him governor of the smaller unit ↗Märäb Mällaš, i.e. the provinces north of the Märäb. When later *baḥər nägaš* ↗Gäbrä Krəstos, his son, went to the court, he became *aṣe* Iyasu I's son-in-law and was invested with the B.M. He then, together with his father (until the latter's death in 1704), ruled this province from his fief Ṣäᶜazzäga in Ḥamasen for 38 years (d. 1713). According to oral tradition, his son Mammo (d. 1729) included Oromo areas (probably in Wällo) into his realm and in 1713 inherited the government over the B.M.; later he suppressed a rebellion from Säraye. Wälqayt was not included into the B.M. and perhaps has never effectively been before; however, in ca. 1722 Mammo became also its governor for seven years. The B.M. was ruled by him for 16 years (Kolmodin 1915:65). Ḥamasen remained the centre of power for his family – while the B.M. disappeared in the mid-18th cent. under *däğğač* ↗ᶜAndä Haymanot.

↗Geography, historical

Src.: JOHANNES KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega*. II: *Traduction française*, Upsal 1915 (Archives d'Études Orientales 5:2), 52, 54, 57, 65; GueCopMen s. index.
Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, *The Ethiopian Borderlands: Essays in Regional History from Ancient Times to the End of the 18th Century*, Lawrenceville – Asmara 1997, 401f., 405–10; HuntGeogr 246; YƎSHAQ YOSEF, **ንግስነት፡ ሃገረ፡ ምድሪ፡ ባሕሪ፡ (ኦርትራ፡) ታሪኽ፡ ደጊያት፡ ሃይሉ፡ «አባ፡ ጋላ»** (*Nəgəsənät hagärä mədri baḥəri [Ertra], tarik däggiyat Haylu «abba Galla»*, 'The Rule of the Land of Mədri Baḥəri (Eritrea), the History of *däğğač* Haylu "Abba Galla"'), Asmära 2000, 40ff., 55ff.

Wolbert Smidt

Bamboo

B. (Gəᶜəz **ተቢሳ**, *täbisa*; Amh. **ሸምበቆ**, *šämbäqo*) is a perennial plant in the grass family (*Poaceae*,

sub-family *Bambuseae* with round, hollow and woody culms and internodes of ca. 20 cm. Its wood is very hard, due to a high amount of silica in the culms. The plant can reach a maximum size between 6 m to 10 m height and a diametre of 6 cm to 10 cm. Because B. grows very fast, the culm can reach its maximum length within one season.

In Ethiopia two indigenous species of B. grow, *Oxytenanthera abyssinica* (lowland B.) and *Arundinaria alpina* (mountain or highland B.). The lowland B. grows only in the western regions along major river valleys and in the lowlands bordering the Sudan. It occurs between 1,100–1,700 m A.S.L. The species grows in savannah woodland, mainly in river valleys and often forming extensive stands. The highland B., on the other hand, grows naturally in the south, south-west, central and north-west highlands of Ethiopia at altitudes ranging from 2,200 to 4,000 m A.S.L. It grows in montane forest, often on volcanic soils and forms extensive pure stands. On the whole, lowland B. covers the area of ca. 1,000,000 ha whereas highland B. covers ca. 300,000 ha. Thus, Ethiopia is the country with the richest B. resources in Africa.

Being an easily renewable raw material, B. is becoming a means of sustainable development. B. is intensively cultivated, especially in the south, e.g., at ↗*ənsät* plantations or near watercourses and in other humid areas. B. is regularly trimmed and propagated by saplings. B. forests and plantations play a useful role in the fight against the ↗environmental degradation because their dense root systems effectively prevent soil erosion.

Due to its fast growth and ideal physical characteristics, lowland B. plays an important role as a building material and an important source of fuel, though it has partially lost its significance as fuel with the introduction of ↗eucalyptus. As a building material it is still used alone or in combination with eucalyptus wood. It is especially valuable for the roof-structure, the cohesion and tracery of the walls of traditional round ↗houses as well as more modern types of mud-wall buildings. In an old ↗*kätäma*, B. houses in compounds were fenced by high B. canes (s. Pankhurst 1985:106, 108, 197). In rural areas B. fences surround gardens and protect *ənsät* plantations from cattle. B. is additionally used for caned partition-walls within the houses. For modern building construction, B. is important as scaffolding material.

Houses constructed on the base of the combination of bamboo and eucalyptus poles. The bamboo to be seen from outside serves to stabilize and protect the mud-walls. Ǝndägäñ (Gurage), photo courtesy of the author

The flexibility and stability of B. makes it an increasingly used material for furniture production. Stripes of B. find usage in ↗basketry. Huge baskets serve as grain stores in some areas, e.g. in Hadiyya.

The straight and solid grown B. poles form ideal spearhandles, they are prepared by rubbing away the internodial knobs. At Lake Hayq rafts of the fisherman made of B. are reported (Simoons 1960:183).

Segments of the B. culm are used as resonance tubes for instruments like the ↗*wašənt*, ↗*mälläkät*, pan-pipe and, often, ↗*ənbilta*. The hollow space of the B. culm also serves to keep water. B. water-barrels, with broken nodial segments, sometimes reach the length of up to two metres, with the capacity of up to 10–20 litres. Other B. segments are utilized as containers for seeds. In *ənsät* processing the fleshy pulp of the sheath is removed by a B. scraper. The *ənsät* mass is squeezed through B. baskets. In some areas of southern Ethiopia, the ring, which is used to stabilize the *ənsät* leaves that are laid out inside the *ənsät* storage hole, is made of B.

In different south Ethiopian groups, like the ↗Aari (Šangama and Ubamer), the sharp edge of a B. splinter is used to cut the umbilical cord (Smeds 1955:31; Jensen 1959:143, 181). In instances of a bone fracture, B. pieces can be employed as a splint.

A certain socio-religious significance of B. is reported among some south Ethiopian peoples. E.g., such Omotic-speaking groups as ↗Dorze and Amarro (↗Koorete) erected a number of B. poles connected near the point to indicate the compound of a dignitaries or a place of sacrifice and worship. In Amarro a bundle of B. poles was also kept inside the chiefs' houses as a sign of rank. The Dorze erected a large single pole to

mark the communal pasture and a pole with the point bent down served as a standard (Straube 1963:86, 92, 111f., 120, 195f., 198). For an example for B. in a mythical context one can mention Aari (Bako or Baka) traditional religion. The Bako knew of a holy B. grove (Tūtēmir), that was said to stem from a piece of B. brought to the first "king" (or chief, *baabi*) by a girl who had fallen from heaven. There is also a second B. grove connected with this *baabi* (Jensen 1959:35ff.).

Src.: personal communication with Alke Dohrmann, January 2003.

Lit.: ENSERMU KELBESSA – TAMRAT BEKELE – ALEMAYEHU GEBREHIWOT – GEBREMEDHIN HADERA, "A Socio-Economic Case Study of the Bamboo Sector in Ethiopia: an Analysis of the Production-to-Consumption System", *International Network for Bamboo and Rattan* (*INBAR*) *Working Paper* 25, Addis Ababa 2000 (Lit.); HELMER SMEDS, *The Ensete Planting Culture of Eastern Sidamo, Ethiopia, The Role of the Ensete-Plantations in the Local Economy and their Significance in the Cultural Geography of Ethiopia*, Helsingfors 1955 (Acta Geographica 13, 4), 29–32; VSAe III 86, 92, 111f., 120, 160, 195f., 198; VSAe I 35ff., 70, 143, 177, 181; PankHist II 106, 108, 197; MICHAEL POWNE, *Ethiopian Music. An Introduction. A Survey of Ecclesiastical and Secular Ethiopian Music and Instruments*, London – New York – Toronto 1968, 25f., 31f., 35; FREDERICK J. SIMOONS, *Northwest Ethiopia. Peoples and Economy*, Madison 1960, 183.

Dirk Bustorf

Banda ↗ Askari

Banderaccən

B. (**ባንደራችን**, Amh. 'Our Flag') was the name of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase's field newspaper, printed in Khartoum during the Ethiopian Liberation campaign of 1941. Established by a British officer, Perry Fellowes, it was edited first by ↗Täʾammərat Amanuʾel (who disliked the use of the Italian loanword *bandiera* in the title), and later by *blatten geta* Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase's Oxford-educated *ləǧ* Sirak Ḫəruy. The paper's text was based largely on artides written by Fellowes or the British journalist George Steer, and was set up in type by Konstantinos Trage, a printer of Eritrean-Greek decent. Described, by Steer, as "the first airborne newspaper of the Axis war", it appeared weekly, on Wednesdays, and bore the title "**ባንደራችን** – *Our Flag*", with an effigy of the Lion of Judah, and the Ethiopian flag, printed in green, yellow and red. This was followed by news of British and Ethiopian military successes, and of the Italian failure to achieve promised victories.

Copies of B., which ran to 28 issues, and had to be approved by both British and Ethiopian censorship, were dropped widely in Italian-occupied western Ethiopia, and, according to George Steer, contributed greatly to desertions on the part of Italian colonial troops. His book *Sealed and Delivered* reproduces a photocopy of the paper's 20th issue, and an English translation of the 18th. The paper came to an end with Ḫaylä Śəllase's return to his capital, after which the title B. was immediately appropriated by a state-operated Addis Abäba weekly, which run for a year before changing its name to **ሰንደቅ ዓላማችን** (*Sändäq ʿalamaccən*, 'Our Flag'). The Italian loanword, to which Sirak had objected, was thus replaced by *sändäq* (Amh. 'banner, flagpole') and *ʿalama* ('sign', 'motto' etc., together meaning 'flag').

Lit.: GEORGE LOWTHER STEER, *Sealed and Delivered. A Book about the Abyssinian Campaign*, London 1942, 32ff., 90–101, 115ff., 124–36, 164–76, 248–53.

Richard Pankhurst

Banking system

Formal banking began in the reign of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, for as Ethiopia's first modernizer, his incentive to develop banking patterned on a Western model was simple: it was considered a prerequisite of modern development. As early as 1875 Pierre Arnoux advised Mənilək that Ethiopia needed its own currency and a central bank to prevent gold and silver export that drained the country's wealth, yet it was not until 1905 that a banking concession was given to the National Bank of Egypt.

Concession granting was the *modus operandi* for peripheral development in the early 20th cent.; consequently, as early as 1900 Mənilək entertained a number of proposals by private syndicates acting on behalf of various European nations seeking entry into Ethiopia's nascent financial and commercial sectors. Primarily to counter the influence of France, who had been given the railway concession, Mənilək granted the right to establish the Bank of Abyssinia to the National Bank of Egypt. Terms between Mənilək and the National Bank of Egypt had been negotiated through the British Foreign Office by John Lane Harrington, Britain's first plenipotentiary to Ethiopia. From the outset suspicions arose on the part of Ethiopians over whether the bank was acting in Ethiopia's inter-

An early 500-thaler (*bərr*) banknote in Ethiopia, 1923, photo courtesy of Richard Pankhurst

est or Britain's. Misgivings heightened when the first Governor of the Bank of Abyssinia, D. MacGillivray, was fired in 1907 because he was not the puppet that British government and financial interests had expected. MacGillivray viewed the bank as a neutral institution that often pushed Ethiopia's interests. From 1907 to 1915, in its most disreputable chapter of its history, the Bank of Abyssinia functioned as an instrument of British imperialism.

Mənilək was so incensed by British antics that in 1909 he created his own bank called the Société Nationale d'Éthiopie pour le Développement de l'Agriculture et du Commerce. In theory it was to function as both a central bank and a commercial bank. In reality it attracted large numbers of people seeking loans, which were initially given, but very few depositors. Those who did make deposits, invested only token amounts more as a gesture of loyalty to the monarch. The vast majority of the Société Nationale d'Éthiopie's initial capital was put up by Mənilək himself and his wife, *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul, and understandably they became apprehensive when they realized that much of the money lent was irredeemable. Surprisingly, Société Nationale d'Éthiopie lingered on, outliving its purpose as a political symbol and totally ineffectual as a development agency. Its sole mandated was to retrieve loans made in the exuberance of its first years. For a brief period it was revitalized under *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1928 with 60 % of the capital financed by a French syndicate and 40 % provided by the Ethiopian government. Its primary task then was to develop modern, westernized industrial and commercial operations. Contrary to a popularly held notion it was not involved in banking activities other than providing an occasional agricultural or industrial loan – the function of a development agency. As observed in the Bank of Abyssinia/Ethiopia ledgers and letter books, it relied on the formal banks to provide it with merchant banking services such as advances on merchandise, savings, currency exchange, not to mention warehousing facilities in both Addis Abäba and Djibouti.

Other banks and syndicates attempted to capitalize on Mənilək's disenchantment with the Bank of Abyssinia. The Banque de l'Indo-Chine through the proxy of the French Legation sought to establish a branch in Addis Abäba in 1908. Mənilək was reported to have said "that one bank gave him quite enough trouble". After his death two banks, the Banque de l'Indo-Chine and Compagnie de l'Afrique Orientale, were established in 1915. The directive of the Banque de l'Indo-Chine was to expedite the movement of accounts, especially those concerning the railway, act as a clearing house for goods, and, in a reciprocal arrangement with the Bank of Abyssinia which located an agent in Djibouti, oversee the currency balances between the two banks to minimize speculation which had disastrous effects on the volatile currency situation in the whole Red Sea area. The Compagnie de l'Afrique Orientale obtained an agency in Addis Abäba in the same year. Little is known about their banking operations other than that they were more appropriately classified as engaging in informal credit-lending.

Returning to the Bank of Abyssinia, the "tool" issue was resolved by 1915 when a number of factors contributed to the bank's indigenization. These were: 1) Europe's preoccupation with the war on the continent, 2) Mənilək's and his successors' (*ətege* Ṭaytu Bəṭul, *läǧ* Iyasu and *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən) incessant complaints that the bank was not doing enough for Ethiopia, 3) the resolution of the personel problem with C. S. Collier becoming the fourth governor of the Bank of Abyssinia and acting in that capacity until its liquidation in 1931. Under Collier the bank offered a full range of services; additionally, Ethiopians were given more seats on the Board of Directors, the British Foreign Office stopped using the bank as a window to survey the Ethiopian economy, bullion and other monetary issues were addressed in conjunction with the Ethiopian government, facilitating commerce and investment became its primary function, and the Bank of Abyssinia established branches throughout the country.

For Ḫaylä Śəllase a foreign-controlled bank highlighted Ethiopia's political and economic

subordination, while a truly Ethiopian bank would symbolize economic parity with other members of the League of Nations; thus, after his coronation one of Ḫaylä Śəllase's first initiatives was to begin negotiations to set the terms for a buy-out of the bank's foreign interests. Within a year, after bitter disputes over interpretations of the original concession and issues of compensation, the liquidation of the Bank of Abyssinia was completed and the Bank of Ethiopia was established.

In its brief five-year tenure, the Bank of Ethiopia started a new course for banking and monetary innovation in Ethiopia. 90% of the bank's capital was owned by the Ethiopian government and most of the rest by Ethiopian aristocrats and businessmen. As a carryover Collier and his professional staff were retained for their professionalism in order to carry out the bank's new mandate as swiftly as possible. The Bank of Ethiopia functioned as a quasi-independent organ of Ḫaylä Śəllase's government and played an increasingly important role in the finances of the state. From 1931 through 1935 the Bank of Ethiopia performed the role of marketeer, procurer, and financier for Ḫaylä Śəllase's government. Its duties were to locate new commodity and financial markets and initiate ties. Collier wrote hundreds of letters to government ministries, state banks, investment banks, mints, chambers of commerce, and private companies to solicit offers ranging from government loans to acquisition of 25 one-ton trucks all on behalf of the Ethiopian government. To a degree the Bank of Ethiopia played an important role in assisting Ḫaylä Śəllase to create a situation whereby Ethiopia was not reliant on one or two industrialized nations but ventured out, found low-cost markets, and cultivated relations with them. The intent was development through diversification.

The restructured bank also opened a wide range of formal banking services to Ethiopians significantly increasing its base. Formerly, the Bank of Abyssinia had discriminated against Ethiopians by 1) offering its sophisticated commercial services only to small number of nationals, 2) requiring titled guarantors for loans for all Ethiopians, 3) generally exhibiting a patronizing, distrustful attitude towards Ethiopians. All of these practices were either abandoned or modified allowing Ethiopians to avail themselves of the services the bank offered to enhance their participation in Ethiopia's formal sector and its linkages to the world economy. Another shift was the bank staff's attitude towards informal credit-lenders. Before they had been considered at worst racketeers or at least impediments to development; after 1931 informal credit-lenders were recognized as a feature of the Ethiopian economy and their activities were viewed as increasing the velocity of exchange, hence development. In a number of cases the Bank of Ethiopia and various informal credit-lenders co-ordinated efforts to buy or sell foreign exchange or issue foreign bank drafts.

The Bank of Ethiopia's greatest failure was in solving the currency problems that bedeviled Ethiopia. Its efforts to control the inflow and outflow of silver were negligible as were its efforts at replacing the foreign commodity currency, the ↗Maria Theresia thaler, with a national alternative. Perhaps this is not so surprising, for even the Italian colonial administration (1936–41), with all Italy's resources at its disposal, could not displace the Maria Theresia thaler due to the resistance of Ethiopians to new currencies.

For all its promise, the Italian invasion arrested the bank's process. First, the threat of invasion and then actual aggression caused the government to devote all its resources to prepare for war and later to defend the country. For its part, the bank contributed by providing credit for arms, munitions, and other items, including airplanes. More important, imminent war meant the flight of commerce, economic panic, and "runs" on the bank. Compounding the "runs" were the volatile silver prices that raked Ethiopia caused by the United States setting high floor and ceiling prices for silver which caused catastrophic waves throughout the world including forcing China to abandon her silver-based currency.

As a postscript, after 6 May 1936, the day victorious Italian troops entered Addis Abäba, the Bank of Ethiopia ceased operating but still remained a book-keeping entity. The Italians systematically attempted to reconstruct the financial base of Ethiopia's economy by liquidating accounts and converting them to the Banco d'Italia and Banco di Roma. As politically calamitous as the invasion proved to be, the economic transition, based on the actions of the Italians, was methodical.

↗Currency

Lit.: CHARLES SCHAEFER, "Politics of Banking: the Bank of Abyssinia, 1906–1931", *JAHS* 25, 2, 1992, 361–89; ID., "Competitors yet Partners: the Bank of Ethiopia and Informal Creditors, 1931–1936", *JES* 17, 2, 1994, 45–68.

Charles Schaefer

Banna

The B. (Bäñä, also spelled as Banya, estimated population 20,000) are an ↗Omotic-speaking people living around the mountainous area between the Woito and Omo rivers in south-west Ethiopia. The cultural background among the B., Hamär and ↗Bäšada is so similar that they might identify themselves as in alliance with each other. The ↗Mursi and the Bodi (↗Me'en) were traditionally enemies of the B., and there has been much warfare between them. The B. are an agro-pastoral people mainly engaged in sorghum and maize cultivation and cattle-herding. Honey-collecting has some significance for gaining cash.

The B. land is ideally divided into two 'priest-chief' (*bitta*) spheres, to which some sub-chiefs (*kogo bitta*) are subordinate. The relationship between *bitta* and *kogo bitta* is not political, but spiritual, based on their ability to control the spiritual power-sphere (*barğo*). Both priest-chiefs and some of the sub-chiefs have oral history of their origins from chiefs' lineages of the neighbouring ↗Aari. One can observe the strong relations between the B. and the Aari from many features such as kinship relations and food exchange.

Most of the clans are classified into two exogamous moieties: the *Binna*, including the *Gata* clan to which two *bitta* lineages belong, and the *galabu*, descendants of former occupants of the land that they had lived in before the *bitta* lineage came from the Aari. Despite most B. men having to be circumzised around the age of ten, only men of the *Gata* do not become circumzised because of their Aari tradition, who do not have the custom of circumcision. The several clans are not statically classified.

Like many gerontocratic societies, the B. social system focuses strongly on gender dividing and senior/junior order. Men gradually gain social power through becoming *donza* (adult men) after the *aṣa* initiation (a cattle-leaping ceremony) and marriage. Men's life stages are *naasi* (boy) – *ukuli* (a status before initiation) – *maz* (a stage between initiation and marriage) – *donza*. The B. have also a traditional ↗Age group system, where half of the age grades are named in the Bume (↗Ñanjatom) language; for example (from the oldest to younger) *ŋmurpus*, *ŋkakoke*, *ŋagamoŋ*, *ŋwayra*, *ŋkatakol*, *planti*, *logod*, *golbalča*, *koopini*, *gepinikaza*, *makalatilča*. The terms without *ŋ*-prefix are in the B.-Hamär language.

Members of each grade would rise to a higher grade without any ritual, and nowadays the system hardly functions. Women in the B. could be said to be of inferior status to men. They are generally called *anza*, but another term, *maa*, is applied only to married women.

The B. have had a lot of conflicts with northern governors throughout the history. Compared with the experience of other groups in Ethiopia, however, the degree of their integration into the state is still low, even though a number of boys and girls have entered school and some have found jobs in town. Moreover, the number of Christians has been increasing recently as a result of missionary activity. These Christians tend positively to abandon B. tradi-

A Banna man producing his headrest, 1950/52, photo by Adolf E. Jensen, © Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt/Main, photo no. 23–JE008–31)

tions and have created new trends of another life style. One can be sure that transformation of the B. society in the future will depend on the relations between the Christian activities and traditional customs.

Lit.: ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN, "Die Banna", in: *VSAe* I, 313–36; KEN MASUDA, "Histories and Ethnic Identities among the Banna: an Analysis of the Bitas' Oral Histories", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 456–70.

Ken Masuda

Banyan

B. was (and still is) the term used in Ethiopia and Eritrea, as well as in other countries of the East, a Hindu trader, or, by extension, any Indian, irrespective of occupation. The word was derived from the Yemeni Arabic *bānyān* (LesCDic 99), which is itself derived from Sanskrit *vanji* ('merchant'). The nasal form, with the final *n*, was probably due to Portuguese influence.

The presence of B., who were regarded as exceedingly able businessmen, at the Red Sea port of ↗Massawa, where they dominated trade and formed a resident community, is mentioned by Jesuit authors of the 17th cent. and, a century-and-a-half or so later, by James Bruce, as well as by many 19th-cent. travellers. The word is also used in the Chronicle of *aṣe* Susənyos, for the Indian master-builder ʿAbdalkarīm, who, in the early 17th cent., erected the monarch's palace at ↗Dänqäz. Indian traders were prominent in the late 19th and early 20th cent. in Addis Abäba, Harär and other Ethiopian towns, but their numbers were drastically curtailed during the subsequent Italian Fascist occupation.

↗India, relations with; ↗Indians in Ethiopia; ↗Trade

Src.: LesCDic 99; PerChron 290; GEORGE ANNESLEY MOUNTNORRIS, "Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt, in 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806", in: RICHARD PHILLIPS, *Collection of Modern and Contemporary Voyages and Travels*, London 1805–10, ser. 1, vol. 9, 1810, no. 2, 288.

Lit.: PIERRE VICTOR ADOLPHE FERRET — JOSEPH GERMAIN GALINIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, Paris 1847–48, vol. 2, 435; HENRY YULE — ARTHUR COKE BURNELL, *Hobson-Jobson: being a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases and of Kindred Terms Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive*, London 1886, 63ff.; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of Ethiopia's Relations with India prior to the Nineteenth Century", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 205–311; ID., "The 'Banyan', or Indian, Presence at Massawa, the Dahlak Islands and the Horn of Africa", *JES* 12, 1974, 185–212; WILHELM EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, Frankfurt am Main 1838–40, vol. 1, 196f.; THÉO-

Təgre and other Massawa merchants negotiating with Banyan traders, from Lefebvre 1845:39

PHILE LEFEBVRE et al., *Voyage en Abyssinie exécuté pendant les années 1839-43*, Atlas, vol. 1: *Album historique, ethnologique et archéologie*, Paris 1845, 39 (ill.).

Richard Pankhurst

Baobab

The monkey-bread tree, also known as B. (*Adansonia digitata*; Amh. **ባምባ** *bamba* or **ቡቃዌ** *bʷambʷa*, Tgn. **ድማ** *dəma*, Tgr. *ḥəmmärät*, Kunama *asa* etc.), named after the French researcher Michel Adanson (1727–1806), is supposed to be one of the biggest, longest-living, culturally and ecologically most useful trees in Africa. It belongs to the family of *bombacaceae* and grows in semi-arid to subhumid tropical Africa, south of the Sahara, including Ethiopia and Eritrea. The stiff branches, which are bare of leaves for as much as nine months of the year, resemble large roots which reach out to the sky. The succulent trunk, which reaches a girth of 20 m and a height of 25 m, may retain up to 120,000 litres of water, ensuring that it survives even in times of (extended) drought.

All parts of the tree are utilized and highly valued by the people. Some ethnic groups express religious veneration for this outstanding tree and misuse or damage to the tree is punished by local communities (Maydell 1986:151).

The white flowers open at night and are pollinated by fruit-bats and flies. They attract honey-bees, which gather the abundant nectar from the flowers. B. trees play an important role in strengthening bee colonies in dry habitats where other food is scarce.

People cook the fresh young leaves and use them as a vegetable, which is high in protein (4 %), rich in vitamins A and C and contains

A baobab tree in Sänḥit, near the road to Kärän, 1993, courtesy of Esther Gallodoro

more assimilated calcium than some cultivated green vegetables. Thus B. trees play an important role in human nutrition. Parts of them, such as older pounded leaves, are also an effective medicine against amoebic dysentery. Animals eat the leaves, shoots and fruit. The fruit, which has a hard, thick, velvety husk, contains numerous tough, brownish seeds the size of small beans, which are embedded in a yellowish-white, floury acidic pulp. This fruit pulp has the highest vitamin C content known in natural fruits (ten times that of oranges). It contains sugars but no starch, it is rich in pectins and is a good source of calcium and thiamine. The protein content of the seed kernels, e.g., is higher than that of ground-nuts. The fruit pulp is eaten as a snack. The ↗Kunama and ↗Beni ᶜAmar of the Western Lowlands of Eritrea mix the ground fruit-pulp with milk or water, filter it and serve it especially to pregnant women. In a ceremony called *asakušŋa*, the Kunama clean the new-born baby with the oil of the seed kernels. The Kunama use the seeds of the baobab (Kunama: *akaña*) for tanning animal skins, which are later used in the manufacture of shoulder-bags (*mašaŋkala*), water-bags (*biʾagala*), bags for carrying cereals (*šula*) and many other kinds of bags (*šantala*). The hard fruit shell can be used as a household utensil and for various ritual purposes. In the case of a severe pest attack on growing crops, the container serves to collect blood from a slaughtered goat. The ritual specialist, the "Chief of the Land", spreads this blood over the affected fields and purifies them. The inner bark, which has a strong and long-lasting fibre, is made into ropes (*kira*), e.g. for a yoke with which the Kunama of Eritrea carry baskets of water, for tying donkeys and for making beds and chairs. For threshing the grains (millet, sorghum) the Kunama use a dried piece of the inner bark which has the shape of a long stick.

When they have reached a certain size, B. trees are chosen as the site of social and official village meetings, comparable to the sycamore tree.

Src.: KERSTIN VOLKER-SAAD, *Beni Amer/Hedareb Women and Food Security*, Tessenei 1997 [unpubl. report], 30, 44, 82.
Lit.: FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS (ed.), *Traditional Food Plants, a Resource Book for Promoting the Exploitation and Consumption of Food Plants in Arid, Semi-Arid and Sub-Humid Lands of Eastern Africa,* Rome 1988 (FAO Food and Nutrition Paper 42), 63–67; REINHARD FICHTL – ADMASU ADI, *Honeybee Flora of Ethiopia,* Berlin 1995, 243; HANS-JUERGEN VON MAYDELL, *Trees and Shrubs of the Sahel. Their Characteristics and Uses*, Roßdorf 1986, 148–53; MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE OF ERITREA (ed.), *Indigenous Trees and Shrubs of Eritrea,* Asmara 1994.

Kerstin Volker-Saad

Baptism

In Ethiopia, as everywhere in Christianity, B. "is the sacrament (ምሥጢር *məśtir*, 'mystery') through which a person is born again and accepted into the membership of the Church" (EOC 1975:31). As in all Oriental Churches, B. (called either ጥምቀት *ṭəmqät*, 'Baptism', or ክርስትና *krəstənna*, 'Christianity') is to be followed immediately by Chrismation (= "Confirmation"; called ሜሮን *meron*, 'chrism', from Greek μύρον, s. LesCDic 359), although the two are counted as two distinct sacraments. In addition, the Eucharist is administered immediately, irrespective of the age of the "neophytes" or newly baptized. The minister of B. is either a bishop or a priest.

The teaching of the Ethiopian Church with regard to B. centres on the data given in the New Testament and Old Testament. The teaching can be found in a compendium such as the ↗*Amməstu aᶜəmadä məśtir* ('The Five Pillars of the Mystery'), or in catechisms and other expositions of the faith. The opening or concluding pages of the modern printed rituals of B. also deliver a short basic doctrine; the canons related to it are found in ch. 3 of the ↗*Fəṯḥa nägäśt*.

As in other Oriental Churches, the B. of a boy should take place 40 days after his birth and that of a girl 80 days after her birth (cf. Lev 12:1–7 and Lk 2:21–24; concerning the different time for boys and girls, reference can also be made to the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*kufale* ('Book of Jubilees' 3:9–11, s. Vanderkam 1989:16f.). However, when the B.

age is reached during a pilgrimage, B. may be postponed quite a number of months. In addition to this, B. is prohibited between the Mass of Palm Sunday and Easter. However, a baby in danger of dying should be baptized immediately.

The godfather (for males) or the godmother (for females) will answer the questions and recite the Creed for children who cannot speak. Of course, if adults are baptized, they are expected to speak themselves.

Since the neophytes must receive the Eucharist immediately after B., it is administered only when mass is to be celebrated, and the catechumens must be fasting, including the babies, which is one reason for the early hour of the celebration. During this mass, the newly baptized must receive Holy Communion before any other lay persons, immediately after the clergy. With the communion spoon, the deacon pours some drops of the Blood of Christ into their mouths. After communion, some documents prescribe that the neophytes should be given milk (and honey); however, this latter practice is no longer observed today.

The normal place for B. is the baptistery (not directly inside the church); after B., the neophyte is brought inside the church. B. is performed either through immersion, or through the pouring of baptismal water (through the **መጸር፡ መስቀል**, *mäṣor mäsqäl*, 'shafted cross') over the head of the person (undressed, unless it is an adult), three times: "N.N., I baptize you in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit". Also, sprinkling, which is normally rather abundant, is frequent instead of pouring the water.

The baptismal name (↗Names) differs from the name by which a person is normally known. It is secret outside those with close relationships: family members, confessor and some close friends. The reasons for this may be to avoid being exposed to magical practices, or, more positively, a reference to Rev 2:17 or other biblical understandings of a person's name.

Those who are preparing for B., irrespective of age, are called "catechumens" (lit. **ንኡሳ፡ ክርስቲያን** *nəʾusä krəstiyan*, 'lesser Christians'); there are special prayers for them during the liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) and they are dismissed from mass after the reading of the Gospel. According to the Fathers, the catechumenate should last as much as three years; in practice, it is often, nowadays, reduced to a short period, if at all.

A baptismal basin in Dəgum, dated between 12th and 14th cent., photo courtesy of Michael Gervers, 2001

After the B. and the confirmation, the rite of the crown is to be performed. Instead of a crown, however, today a cord is used. It is called the **ማዕተብ** *maʿətäb* (or Amharic ↗*matäb*, 'sign') and is attached around the neck of the neophyte. The phrase, "to break one's *matäb*" means to break away from the Christian faith and the commitments connected with it.

As a whole, the ritual of B. is similar to that of the Coptic Church, as described by Burmester (1967:111–26); but there are a number of minor discrepancies, either with the Coptic service, or between the various Ethiopic editions. Fritsch's translation (1998) gives a detailed comparison between all the parallels mentioned. The service in itself is very long; however, in practice many things are often omitted.

The general synopsis of the service is:

Preparatory service:

First Catechesis

1. Ps 50 (51), Prayer of Thanksgiving, Prayer of the Incense.
2. Enrolment of the catechumens
3. First and Second Prayer for those to be baptized
4. Prayer over the oil
5. Anointing of the catechumens

Second Catechesis

6. Prayer for those who have given their name
7. First and second Prayer over those to be baptized, kneeling down
8. Supplication over those to be baptized, kneeling down
9. Conclusion of the catechumenate (laying on of the hand)

The Mystery of Baptism:

10. Rejection of Satan and Confession of Jesus Christ (including the Creed)

11. Anointing with the "oil of gladness"

Service for the consecration of the water of Baptism:

12. Readings (Tit 2:11 through 3:8; I Jn 5: 5–13; Acts 8: 26–40)
13. Prayer of the Covenant
14. Prayer of the Gospel
15. *Məsbak*: Ps 31 (32):1–2a or Ps 33 (34), 5–6a or Ps 50 (51):11b–12
16. Gospel reading: Jn 3:1–21
17. Great Petitions
18. Apologia sacerdotis
19. Three petitions (for Peace, the Hierachy and the Congregation)
20. The Creed
21. Consecration of the water
22. Prayer over the baptistery ("the Jordan")
23. Blessing of the water with the cross
24. Stirring of the water and mixing of the Chrism
25. Prostration
26. Threefold immersion
27. Blowing on the face of the newly baptized
28. Absolution of the water

The Mystery of Myron:

29. Laying on of the hand upon those who have been baptized
30. Prayer over the holy Chrism
31. Anointings
32. Laying on of the hand

Complementary Rites:

33. The White Garment
34. The Crowns (*maʿətäb*): prayer and laying of the Crowns
35. The Mystery of the Eucharist
36. The reception of the Eucharist

Conclusion:

36. Laying on of the hand
37. Blessing

At the feast of the B. of the Lord (↗*Ṭəmqät*), people dip themselves in the water, or the priests asperse them abundantly; some priests might even repeat the baptismal formula as they "baptize" three times on their heads people who might bend over the water. Nobody, however, interprets this as being the Sacrament of B., but a form of its renewal.

B. is not repeated, in principle; however, converts from other Christian confessions are normally received as members of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church through B. This demand may be an object of disagreement on the part of the convert and the compromise solution will often be found in the "baptism" of repentance and conversion of *qedər* (*Mäṣḥafä ↗qedər*), a ritual used for the reconciliation of apostates.

Src.: Vat. Aeth. 4; ChAbb 213; LesCDic 359; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ክርስትና** (*Mäṣḥafä krəstənna*, 'Book of Baptism'), Addis Abäba 1964 A.M. [1971/72 A.D.]; ²1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.]; THE PATRIARCHATE OF THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ክርስትና** (*Mäṣḥafä krəstənna*, 'Book of Baptism'), Addis Abäba 1973 A.M. [1981 A.D.], repr. 1988 A.M. [1996 A.D.]; THE ROMAN CONGREGATION FOR THE EASTERN CHURCHES (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ጥምቀተ፡ ክርስትና፡ ቅድስት** (*Mäṣḥafä ṭəmqätä krəstənna qəddəst*, 'Book of Holy Baptism'), Roma 1965 A.M. [1973 A.D.]; MARIUS CHAÎNE, "Le rituel éthiopien – rituel du baptême", *Bessarione,* An. 17, vol. 29, no. 123, 1913, 38–71; ID., "Le rituel éthiopien – rituel de la confirmation et du mariage", *ibid.*, no. 124/125, 1913, 249–83, here 249–55; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Ordre du baptême et de la confirmation dans l'église éthiopienne", *ROC* 3ᵉ sér., 6 [= 26], Paris 1927/28, 105–89; JAMES C. VANDERKAM (ed., tr.), *The Book of Jubilees, a Critical Text,* Louvain 1989 (CSCO 510, 511 [SAe 87, 88]), 16f.

Lit.: ᶜAŚRAT GÄBRÄMARYAM, **ትምህርተ፡ መለኮት** (*Təmhərtä mäläkot*, 'Teaching about Divinity' = Catechism) Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.] and ²1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.], 214–24; **አምስቱ፡ አዕማደ፡ ምሥጢር** (*Amməstu aᶜəmadä məśṭir*, 'The Five Pillars of the Mystery'), Addis Abäba 1964 A.M. [1971/72 A.D.]; OSWALD HUGH EWART KHS. BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church: a Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of Her Sacraments*, Cairo 1967 (Publications de la Societé d'Archéologie Copte 10), 111–26; *abba* GABRAMĀRIĀM EMAN, *Versio Latina ex lingua Æthiopica Gehez ritus Sancti Baptismi et Confirmationis a textu ex editione Ecclesiae Orthodoxae Æthiopicae*, Romae 1942 A.M. [1949/50 A.D.]; ID., *Ritus sancti baptismi christiani et confirmationis in usu apud Ecclesiam Orientalem Æthiopicae,* Romae 1968; EOC: THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TEWAHEDO CHURCH HOLY SYNOD (ed.), *A Short History, Faith and Order of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church,* Addis Abäba 1975 A.M. [1982/83 A.D.] 31ff., 39–43; ID., *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church, Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1996 A.D.], 29f., 35–39; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, *The Ritual of Baptism of the Ethiopian Church,* Arba-Minch 1998 (ms.); Archbishop MÄLKÄ ṢEDEQ, **ትምህርተ፡ ክርስትና** (*Təmhərtä krəstənna*, 'Teaching about Christianity' = Catechism), 2 vols., Addis Abäba 1984 A.M [1991/92 A.D.], vol. 2, 93–103; SEBHATLEAB AYELE, CMMJ, *Analisi di ʾAməstu ʾAᶜəmadä Məstir* (*Le Cinque Colonne del Mistero*), *Catechismo della Chiesa Ortodossa d'Etiopia,* esercitazione di licenza, Universitá Pontificia Salesiana, Roma 1989; AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU (eds.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 31ff.

Emmanuel Fritsch – Ugo Zanetti

Bäqädami Gäbrä Ƹgziʾabəḥer

B.G.E. (**በቀዳሚ፡ ገብረ፡ እግዚአብሔር**, 'In the beginning God created') are the first three words

of, and thus the title used to designate a collection prayers attributed to the 15th-cent. Betä Ǝsraʾel monastic leader *abba* ↗Sabra. It is known to exist in two manuscripts (of the 18th and 19th cent.) in the Faïtlovitch collection and two others in private hands. The text draws upon biblical sources and treats a number of themes characteristic of Betä Ǝsraʾel literature, including the ascension of Moses on Mount Sinai and the ↗Sabbath. Wurmbrand (1954) published portions of the work, which he believed to contain fragments of ancient Jewish texts. However, none of the excerpts he published prove direct reliance on Jewish sources. A critical edition is currently being prepared by Margaret Hayon.

Lit.: MORDECHAI [MAX] WURMBRAND, "Fragments d'anciens écrits juifs dans la litterature falacha", *JA* 242, 1954, 83–100.

Steven Kaplan

Baqulīn

B. (Bagulīn) is the name of a locality found in the originally ↗Təgre, later ↗Beğa tribal territory probably in the middle part of the ↗Gaš river, not very far from modern Kassala.

B. was mentioned in the second half of the 9th cent. by al-Yaʿqūbī, both in his "History" and his "Geography" as B-q-līn (بقلين, graphically corrupted variant T-f-līn), and in the 10th cent. by Ibn Ḥawqal. It can be identified with "Bagulīn" mentioned by Reinisch (1895:45) as "a name of a locality and of a tribe of Beja".

B. was inhabited, according to al-Yaʿqūbī and al-Uswānī (middle of the 10th cent.), by "Zanāfiğ" (pl. Zanāfiğa). Most probably the name consists of the Gəʿəz prefix *zä-*, (Zaborski 1984:87) and perhaps a derivation of *näfäqä* 'to divide, to separate (oneself), to be a heretic'. The Zanāfiğ were serfs of the ↗Hadaräb Beğa (like Təgre within modern Beni ʿAmər) but in the 10th cent. they were somehow also dominated by the Nubian kingdom of Alwa, as indicated by al-Uswānī quoted in al-Maqrīzī. They were at least partially Christian and must be identified with Təgre (Zaborski 1984:84) although later the name became used for Beğa (Reinisch 1893).

The etymology of the name B., defined by Reinisch as "rich in grass", is Ethiosemitic, going back to the root *bäqʷälä* 'to be verdant, to sprout, to grow', which occurs in Ethiosemitic and is borrowed by Cushitic Bilin, Sāho and other languages.

Src.: LesCDic; AḤMAD B. ABĪ-YAʿQŪB AL-YAʿQŪBĪ, *Taʾrīḫ*, ed. by MARTIJN THEODOR HOUTSMA, vol. 1, Lugduni Batavorum 1883; ID., *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. by MICHAEL JAN DE GOEJE, Lugduni Batavorum 1982, 336f.; ABŪ L-QĀSIM MUḤAMMAD IBN ḤAWQAL, *Opus geographicum*, ed. by JOHANNES HENDRIK KRAMERS, vol. 1, Ludguni Batavorum 1938; AḤMAD IBN ʿALĪ AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Kitāb al-mawāʿiz wal-iʿtibār fī ḏikr al-ḫiṭaṭ wal-āṯār*, ed. by GASTON WIET, Le Caire 1923 (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 46), vol. 3.

Lit.: ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI, "Tigre and Bagulin in the 9th and 10th Century Period", *QSE* 5, 1984, 83–92; ID., "Beja and Tigre in 9th–10th Century Period", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 35, 1972, 117–30; LEO REINISCH, *Wörterbuch der Beḍauye-Sprache*, Wien 1893, 45.

Andrzej Zaborski

Barakāt b. ʿUmardīn ↗ Walašmaʿ dynasty

Bäräkät Gäbrä Mädḫən

B. (**በረኽት፡ ገብረ፡ መድኅን**, b. ca. 1930, d. 1978?) was a Brigadier–General, the son of *ato* Gäbrä Mädḫən Habtäzgi and *wäyzäro* Ṣädalä of Madər in ↗Säraye. He was born in Eritrea and went to school in Harär. After the Liberation, he worked for the police as an interpreter, as the training-officers were British. Later he enlisted as a cadet and graduated as an officer. He was subsequently assigned to various capacities (including commander-in-chief of the provincial police) in Harär, Wälläga, Ğimma and Addis Abäba. He studied law by extension and received further training for short periods in the United States and Israel. He was arrested by the Provisional Military Administrative Council (*Därg*) in 1974 and imprisoned for about four years before he disappeared in 1978 together with a group of officials who are suspected to have been murdered.

Src.: interviews with *wäyzäro* Kasu and other elders in Addis Abäba 1972–86.

Lit.: MOGÄS BÄYYÄNÄ, **ጊዜና፡ ፖሊስ** (*Gizenna polis*, 'Time and the Police'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.], 363, 369.

Bairu Tafla

Bäraḳi Bəḳit

Ras B.B. (**በራ፞ሺ፡ ብ፞ሺት**, b. ca. 1841, Ǝmba Dərho near Asmära, d. 1939, Asmära) was the son of *käntiba* Bəḳit Täwäldä Mädḫən, head of ↗Däqqi Täššäm, a subdistrict and dan of Ḥamasen. He served under *däğğazmač* ↗Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən, governor of Ḥamasen. It was serving this governor that B.'s father was killed in the battle of Wäkki Dəbba in 1876. B. kept a low profile under *ras* ↗Alula Ǝndəda, but he joined the Italians along with his elder brother,

däğğazmač Səbḥatu, who had succeeded their father to the office of Däqqi Täššəm. Soon after they occupied ↗Massawa in 1885 the Italians made B. head of the *banda* and he subsequently helped ↗Baldissera to occupy Asmära and the rest of the highlands. ↗Baratieri then appointed B. *blatten geta* and administrator of the capital. In 1894, he became governor of ↗Karnäšəm and chief judge of the whole of Ḥamasen, offices that he would retain for the rest of his life. He was also awarded several medals as well as the title of *ras*.

After his death, his eldest son *däğğazmač* Bäyyänä succeeded him to the office but the ↗British Military Administration favoured a commoner and the son was dismissed. Bäyyänä eventually joined the ↗Unionist Party, becoming in 1947 its president.

Lit.: JOHANNES KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega*. I: *Textes tigrigna*, Rome 1912 (Archives d'Études Orientales 5:1), 256; ErDizBio 33, 40; JORDAN GEBRE-MEDHIN, *Peasants and Nationalism in Eritrea: a Critique of Ethiopian Studies*, Trenton 1989, 109ff.

Bairu Tafla

Bärälam wäyəwasəf

B.w. (**በረላም፡ ወይዋስፍ**, 'Book of Barlaam and Josaphat') is a religious romance comprising many fables and parables, deriving ultimately from the traditional biography of Gautama Buddha. Manichaean, Muslim, Christian and Jewish versions of the romance were widely known in the Middle Ages.

Content

The rich and mighty King of India, Wädagos, persecutes the Christian religion, that was brought to India by the apostle Thomas. One day, a son is born to Wädagos by the name of Yəwasəf. Astrologers and magicians, when asked about the future of young Yəwasəf, prophesy that he will become a Christian and will "raise up high the religion of the Messiah". To prevent this the King secludes the prince in a beautiful castle, keeping him away from the knowledge of sorrow, death, wickedness and anything else that could distract him from joy. Grown up, the prince wishes to see the world beyond his palace, and thus learns of the existence of illness and death. The wise and pious hermit Bärälam joins the prince, then teaches him the knowledge of God and the mysteries of the Christian religion and ethics, using a great number of fables and parables. The prince comes to wish to renounce the world, and to end his days with Bärälam. Before the King hears about all this, Bärälam leaves. The King becomes angry and fearful, and tries to convert his son by all means. The King even gives Yəwasəf one half of his kingdom. Finally, the King confesses his error and, after all of his councillors have become Christians, the King himself converts. After the death of his father, Yəwasəf forsakes his kingdom, and, having left his throne to a trustworthy follower, departs for the desert to find his teacher Bärälam. Having found him they both lead an ascetic life in the desert until their deaths.

History of the text

Traditional legendary lives of Buddha found their way through Central Asia into a Manichaean Pehlevi version, now lost. From this Pehlevi version an Arabic translation was made, probably by ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Muqaffaᶜ (d. 759). This first Arabic translation, the *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Būdāsaf*, was the basis for several Islamic versions, the Hebrew version of Ibn Ḥasdai and a Georgian version (Lang 1960). The Georgian version was translated and reshaped into Greek. The redactor, perhaps ↗John of Damascus (8th cent.) or Euthymius of Athos (d. 1028), Christianized the text and inserted additional material, e.g. 'The Apology of Aristides' (on the Greek text cf. Volk 1993/94). This Greek text was the basis for many occidental versions and a Christian Arabic translation (Graf 1944, vol. 1, 546ff.; Samir 1991:346f.). According to one Ethiopian colophon (cf. Budge 1923, vol. 1, 245), it was a Bärsom Wäldä Abu Ǝlfäräğ (Bar Ṣawmā b. Abī l-Farağ) who made the Arabic version (van Donzel 1969:29f.). Finally, the Arabic text was translated into Ethiopic by *əṣṣäge* ↗ᶜƎnbaqom in 1553 for *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos (Turaiev 1912; Murad Kamil 1941:65; GuiSLett 82).

The Ethiopic text is preserved in several manuscripts: London, BL Orient. 699 (WrBriMus no. 275, first half of 18th cent.); London, BL Orient. 753 (WrBriMus no. 322, III, 18th cent.); Paris, BN Abb. 31/5 (fol. 27r–104; dated 1619, cf. UhPal 538); Paris, BN Abb. 130/1 (fol. 1–74); Paris, BN Éth. 205/7 (fol. 43–72, ChMonV 193:10–11); Paris, BN Éth. 140 (ZotBNat 207–11); EMML 745 (late); EMML 1051 (late). Budge's edition (1923) is based on the two London manuscripts. Zotenberg's excerpts (ZotBNat 158–66) are based on ms. 140 and the British Library manu-

scripts. Both editions suggest a rather uniform transmission of the text.

Impact on Ethiopian literature

B. is among the sources of the↗*Mäzmurä Krəstos* (Cerulli 1960). Citations from it can be found in the↗*Arganonä Wəddase* (EMML 1943).

The book of B. is a fine example of the coherence of Christian oriental literatures, from Georgia to Ethiopia, and furthermore of the unity of Christian literatures in East and West (cf. CerLett 222ff.).

Src.: WrBriMus 183, no. 275 [ms. Orient. 699]; WrBriMus 215–16, no. 322 [ms. Orient. 753]; CRAbb 207–08 [ms. BN Éth. d'Abbadie 31]; CRAbb 211f. [ms. BN Éth. d'Abbadie 130]; ChMonV 10f. [ms. BN Éth. 205]; ZotBNat 207–11 [ms. BN Éth. 140]; EMML, vol. 3, 52, 391 [mss. 745, 1051]; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (ed., tr.), *Baralâm and Yēwâsēf* [*Barlaam and Josaphat*] *being the Ethiopic Version of a Christianized Recension of the Buddhist Legend of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1923; New York – Amsterdam ²1976; HERMANN ZOTENBERG, "Notice sur le texte et sur les versions orientales du livre de Barlaam et Joasaph", *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale* 28, 1, 1887, 1–166.

Lit.: ᶜENBĀQOM, *Anqaṣa amin* (*La porte de la foi*): *Apologie éthiopienne du christianisme contre l'Islam à partir du Coran*, ed., tr. by EMERY JOHANNES VAN DONZEL, Leiden 1969, 29f.; ENRICO CERULLI, "The 'Kalilah wa-Dimnah' and the Ethiopic 'Book of Barlaam and Josaphat' (British Museum Ms. Or. 534)", in: *PICES* 2, 75–99; CerLett; GEORG GRAF, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, 5 vols., Città del Vaticano 1944–53, vol. 1, 546ff.; GuiSLett; MURAD KAMIL, "Translations from Arabic in Ethiopic Literature", *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte* 7, 1941, 61–71; DAVID MARSHALL LANG, "Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf", in: *EI*², vol. 1, 1215–17; KHALIL SAMIR, "Barlām and Yuwāsaf", in: *CE*, vol. 2, 346–47; BORIS TURAIEV, "Efiopskie melkie teksty", *Hristiansky Vostok* 1, 1912, 50–61; UhPal 538; ROBERT VOLK, "Urtext und Modifikationen des griechischen Barlaam-Romans. Prolegomena zur Neuausgabe", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 86–87, 1993–94, 442–61.

Stefan Weninger

Bärara

B. (**በራራ**), a locality in Šäwa, was a royal camp of Ethiopian sovereigns in the late 15th and early 16th cent. Not referred to in the↗Chronicles, or by foreign travellers, the locality was nevertheless a place of no small consequence. It is one of the few places in Šäwa indicated in↗Fra Mauro's famous *Mappamondo* of 1460 and was mentioned by several of the Venetian scholar Alessandro Zorzi's Ethiopian informants, one of whom actually came from it. They describe B. as *aṣe*↗Ləbnä Dəngəl's "chief city", where he made his residence "for the greater part of the year". The↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (BassHist) also refers to B. as the Emperors' town. The exact location of B. is uncertain, but the modern British historical geographer Crawford (1958:5) has identified it with Borora, a mountain 30 miles south-west of Addis Abäba.

Lit.: CrawItin 7, 87; BassHist 217, 221, 229, 245f., 251f., 256f., 278f.

Richard Pankhurst

Baratieri, Oreste

B. (b. 1841, Condino, d. 1901, Vipiteno), an Italian officer, volunteered in 1860 in Garibaldi's Thousand, and later joined the Italian regular army. He was in Eritrea in 1887 as the commander of various battalions of the expedition prepared after *ras*↗Alula Ǝngəda's victory over the Italians at↗Dogᶜali. He returned in 1891 as commanding general and was nominated Governor of Eritrea the following year. With the total support of the Prime Minister Franceso Crispi, B. embarked on a policy of strong expansionism.

In July 1894 B. headed the victorious offensive against the↗Mahdist Sudan occupying Kassala. At the end of 1894 he repressed the Akkälä Guzay revolt which was led by *däǧǧač*↗Bahta Ḥagos, to whom the Italians had entrusted the defence of the southern borders of Eritrea, then started a campaign against *ras*↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs, Governor of Təgray, crushing him in two successive battles at Qʷäᶜatit and Säᶜafe in Eritrea (January 1895). The Italian offensive was then taken into the heart of Təgray, and ᶜAdwa and ᶜAddigrat were occupied. The Italian attack provoked *aṣe* Mənilək II to mobilize all his forces in order to assist *ras* Mängäša. The extreme limit of the Italian offensive was at↗Ambalage, where, on 7 December 1895, Ethiopian forces overwhelmed the Italian detachment.

Soon afterwards the Ethiopian counter-offensive attacked the fort of Mäqälä, the Italians were driven out after a relentless siege which lasted from 5 to 21 January 1896 and Ethiopian forces headed towards ᶜAdwa. Unsure whether to retreat or to brave Mənilək's prevailing forces in the open field, B., pressurized by Crispi, started the battle of↗ᶜAdwa (1 March 1896). The Italians were overwhelmed and

General Oreste Baratieri, photo courtesy of IES, Addis Abäba

compelled to retreat with heavy losses. B.'s career finished in this way.

Substituted by Antonio ↗Baldissera, B. was taken to trial for negligent conduct. Once acquitted he asked to be pensioned off and this was granted. During the last years of his life he made several atempts to justify his behaviour and to exculpate himself from charges he considered unjust. He derived various publications from his experiences, including *Memorie d'Africa 1892–1896*.

Src.: ORESTE BARATIERI, *Memorie d'Africa (1892–1896)*, Torino 1898; ID., *Pagine d'Africa (1875–1901)*, ed. by NICOLA LABANCA, Trento 1994.
Lit.: ROBERTO BATTAGLIA, *La prima guerra d'Africa*, Torino 1958, passim; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale. Dall'Unità alla marcia su Roma*, Roma – Bari 1976, s. index; NICOLA LABANCA, *In marcia verso Adua*, Torino 1993, s. index.

Marco Lenci

Baratti, Giacomo

B. (17th cent.) was a supposed Italian traveller to Ethiopia and author of a volume of "memoirs" on the country. This work is interesting in that it appeared almost half a century after the departure of the Jesuits and a generation prior to the visit of the French physician Charles Poncet. B.'s *Travels* are, however, of uncertain authenticity and are in places unreliable. No Italian version exists; the work is known only through an English "translation" by George Doddington published in London in 1670 and followed by a German edition six years later. The text claims that B. travelled across Təgray, where he witnessed the depredations of Arab slave-raiders, before proceeding to the Täkkäze river and on to the court of "Prester John". The book also contains excerpts from two other authors on Ethiopia: Damião de ↗Góis and Joseph Scalinger.

Src.: GIACOMO BARATTI, *The Travels of S. Giacomo Baratti, an Italian Gentleman, into the Remote Countries of the Abissins, or of Ethiopia Interior*, London 1670.
Lit.: A. CODAZZI, "Giacomo Baratti", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 6, Roma 1964, 3.

Richard Pankhurst

Bärbara ↗ Zärʾa Yaʿəqob

Bärbäre

B. (በርበሬ Amh., Tgn., Gurage, Oromo) or Sweet Pepper, Paprika (*Capsicum annuum*), is an annually cultivated plant 0,5 m to 1 m high, with multiple stems branching from the base forming a compact habit. The leaves are opposite along the branches, or there can be two to three in terminal nodes, they are 4 to 13 cm long and 2 to 6 cm wide and acute at the apex. Inflorescence is solitary. The fruits are green and often red at maturity, but may be orange, yellow or brownish; they appear in various shapes and sizes, some elongate 7 to 15 cm long on a long stalk.

The name B. describes both the plant and the condiment. The B. powder as a condiment is prepared together with other spices (garlic, basil, ginger, rue and salt) and is used in the preparation of a local dish called *wät*, which is a stew made from pulses (*šəro/kʾəkʾ/məssər wät*) or chicken (*doro wät*) or meat (*śəga wät*). The condiment has a strong pungent taste. The B. paste, known as *awaze*, prepared from the B. powder mixed with ↗*ṭäǧǧ*, a locally brewed drink made from honey, is used to flavour raw meat.

Many highland Ethiopians enjoy eating raw meat and these people believe the B. in addition to flavouring the meat will also kill all microorganisms in the meat and even those present in the stomach. B. is the most popular and an indispensable condiment used by many almost every day. Although it is a known fact that B. was introduced from South America by the Portuguese explorers, many Ethiopians find it hard to believe that it is not native and could not imagine what their food would have been like without B.

B. is widely cultivated in many parts of Ethiopia, usually for domestic consumption. After the

establishment of the Ethiopian Extraction Factory in the 1970's, which required over 5,000 tons annually for the local and international market, individual farmers and farmers co-operatives mainly in southern, central and northwestern parts of Ethiopia produced B. as a cash crop providing a sizeable amount of their income.

Bärbäre pod, from De Wit – Gerlach 1990, plate 6.4

A related species, *Capsicum frutescens* is locally known as *mitmiṭṭa* and the fruits are relatively smaller in size, but more pungent. This species is said to be distinguished (although sometimes difficult) by the clusters of two to five flowers per node as compared to the solitary inflorescence of *Capsicum annuum*.

Lit.: CHARLES B. HEISER JR. – PAUL G. SMITH, "The Cultivated Capsicum Peppers", *Economic Botany* 7, 1953, 214-26; P.C.M. JANSEN, *Spices, Condiments and Medicinal Plants in Ethiopia, their Taxonomy and Agricultural Significance*, Wageningen 1981; DAVE DE WIT – NANCY GERLACH, *The Whole Chile Pepper Book*, Boston – Toronto – London 1990.

Sebsebe Demissew

Barbieri, Ulisse

B. (b. 1842, Lombardy, d. 1899) was an Italian Anti-Colonialist. Under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, he was imprisoned for agitating in favour of Italian Unity. He later emerged as a Republican and Revolutionary poet, playwright, and journalist. Deeply interested in African resistance to European colonialism, he sympathized with the Sudanese ↗Mahdists in their struggle against the British, and in 1885 wrote a poem *Avanti Sudanesi*, i.e. "Forward Sudanese".

Later, after *ras* Alula Ǝngəda's success at ↗Dogᶜali against the Italians, in 1887, he published a booklet, entitled *Ribellione* ('Rebellion'). Dedicated to *aṣe* Yoḥannəs and *ras* Alula as "defenders of African liberty", it declared that it was not patriotic for Italy to send further recruits to Africa, for "the patriots are the Abyssinians". His best pro-Ethiopian work was, however, his *Inno Abissino* ('Abyssinian Hymn'), set to the music of the Italian hymn *Inno di Garibaldi*, with its refrain "*Va fuori dell'Africa*!" ('Get out of Africa!').

Lit.: ROMAIN RAINERO, *L'anticolonialismo italiano da Assab ad Adua (1869–1896)*, Milano 1971; RITA PANKHURST, "'Get Out of Africa, Foreigner, Get Out', Ulisse Barbieri's Anti-Colonialism in the Years Preceding the Battle [of Adwa]", in: ABDUSSAMAD HAJJI AHMAD – RICHARD PANKHURST (eds.), *Adwa Victory Centenary Conference 26 February–2 March 1996,* Addis Ababa 1998, 501–16.

Richard Pankhurst

Barča

B. (ባርጫ) is a locality in the province of ↗Dämbəya, where a decisive battle between *aṣe* ↗Zädəngəl and the regiments of Qurban and Mizan (established by *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl as his body-guards) took place in 1604.

The reason behind the conflict was *aṣe* Zädəngəl's decree on "Men of arms and farmers paying tax", by which he had intended to mobilize both professional feudal warriors and free peasant levies into his army as equals. It was the logical deduction from the ideas which had been implied by *abba* ↗Baḥrəy in his famous treatise *Zenahu lägalla*, i.e. to mobilize all the fighting capacities of the Christian kingdom in order to repel the ↗Oromo invasion. With this purpose in mind Zädəngəl asked both the King of Portugal (Felipe II, 1598–1621) and Pope ↗Clemens VIII, for military assistance, promising them to embrace the Catholic faith. Thus, Zädəngəl unhappily encroached upon the very fundamentals of both the Ethiopian Church and the Ethiopian feudal class. The reaction was immediate; *abunä* Ṗetros excommunicated the King, and the regiments of Qʷərban and Mizan declared their disobedience on 28 August 1604.

Zädəngəl boldly went against the rebellious regiments and met them on 13 October 1604 at B. His own army was routed and Zädəngəl himself was speared to death. The malice of his enemies was so great, that, according to the "short chronicle", "they made three outrages upon him; one soldier trampled his body with his horse, the second soldier put his eyes out

with his dart on the morrow, and the third, a native of Barča, cut off his finger to take his ring" (Conti Rossini 1893:18). It was specifically social, not religious malice, because the victors did not hurt his ↗Portuguese soldiers, as they were Catholics in their own right. This event produced a great shock in the country, and the battle at B. remained well remembered in Ethiopian history.

Src.: JULES PERRUCHON, "Règne de Ya'qob et de Za-Dengel (1597–1607)", *Revue Sémitique* 4, 1896, 357; CARLA FOTI, "La cronaca abbreviata dei re d'Abissinia in un manoscritto di Dabra Berhān di Gondar", *RSE* 1, 1941, 87–123, here 110; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Due squarci inediti di Cronaca Etiopica", *RRALm* ser. 5, 2, 1893, 804–18; BegCron 84; PerChron 7, 9, 487.
Lit.: BruNile 422; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "The «History of the Galla» and Death of Za-Dengel, King of Ethiopia (1603–1604)", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 803–08; MORDECHAI ABIR, *Ethiopia and the Red Sea: the Rise and Decline of the Solomonic Dynasty and Muslim-European Rivalry in the Region*, London 1980, 180–84.

Sevir Chernetsov

Bardey, Xavier Alfred

B. (b. 23 September 1854, Besançon, d. 16 January 1934, Vaux-les-Prés), a French merchant, established a trading agency in Aden. In 1880 he was among the first European merchants to enter ↗Harär and open there an agency, mainly for the purchase of coffee and hides. He thus benefited from the relative security that resulted from the short period of Egyptian occupation in the region (1875–85). In his writings, B. has left precious accounts on the political, economic and social conditions of Harär and its region in the 1880s. The famous French poet Arthur ↗Rimbaud was employed by him.

Src.: ALFRED BARDEY, *Barr-Adjam, souvenirs d'Afrique Orientale, 1880–1887* [précédé de "le Patron de Rimbaud" par JOSEPH TUBIANA], Paris 1981; ID., "Notes sur le commerce du Somal, du Harrar et du pays des Gallas", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie Commerciale* 8, 1885–86, 415–30; ID., "Notes sur le Harrar", *Bulletin de Géographie Historique Descriptive* 12, 1897, 130–80.

Jonathan Miran

Barentu

B. (Tgn. **ባረንቱ**: Barāntu) is a town lying in the south-western lowlands of Eritrea, approximately 70 km south-west of ↗ᶜAqordät on the road leading to ↗Täsänäy. Founded by the Italians in the 1890s as an administrative centre of the area (together with Täsänäy and ᶜAqordät; s. Longrigg 1945), in the Ethiopian Empire B. then became the capital of the ↗Gaš-Setit province. In the present-day Eritrea, B., with a population of around 21,460 (population estimate 2001, s. Ministry of Local Government 2002), is the administrative centre of the region (*zoba*) Gaš-Barka.

The Gulluǧ hills (Kunama habitat) on the east, and the Gaš and the Setit rivers on the west and south demarcate the territory of B. The latitude of the area lies between 1,500 m and 2,000 m A.S.L. The temperature varies between 18° and 25° C. The rainy season lasts from late June to early September, as in the highlands.

Gold-mining and agriculture contributed greatly to the growth of the local economy and commerce. Precipitation of between 300–600 mm enabled a sedentary life based on agriculture. In the B. area wheat, barley and vegetables such as potato, tomato, banana, papaya and other leafy vegetables are cultivated. The soils of the area (vertisols, fluvisols, rigosols, cambisols and

A view of Barentu, 1993, photo courtesy of Paul Henze

lithosols) are highly endangered by wind erosion. Domestic animals are goats, sheep, cattle, donkeys and camels. Besides agriculture and commerce, the inhabitants are engaged in pottery, basketry, leather and skin-processing.

Being located in the centre of ↗Kunama territory, B. has a multiethnic population. Different ethnic groups such as Təgrañña, Nara, and Kunama (especially Gaš, Marda, ↗Barka, Illit, Mogreb, Tika and Sakodasa subgroups) inhabit the city and its environs. B. has always attracted missionaries of various denominations. The inhabitants are mainly Catholics (a large Catholic church is situated about 28 km from B.), Protestants, Orthodox Christians and Muslims. Though there are Christian converts among the Kunama, many of them retain their traditional religion.

B. increased in prosperity until the early 1960s. As the Eritrean armed struggle began, a government army and police garrison were stationed in B. Later on, the area became a scene of fierce fighting between the Eritrean liberation movements and Ethiopian troops, which were finally forced to withdraw on 31 March 1988 (cp. Ruth Iyob 1997).

Src.: MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT, CARTOGRAPHY UNIT (ed.), *Population Estimation of Eritrea 2001*, Asmara [March] 2002.

Lit.: KilHDic 109f.; YUSUF ABUL-HAGGAG, *A Contribution to the Physiography of Northern Ethiopia*, London 1961; ESTIFANOS BEIN – BERHANE HABTE – A. JABER – ANN BIRNIE – BO TENGNÄS, *Useful Trees and Shrubs in Eritrea: Identification, Propagation, and Management for Agricultural and Pastoral Communities*, Nairobi 1996 (Regional Soil Conservation Unit, Technical Handbook 12); CHRISTOPHER EHRET, "Nilo-Saharans and Saharo-Sudanese Neolithic", in: THURSTAN SHAW – BASSEY W. ANDAH – PAUL SINCLAIR et al. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Africa: Foods, Metals, and Towns*, New York 1993; SADASIVUNI KRISHNA RAO, "Cultural Histories of Ancient Eritrea: against all Odds of Ecological Variations", paper presented at the *International Conference of African Language and Literature "Against All Odds"*, Asmara, 11th–17th January 2000; STEPHEN HEMSLEY LONGRIGG, *A Short History of Eritrea*, Oxford 1945, 157ff.; RUTH IYOB, *Eritrean Struggle for Independence*, Cambridge 1997.

S. Krishna Rao

Bareytuma ↗ Baarentuu

Bärgəbbi

B. (በርጋቢ) is situated in Yəfat at the site of Gadillo or Gədəm, which lay east of Mänz and Gəšše. The Amhara settlement Ǧan Amora, named after the regiment of the 15th-cent. ruler of Christian Ethiopia, *aṣe* ↗Bä'ədä Maryam, who had made that place a base, was located there. Bä'ədä Maryam had assigned the Ǧan Amora with an objective to check the pressure which the lowland pastoral communities put on the highland agriculturalists.

The site fell into the hands of ↗Oromo from the 16th cent. The Šäwan ruler, ↗Ammaḫa Iyäsus, apparently re-occupied the place first for the emerging Šäwan Kingdom. The name was later changed to B. (*Yäbärr gəbbi*, 'compound at the gate'). This highlights its status as frontier garrison on the edge of the Amhara highland districts, overlooking the settlements of the Oromo around and below it. There are still vivid traditions about how it was heavily guarded, with all the special care required in such situations. Deriving its glories from the Oromo chief, Lataa, B. went on developing its heritage, which it had earlier been bequeathed from Mänz. It was well fenced, starting from the north-west site of Bägədde, all around as far as Dayer, another site south-east of it, with five entrance gates in the fence. The British Major, William Cornwallis Harris tells us that Lataa was the "ruler of the last Muhhammadan settlers" of the area before the whole district of Gadillo/Gədəm was effectively brought under control by the son and successor of Ammaḫa Iyäsus, ↗Asfa Wäsän. Harris may have confused the religious identity of the settlers of B., but there is no doubt that Lataa is an Oromo name and the people under his leadership were almost certainly Oromo.

When Mänilək (later *aṣe* ↗Mänilək II) escaped *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II's Mäqdäla prison, he

came to Šäwa in 1865, through the territory of *wäyzäro* Wärqitu of Wällo. At that time, Šäwa was ruled by *däğğazmač* Bäzzabbəh Wärq, *aṣe* Tewodros II's Šäwan appointee. Bäzzabbəh and his followers tried their best to prevent Mənilək from entering Šäwa. In fact, Gadillo, near B., was a site of Mənilək's victory over his Šäwan opponent on Monday, 22 August 1865.

During his march to ↗ᶜAdwa in 1896, *aṣe* Mənilək II took the *tabot* of Bärgəbbi Qəddus Giyorgis Church, leaving at this site that of the Arada which he took from Addis Abäba. There is a rich tradition indicating that Mənilək took this decision because he remembered the vow his mother, *wäyzäro* ↗Ǝğğəgayyähu, swore to Bärgəbbi Qəddus Giyorgis, when fighting started between Mənilək and Bäzzabbəh at Gadillo, if her son won the day.

41 years later, the Italians again came to Ethiopia in order to avenge ᶜAdwa. Without touching any of the other churches of the area, they bombarded and burned the church and the whole area of B. on 11 June 1937. Although this bombing could just be a coincidence, the local tradition claims that it was a deliberate action. In addition to this, the Qəddus Giyorgis church of B. which was reconstructed again was damaged by the earthquake of 1961 which hit the area. The ark stayed in a *tukul* or *mäkäñño bet* until recently when the church was rebuilt once again in a modern style.

Lit.: AFÄWÄRQ GÄBRÄ IYÄSUS, ጳጳሣዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ (*Dagmawi Mənilək nəguśä nägäśt zä'ityopya*, 'Mənilək II, King of Kings of Ethiopia'), Rome 1901, 18; AHMED HASSAN OMER, *Aspects of the History of Efrata. Jillé (Shoa Region) with particular Reference to Twentieth Century*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1987, 8–13; ID., *A Historical Survey of Ethnic Relations in Yefat and Temmuga, Northeast Shäwa, 1889–1974*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1994, 16f.; WILLIAM CORNWALLIS HARRIS, *The Highlands of Aethiopia*, London 1968, vol. 2, 347.

Ahmed Hassen Omer

Barḥadle Yūsuf al-Akwān

Āw B. (بر بدل يو ف الأكوان) or Muḥyīaddīn Yūsuf al-Akwān (or al-Kawnayn) [b.] Barḥadle ᶜAlī, probably 13th cent., is the most celebrated saint of northern Somalia, who is also venerated in ↗Harär and other places. The main shrine of B. can be found near the dry river-bed of Dogor, some 20 miles north-east of ↗Hargeisa. Another tomb is located on the right-hand side of the road from Harär to Fadis. Finally, he has a *maqām* at Qoranyale, near Borama, in north-west Somalia. It is a large black stone to which pilgrimages are made. The sanctity of his tomb is confirmed already for the 16th cent.: *ġarād* Ǧibrīl (d. 1569) was buried near to it. According to Somali traditions B. came from Arabia and introduced Islam in northern Somalia. He became an ally of *šayḫ* Isḥāq b. Aḥmad, the ancestor of the Somali confederation of ↗Isaaq. He committed a ritual murder against Muḥammad Ḥanīf, who in spite of his Muslim name is said to have been the "pagan" priest of the Yibir. This was the origin of the patronage of the Isaaq over the Yibir.

B. does not only occur in the oral tradition of the Somali. He also plays an important role in the written Arabic sources for the early history of Islam in Ethiopia. These sources, however, differ much in chronology, so that it is not even clear whether the same person is always meant or not. The earliest date is given in Aḥmad aš-Šāmī's list of the rulers of Harär (*Ǧadwal aš-Šāš waš-Šāmī*, ms. 276, IES): 982/3–1001 A.D. The other lists of the Harärian *amīrs* fix his rule over the town into the years 1038–65/66. In the chronicle of the ↗Walašmaᶜ dynasty, B. is the 5th or 6th ancestor of the dynasty's founder ᶜUmar Walašmaᶜ (d. 1275). That suggests that B. must have lived in the 12th cent.

Furthermore, in ↗Yaḥyā b. Naṣrallāh's *Fatḥ madīnat Harar*, B. was one of the companions of ↗Abādir ᶜUmar ar-Riḍā, the most famous saint of Harär. On his side he fought the infidels, whom the *Fatḥ* anachronistically designates as "Portuguese". He became ruler of

Harär in 1253 and converted the "Portuguese" ruler Ǧurniyāl b. Karnibāl to Islam. This date would be in congruence with a genealogy which makes B. a descendant in the 16th generation of the Idrīsid ruler Yaḥyā I of Morocco (849–63, s. Wagner 1974:115), and with Lewis's condusions from synchronisms in the Somali oral tradition. A prediction of the Prophet Muḥammad which is conserved by the custodian of the saint's main shrine, also points to the 13th cent. It says that B. would be born in 666 H. [1266/67 A.D.]. The same date was given by Richard Burton in 1854 as the year in which B. came to Siyaro near Berbera.

B. is also credited with the invention of a Somali nomenclature for the Arabic short vowels and with the introduction of the Arabian black-headed fat-tailed sheep.

Src.: EWALD WAGNER (ed., tr.), *Legende und Geschichte. Der Fatḥ Madīnat Harar von Yaḥyā Naṣrallāh,* Wiesbaden 1978 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 44, 3), 38ff.; *Ǧadwal aš-Šāš waš-Šāmī*, ms. 276, IES.
Lit.: IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, "Sharif Yusuf Barkhadle: The Blessed Saint of Somaliland", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 75–81; ID., "Sufism in Somaliland: a Study in Tribal Islam, II", *BSOAS* 18, 1956, 145–60, here 153f.; ID., "The Gadabursi Somali Script", *ibid.* 21, 1958, 134–56, here 135; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* 6, 4, 2, 1931, 39–101, here 42f., 67 [repr. in: ID., *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971, 136–206, here 139f., 170]; RUDI PARET, "Eine fragwürdige arabische Chronik von Harar", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 421–43, here 433f.; EWALD WAGNER, "Eine Liste der Heiligen von Harar", *ZDMG* 123, 1973, 269–92, here 289, before 275 (ill.); ID., "Genealogien aus Harar", *Der Islam* 51, 1974, 97–117, here 112–15; ID., "Die Chronologie der frühen muslimischen Herrscher in Äthiopien nach den Hadariner Emirslisten", in: BRIGITTA BENZING – OTTO BOECHER – GUENTER MAYER (eds.), *Wort und Wirklichkeit. Studien zur Afrikanistik und Orientalistik Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*, 1, Meisenheim 1976, 186–204; ID., "Barḥadle", in: *DicEthBio* 37.

Ewald Wagner

Bariisaa

B. ('Morning Star') is the first ↗Oromo newspaper established as a private enterprise, initially by unnamed Oromo nationalists as ጸበዮ፡ ጋዜጣ፡ በሪሳ (for Oromo *Ḍaabbata Gaazeṭaa Bariisaa*, 'An Enterprise of *Bariisaa* Newspaper') and written with Ethiopic characters. The first issue of the paper came out on 27 *Näḥase* 1968 A.M. [2 September 1976 A.D.] under editor-in-chief Mahaadi Hamiid Muude. However, the newspaper was discontinued until 26 *Ṭərr* 1968 A.M. [4 February 1976] for unknown reasons upon an appeal by the editor-in-chief, publication resumed on 12 *Yäkkatit* 1969 A.M. [20 February 1976]. It was decided that the newspaper would be issued on a par with the weekly Amharic newspaper, *Yäzareyitu Ityopya,* consisting of eight pages and 20,000 copies every Thursday. 15,000 copies of the paper were published in the month of February 1969. However, the number of issues began to decline in the following months: 12,000 copies in March, 8,000 copies from April to June and 4,000 copies from July to August 1969 A.M. [1977]. Since 28 *Näḥase* 1970 A.M. [3 September 1978] 2,000 copies have been published every month despite an order of 30 *Ḫədar* 1985 A.M. [9 December 1992] to raise the number of copies up to 5,000. Since in 1991 A.M. [1998/99] the governmental Press Department of the Ministry of Information and Culture took over its publication, B. has been written in *qubee* based on the Latin script (*Dhaabbata Gaazexaa Bariisaa*).

Src.: Letters and Correspondence in the *Bariisaa Newspaper* File no. 19–1–68 in the documentation section of the Press Department of the Ministry of Information and Culture, Addis Abäba, Ethiopia.

Kebede Hordofa Janko

Barka

B. appears as a designation of a river, a region (since the 20th cent. a province), two dialects and an ethnic subgroup in Eritrea. The river B. (ባርካ, in the Sudan: Baraka, Ital. Bárca) lies in the northwestern Eritrean lowlands – crossing the B. plains – and East-Sudan. It originates in the highlands, and disappears near Tokar in the hinterland of ↗Sawākin, in the so-called Khor Baraka Delta. Etymologically the term is related to *bäräḳa* (ባረቀ Amh. 'hot lowlands'; Tgn. 'wilderness'). When this designation (e.g., as ባረካ, Bäräka) appears in old Ethiopian chronides, it may mean the B. area, but also other lowlands, e.g., in the Ethio-Sudanese border areas of Wälqayt or Šire.

Most of the surrounding area became an Eritrean province in the early 20th cent., called *commissariato*, later *æwraǧǧa* B. Changes of administrative borders occurred often; for some time B. induded the ↗Gaš-Setit province (with the Nara and Kunama), B.'s territory then amounting to ca. 45,000 km^2 (↗Eritrea). In 1995 most of B.'s territory was included, together with Gaš-Setit, into the new province Gaš-Barka. B.'s capital was

↗ᶜAqordät, seasonally watered by the B. river and rich in dum palms. Agriculturally, B. is of less importance than the ↗Gaš river and delta, but has also been used for cotton growing (mostly around Tokar), the soil being very fertile. Rainfall is more regular along the B. river than in the semi-arid plains of the West or the mountains in the East. Before the 20th cent. the area's vegetation seems to have been much more abundant than today.

The B. serves as a traditional trade route; on the Sudanese side the Lower B. valley connects the inland with the ports of Sawākin and Aqiq (it was also used in the history of slave trade, e.g., by Rašayda). Like the ↗ᶜAnsäba, which joins the B. river close to the border, the B. valley is also an ancient migration route. After the decline of the Aksumite kingdom in the 8th and 9th cent. ↗Beğa groups migrated southwards to the Eritrean highlands via the B. The influence of the newly emerged Muslim Dahlak sultanate might have reached the B. from the 9th cent. onwards; the emergence of an Islamic movement in the B. area already in 759 A.D. is reported, influenced by Arab migration to the hinterlands of Sawākin. Most of the B. belonged to the "five Beğa kingdoms" (Naqīs bordered at the Lower B. in the south, the middle course was included into ↗Baqulīn). Then, in the 16th cent., much of B. came under the Muslim ↗Funğ kingdom. The Təgre in the southern parts of the B. (Upper B.), however, remained Christian until the 19th cent. The Təgre ↗ᶜAd Šayḫ, traditionally camping in the B. near Biša, were crucial in their conversion to Islam.

The history of the B. area is marked by a traditionally high degree of autonomy of the local pastoralist groups. Ethnically, it is mainly inhabited by ↗Beni ᶜAmər and Təgre groups, most of them former vassals of the Beni ᶜAmər; Beğa-phone ↗Hadaareb live near the Sudanese border (according to ↗Haḍándowa tradition B. is the cradle of the Beğa). Culturally these groups resemble those of the coast. They live mainly from cattle and camel breeding, but some smaller groups also cultivate millet, bananas and *ᶜakat* (doum palm fruits) near the B. river.

The B. lowlands were repeatedly raided by *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam after the 1830s, while the Egyptian authorities of Kassala tried to make the independent B. tribes tributary. The Beni ᶜAmər of the B. valley, originally followers of the king of Funğ, seem to have paid tribute to several of their neighbours simultanously, when the political situation demanded it. In 1862 their *šayḫ* Muḥammad Beᶜid went to *aṣe* Tewodros, probably to seek support against the Egyptians (Rubenson 1978:215). When the Egyptians replaced Turkish authority along the entire coast from the mid-1860s, the B. and Ḥabab areas became part of their new East Sudan province. South of the B., close to the Təgrəññña areas, the Egyptians built the fort of ↗Kufit in 1868, followed by the annexation of Bogos (↗Bilin) in 1872. Massawa and Kassala were now directly linked via the B. area. This was followed by a reorganisation of the Egyptian province and modernisation projects (e.g., a telegraph line was built through the B. plains in 1873).

In that period the B. served as a retreat area for people who fled from warfare in Ḫamasen, where *ras* Wəldä Mika'el Sälomon competed for power with others; however, the Egyptian plan of a mass migration of the Təgrəññña population to B. and Ḥabab, to become Egyptian subjects, was never realized. When the Egyptians' influence was weakened after the war of 1875–76, *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda repeatedly raided the southern B. area and demanded tribute (Rubenson 1978:342). The B., however, stayed under Egyptian sovereignty (the Mahdists were not accepted by the local Muslim pastoralists), until Kufit, Amädib and other garrisons were evacuated in 1885, after the battle of Kufit, to come under *ras* Alula. But already in 1889 the Italians took it over (on ↗Algäden s. Pollera 1935:187). Soon the Mahdists, claiming B. on historical grounds, attacked the Italian lines

Barka landscape with the dry river-bed, doum palms and the fort of Aqordät in the background, from Schoenfeld 1904:40

from Kassala in a futile attempt to gain control of the trade routes along the B. and to the coast. In a battle at the B. river of December 1893 they were dramatically defeated ("Second Battle of ᶜAqordät"), resulting in the Italian occupation of Kassala in 1894. On 25 June 1895 the Anglo-Egyptian and Italian governments conduded a first treaty, which defined the border at the B. river. The Beni ᶜAmər following *šayḫ* al-Ḥusayn and Maḥmud Šarīf became Italian subjects, while those following *šayḫ* Idrīs Ḥāmid remained Egyptian (d'Avray 1996:262; s. ↗Boundaries).

For the militant Eritrean liberation movements the B. area played a crucial role. ↗Ḥāmid Idrīs ᶜAwate led the first armed attack in the hinterlands of ᶜAqordät in September 1961. Later, B. was in the centre of the reformist movements of the 1960s, which profoundly changed the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (s. KilHDic 41f., 52, 111, 244).

Two main Təgre dialects are spoken in the Eritrean B. province: the so-called B. or Baraka dialect (very dose to that of Saḥəl), and that of the Marya Ṣällam. These dialects share the common phenomenon, that the sounds *d* and *ṭ* regularly correspond to *z* and *ṣ* in the other Təgre dialects. Differences between the dialects, however, are small. They share 94 to 97% of the lexicon (different from the Sämhar dialect, which shares less than 90%).

B. (or Balka) also appears as a designation of an important ↗Kunama group around the village of Fode south of Barentu. Etymologically it seems to be related to the river, as the B. was historically the western border of the Kunama area. The B. dialect shares most (87%) of the lexicon with the neighbouring Marda Kunama east of Barentu, and above 80% with most of the other Eastern Kunama dialects, but only 61% with Illit and 64% with Sokodasa (Western Kunama). B. shows a number of phonological simplifications; e.g., where Marda has preserved the original *rm*, B. has kept only one assimilated sound, *mm* (similar to *sk* > *ss*). Due to the closeness to the regional capital Barentu, the B. Kunama together with the Marda dispose of the highest number of people who have received modern education. This resulted in the use of the B. dialect (but less than Marda) for recent texts in the new Latin Kunama script.

Lit.: WERNER MUNZINGER, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Schaffhausen 1864; ANTHONY D'AVRAY, *Lords of the Red Sea*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 45), 220, 262, s. index; FERDINANDO MARTINI, *Relazione sulla colonia Eritrea del R. Commissario civile deputato...*, vol. 3, Roma 1913 (Atti parlamentari, Legislatura XXIII, Sessione 1909-1913, Camera dei Deputati); ALBERTO POLLERA, *Le popolazioni indigene dell'Eritrea*, Bologna 1935, 187, 293-99, s. index; *Guida* 218ff., 222; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London – New York 1952, s. index; SVEN RUBENSON, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, London ²1978 (Lund Studies in International History 7), 215, 342; BTafA; MUḤAMMAD ᶜUṮMĀN ABŪ BAKR, *Taʾrīḫ Irītrīyā al-muᶜāṣir: arḍan wa-šaᶜaban* ('The Modern History of Eritrea: the Land and the People'), Cairo 1994, 236–44; KilHDic 41f., 51f., 110f., 244f.; MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, *Draft: Standardization, Eritrean Languages and Their Dialects*, ms., 1998; DAGOBERT SCHOENFELD, *Erythräa und der Ägyptische Sudan*, Berlin 1904, 40 (ill.).

Wolbert Smidt

Barley

B. (Gəᶜəz, Amh. **ገብስ** *gäbs*) is one of the world's most ancient and most widely spread food crops. It is a cereal plant of the genus *Hordeum* (tribe *Triticeae* of the family *Poaceae* or *Graminae*). All cultivated B. belong to the section *Cerealia* under which three species were subsumed: *Hordeum vulgare* (four-row B.), *Hordeum distichum* (two-row B.), and *Hordeum hexasticum* (six-row B.), sometimes called Abyssinian intermediate. Currently, all the cultivated forms and the wild progenitor are lumped in a single species, *Hordeum vulgare*. B. has been an important food and brewing crop for Ethiopia since ancient times.

The earliest cultivation of barley is believed to have started 8,000 to 10,000 years ago in the Middle East. It is believed to extend back to 5000 B.C. in Egypt, 3500 B.C. in Mesopotamia, 3000 B.C. in northwestern Europe and 2000 B.C. in China. Sources agree that B. has been in cultivation in Ethiopia for at least the past 5,000 years. There is evidence of its cultivation by the ↗Agäw people of north-west Ethiopia in about 3000

B.C. In parts of southern and central Ethiopia, B. cultivation is believed to have coincided with the introduction of plough ↗agriculture. Some scholars argue that B. was first domesticated in Ethiopia, while others believe the country is a secondary centre of diversification.

The highest diversity of cultivated B. in terms of morphological types, genetic races, nutritional types (e.g. high-protein and high-lysine types), disease-resistant lines and endemic morphotypes exists in Ethiopia. There are many unique farmers' varieties of B. in Ethiopia, which undoubtedly evolved under the Ethiopian farm-levels and got their distinctive features in Ethiopia.

B. is a major food source in central and northern Ethiopia (third-most-cultivated cereal after ↗*ṭef* and ↗maize) and in the central highlands of Eritrea. It is the only cereal cultivated at altitudes higher than 3,000 m A.S.L. It is also adaptable to a greater range of climates and soil qualities than other cereals. There are varieties suited to temperate, sub-Arctic or sub-tropical areas. It is the main staple food grain for Ethiopian highlanders, who manage the crop with indigenous technologies and utilize the grain and straw for different purposes.

B. is used as human food in different forms as well as for livestock fed and the production of beer and other beverages. The grain has a nutlike flavour and is high in carbohydrates, with moderate quantities of protein, calcium and phosphorus and small amounts of the B-vitamins. Since it contains only little gluten, an elastic protein substance, B. flour can not be used to produce a porous loaf of bread. Hence, the typical B. bread in Ethiopia is flat bread (Amh. ቂጣ, *qiṭṭa*, Tgn. ቂጫ, *qičča*). It is also used to prepare porridge, either thick (Amh. ጋት, *gat*, ገንፎ, *gänfo*, ግንቼ, *gənče*, Tgn. ገዓት; *gäʿat*) or watery (Amh. ጥሕሎ, *ṭəḥlo*, Tgn. ጥሕኒ, *ṭəḥni*). B. makes the best outdoor food preparation for snacks and long-distance travels, including in time of war or when visiting relatives and friends living far away. Roasted B. grains (ቆሎ, *qolo*), roasted and ground B. grains (በሶ, *bässo*) worked with water into a dough-ball, and roasted and ground B. grains blended with butter (ጭኮ, *čəkko*) are commonly used as travelling foods. Slightly roasted grains soaked in water give a very nourishing drink. Whenever B. is used for food preparation in Ethiopia, the hulls of the grains are removed before grinding.

Traditional sayings, lines in poems, beliefs, value systems and whims show the significance of B. in the life of the Ethiopians. B. is locally praised in Amharic with the saying **ገብስ፡ የእህል፡ ንጉሥ** (*Gäbs yäʾəhəl nəguś*, 'B., the king of grains'). Some authors also have noted the fact that B. was considered a sacred crop by some groups in Ethiopia. Traditions about B. preserve valuable indigenous knowledge concerning growing practices, seed, food and brewing quality, character transmission, maturity, yield and many other agrobotanical/agromorphological attributes.

↗Plants; ↗Food

Lit.: VSAe II; JAMES. F. HANCOCK, *Plant Evolution and the Origin of Crop Species*, Englewood Cliffs 1992; JACK RODNEY HARLAN, "Ethiopia: a Centre of Diversity", *Economic Botany* 23, 1969, 309-14; ID., *Crops and Man*, Madison 1975; FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION (ed.), *Agriculture in Ethiopia*, Rome 1961; MULUGETA NEGASSA, "Patterns of Phenotypic Diversity in an Ethiopian Barley Collection, and the Arsi-Bale Highlands as a Centre of Origin of Barley", *Hereditas* 102, 1985, 139-50; ZEMEDE ASFAW, *The Barley of Ethiopia: A Focus on the Infraspecific Taxa*, Ph.D. thesis, Uppsala University 1989 (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Comprehensive Summaries of Uppsala Dissertations from the Faculty of Science 226); ID., "An Ethnobotanical Study of Barley in the Central Highlands of Ethiopia", *Biologisches Zentralblatt* 109, 1990, 51-62; ID., "Barley in Ethiopia: the Link between Botany and Tradition", in: HAILU GEBRE – JOOP VAN LEUR (eds.), *Barley Research in Ethiopia: Past Work and Future Prospects*, 1996, 182-92.

Zemede Asfaw – Anke Weissenborn

Baro

B. (ባሮ) is a tributary of the White Nile. It has its source in the highlands of ↗Illubabor. Among

its major tributaries are the Birbir, Bonga, Ǧarre and Pibor. After it enters Sudanese territory, it is known by the name of Sobat. Two major towns along the river are Nasir in the Sudan and ↗Gambella in Ethiopia. The B.'s distinctive quality has been its navigability. This fact contributed to the growth of Gambella as a major commercial entrepôt in the first half of the 20th cent. The Anglo-Ethiopian treaty of 1902 (↗Boundaries), primarily meant to delimit the boundary between Ethiopia and the Sudan, had also provided for the cession of a commercial enclave in Ethiopian territory. Set up in 1904, the Gambella trading post hosted steamers plying to and from the Sudan along the B. during the rainy season, which normally lasted from June till the end of September.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *Relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan on the Western Ethiopian Frontier 1898–1935*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1976; GEOFFREY LAST, *A Geography of Ethiopia for Senior Secondary Schools*, Addis Ababa 1963; CHARLES MICHEL, *Mission de Bonchamps. Vers Fachoda à la rencontre de la Mission Marchand à travers l'Ethiopie*, Paris 1900.

Bahru Zewde

Baro Tumsa

B.T. (**ባሮ፡ ቱምሳ**, b. 1938, d. 1978) was a student leader and political activist. He was a younger brother of the Rev. Gudina Tumsa, born in Boǧi, West Wälläga. From 1964 to 1965 he was the president of the University College Union (UCU) at Addis Abäba. In 1966 he was first secretary of the Union of the University Students in Addis Ababa (USUAA) and also a member of the Oromo-based Mäčča-Tuulama Selfhelp Organization. In 1973 B.T. became a member of the inquiry commission into the charges against ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and his government. In 1974 he was one of the founders of the Oromo Liberation Front (↗Liberation movements).

↗Galamssoo

Lit.: RANDI RÖNNING BALSVIK, *Haile Selassie's Students: the Intellectual and Social Background to Revolution, 1952–1977*, East Lansing, MI 1985; OLANA ZOGA, **ግዝት፡ ና፡ ሙት** (*Gəzət na gəzot*, 'Excommunication and Exile'), Addis Abäba 1985 A.M. [1993 A.D.].

Thomas Zitelmann

Baroni, Raffaele

Born in Bologna, B. was an Italian merchant and consular agent, who on his way to Ethiopia in 1838, probably as a merchant, stopped in ↗Massawa, where he associated himself with the English William ↗Coffin. The Honourable Consul of Great Britain, Walter ↗Plowden, left his daily consular work in B.'s hands during his absences. B. was also responsible for the consular office in the interval between Plowden's death (1860) and the arrival of his successor ↗Cameron (1862). He proposed that the Italian government establish a consulate in Massawa with jurisdiction for the whole of Ethiopia, and suggested himself as consul. When this proposal was not accepted, B. moved to Cairo.

Lit.: ErDizBio 35; ENRICO DE LEONE, *L'Italia in Africa*, vol. 2: *Le prime ricerche di una colonia e la esplorazione geografica, politica ed economica*, Roma 1955, 6, n. 1.

Gian Carlo Stella

Barqūq ↗ Mamluks

Barradas, Manoel

B. (b. 1572, Monforte, Alentejo, d. 31 July 1646, Cochin, India) entered the Society of Jesus (↗Jesuits) as novice in 1587 and set sail to India four years later. After three decades serving there, he was assigned to the Ethiopian mission, right after the news of *aṣe* ↗Susanyos's conversion to Catholicism was received at ↗Goa. The group of missionaries (B. travelled with fathers Manoel de Almeida, Luís Cardeira and Francisco Carvalho) departed from Bazaim in November 1622, and landed at Massawa finally in January 1624. B. stood at the "House of Fremona" (↗Fəremona), with Father Diogo de Matos "to assist him in serving the many converts of the Kingdom of Tigray" (Telles 1710:220).

During his stay B., apparently, copied, translated and sent to Goa three Gəʿəz hagiographies (those of Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, *abba* Gärima and Gäbrä Krəstos), but the manuscript never reached its destiny. The publication of the edit against the Roman Catholic faith initiated the process that culminated with the banishment of the Jesuits from the country. Patriarch Afonso ↗Mendes decided to send B. with five companions to India, to report on the last events and to urge the Viceroy to organize an expedition in order to protect the Jesuits staying in Ethiopia. He left the country in July 1633.

In the meantime (1633–34), as B. was imprisoned by the Turks, and taken to Aden in Yemen, he wrote three treatises that, beyond historical and geographical data, reflected the Ethiopian Jesuit missionaries perspective over 1632 turning point. In the first book B. reported on Jesuit

activities and outlined the religious geography of Ethiopia. The second was written in support of the Portuguese historical right for one third of the Ethiopian territory. B. claimed Təgray, emphasizing both the wealth of the country and the strategic value of Massawa. Besides the political character of the account, B. also provided information on flora, fauna, weather, religion, and different practices. During his captivity in Aden he could evaluate its strategic position, so that, in his third book, he stressed the importance of conquering it, to ensure the Portuguese naval control of the Strait.

Later on, he held the position of Provincial of the Jesuit Province of Goa (1640–43), and of the Province of Malabar (1643–46).

Src.: MANOEL BARRADAS, "Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici", in: CAMILLO BECCARI (ed.), *Rerum Æthiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti*, vol. 4, Roma 1906; ID., *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici (1634): a Seventeenth Century Historical and Geographical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABETH FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43); JERÓNIMO LOBO, *The 'Itinerário' of Jerónimo Lobo*, tr. by DONALD LOCKHART, with introduction by CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM, London 1984; FRANCISCO DE SOUSA, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Cristo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Província de Goa*, Lisboa [1]1710, Bombay [2]1881, Porto [3]1978; BALTASAR TELLES, *The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia*, London 1710 (Lisboa [1]1660 [in Portuguese]).
Lit.: MERID WOLDE AREGAY, [review of Barradas – Filleul – Pankhurst 1996], *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 266–69.

Isabel Boavida

Barreto, João Nunes

Dom B. (b. ca. 1520–25, Porto, d. 22 December 1562, Goa) entered the Society of Jesus (↗Jesuits) in 1544 and served for six years (1548–early 1555) in North Africa redeeming Christian captives. In 1554 he was appointed first Roman Patriarch of Ethiopia. After the ceremony of consecration on 4 May 1555, he lived in Lisbon until the departure of the 1556 India-bound fleet. On his arrival in ↗Goa, B. was informed of the changes undertaken by the Ethiopian ruler regarding obedience to the Roman Pope. According to Father Gonçalo Rodrigues's report, Gälawdewos had refused to receive any Catholic missionaries other than those appointed for the spiritual service in the country's Portuguese community. Thus, following the advice given by the ecclesiastical and secular authorities in Goa, B. stayed there, while Andres de ↗Oviedo led the mission to Ethiopia in 1557. From then on, the navigation became hazardous to non-Turkish allies' vessels, but B. "never gave up importuning the Viceroys of India either to set him ashore on the coast of Abyssinia, or to send some ships that might bring him news" (Telles 1710:144). However, he soon lost hope of travelling to Ethiopia, as he wrote in 1561, since "the [Ethiopian] king had not yet given obedience to the Pope" (Beccari 1910:137).

Src.: CAMILLO BECCARI (ed.), *Rerum Æthiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti*, vol. 10, Roma 1910; FERNÃO GUERREIRO, *Relação anual das coisas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas missões dos anos 1600 a 1609*, vol. 3, Coimbra – Lisboa 1942 (Lisboa [1]1611; tr. into Spanish: Madrid [2]1614; into German: Augsburg [3]1614); BALTASAR TELLES, *Crónica da Companhia de Jesus da Província de Portugal*, Lisboa 1647; ID., *The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia*, London 1710 (Lisboa [1]1660 [in Portuguese]).
Lit.: CARLOS SOMMERVOGEL (ed.), *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. 1, Bruxelles – Paris 1890.

Isabel Boavida

Barros, João de

B. (b. ca. 1496, Viseu or Vila Verde, d. 21 October 1570, Ribeira de Alitém, near Pombal) was a Portuguese humanist author and high government official. The illegitimate son of a provincial nobleman, he came to the court of king Manoel I (r. 1495–1521) at a very early age. There he received a humanist education and became a childhood companion of the future king ↗João III (r. 1521–57).

Later, B. served João in several high-ranking positions concerned with Portugal's overseas activities, culminating in his directorship (1533–67) over the *Casa da Guiné e Índia*, the central Portuguese government agency for the administration of its African and Asian shipping and trade. B.'s position in the *Casa*, as well as his proximity to the court, provided him with excellent opportunities to collect documents and first-hand narratives on Portugal's overseas affairs. This in turn enabled him to write a well-researched four-volume account of Portuguese expansion in the Atlantic and Indian oceans and their coastlands up to 1539, which he called *Da Ásia*. Despite its title, this work also concerns itself with Portuguese activities along the coasts of and in Africa during the period covered, including many references to Ethiopia, the Horn and the Red Sea area. It thereby constitutes an important source for the history of the region in the first half of the 16th cent., which, however, to this day has been little noticed or used by Ethiopianists.

Vols. 1–3 of *Da Ásia* appeared during B.'s lifetime (1552, 1553, 1563), but vol. 4 only posthumously in 1615. Internally, each volume of *Da Ásia* is divided into ten books which together cover a period of approximately ten years each. For these reasons *Da Ásia* is also known as the *Décadas*. At the beginning of the 17th cent., Diogo do ↗Couto explicitly presented himself as B.'s successor when he wrote nine more *Décadas da Ásia*, bringing events up to 1600.

Besides *Da Ásia*, B. wrote a number of other works on such diverse subjects as, e.g., grammar, theology and pedagogics.

Src.: JOÃO DE BARROS, *Da Ásia. Dos feitos que os Portuguêses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente*, 4 vol., Lisboa 1944–47.

Lit.: MANUEL SEVERIM DE FARIA, "Vida de João de Barros", in: *Discursos Varios Politicos* [sic], Évora 1624, fol. 22–59; ISRAEL S. RÉVAH, "João de Barros", *Revista do Livro* 9, March 1958 [Rio de Janeiro], 61–73; JOAQUIM VERÍSSIMO SERRÃO, *A historiografia portuguesa: doutrina e crítica*, vol. 2, Lisboa 1972–73, 211–28.

Michael Kleiner

Barsbāy

B. (برسباى, also al-Malik al-Ašraf Abū n-Naṣr Barsbāy), Mamlūk *sulṭān* of Egypt (r. 1422–38), was the Muslim contemporary of the Ethiopian kings ↗Yəsḥaq and ↗Zär'a Ya'əqob. Yəsḥaq's military successes against the Muslim ruler of ↗'Adal, which led to a temporary Christian superiority in that country, and his alleged campaign against ↗Massawa (Guidi 1899:57) may have contributed to B.'s ban on Christians (and Jews), preventing them from entering government service (s. Wiet in EI²). This measure was seen in Ethiopia as an anti-Christian move. Yəsḥaq, and Zär'a Ya'əqob after him, probably impressed by B.'s victory over Cyprus in 1427 and also by the gruesome atrocities perpetrated by his troops in ↗Edessa, induced the Ethiopian kings, who considered themselves as protectors of the Copts in Egypt, to enter into relations with the Mamlūk *sulṭān*. They thus continued the policy of their predecessors in the 11th cent. (TadTChurch 46ff.; van Donzel 1998).

Zär'a Ya'əqob wrote to B. requesting him to protect his Christian subjects and to respect their churches. The letter was accompanied by a present consisting of gold, civet-cats and other precious objects (al-Maqrīzī, tr. Quatremère 1811:278f.). The request was counterproductive, for in 1440 the Coptic Patriarch Yoḥannas XI (1428–53) wrote to Zär'a Ya'əqob that "*al-Ašrīf nəguśä məṣr*" had issued an order to set fire to the church of Məṭmaq (Gə'əz for Ar. *maġṭis/miġtas* 'baptistry'; Cerulli 1943:124, 203, 205) because, as the chronicler adds (PerrZarY 56), so many Muslims who had witnessed the apparition of the Virgin Mary at Məṭmaq had become Christians. Zär'a Ya'əqob then ordered the building of the church of ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq at Gubba, near Tägulät in Šäwa.

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, *Il libro etiopico dei miracoli di Maria e le sue fonti nelle letterature del Medio Evo latino*, Roma 1943, 124, 203, 205; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di re abissini", *RRALm* ser. 4, 5, 1889, 53–66, here 57; AḤMAD B. 'ALĪ AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Egypte et sur quelques contrées voisines*, ed., tr. by ETIENNE QUATREMÈRE, Paris 1811, vol. 2, 278ff.; PerrZarY 56.

Lit.: TadTChurch 46ff.; EMERI VAN DONZEL, "Ethiopia's Lalibäla and the Fall of Jerusalem 1187", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 27–49; GASTON WIET, "Barsbāy", in: *EI²*, vol. 1, 1053–54.

Emeri van Donzel

Bärtälomewos

The Coptic Egyptian prelate known under the name of B. (**በርቶሎሜዎስ**) came to Ethiopia as Metropolitan (↗*Abunä*, ↗*Pappas*) in 1398/99. He started his activity during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II as a successor of *abunä* ↗Sälama II ("the Translator"), after a ten-year vacancy of the episcopal seat at Aksum. The first important event to occur during his presence in Ethiopia was the council summoned in 1400 by Dawit to counter the preaching carried by the *däqiqä Ewosṭatewos* (↗Ewosṭateans). This constellation of northern convents supported the liturgical observance of the Sabbath's rest on both Saturday and Sunday as well the hierarchical autonomy of the Ethiopian monks from the control of the Metropolitan.

As a representative of Coptic Alexandrian orthodoxy, B. provided the inspiration for the repression of that religious movement, and in his struggle he had a strong ally in the *'äqqabe sä'at* ↗Säräqä Bərhan. In fact, after the death of the abbot of Däbrä Ḥayq, the position of B. weakened and the doctrine of the Ewosṭateans, guided by ↗Filappos of Däbrä Bizän (d. 1406), was substantially legalized, if not accepted. According to the *Mäṣḥafä ↗bərhan*, during the reign of *aṣe* Yəsḥaq (1414–29) B. was involved in a trinitarian controversy. He was accused having supported the heretical doctrine that Father, Son and Holy Spirit were three names but only one

person. This doctrine, recalling the early Christian belief known as Sabellianism, was strongly fought by the same Zär'a Ya'əqob, who devoted a part of his *Mäṣḥafä bərhan* to refute the works of Zämika'el, Gämalyel and ʿAṣqa, the three Ethiopian theologians supporting that "unorthodox" trinitarian view. Apparently the controversy on B.'s position was closed by a declaration of the *abun* against the same "heresy".

B. died around 1438. He is still recorded as living in this year in the colophon of an Octateuch preserved in the Biblioteca Forteguerriana of Pistoia (ms. Martini etiop. no. 2 [= Zanutto no. 5], fol. 195, s. Lusini 2002). Soon after his death, in 1438/39, Mika'el and ↗Gäbrə'el were sent from Alexandria to Ethiopia as the new Metropolitans.

In the figure of B. one can see the last attempt of the Alexandrian hierarchy to exercise a true control over the Christians of the Ethiopian diocese. During the 15th cent., the Solomonic kings, supported by the national clergy, established a new regime, formally respectful towards, but substantially autonomous from the Alexandrian representatives in Ethiopia.

↗Sabbath

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yohannes di Dabra Bizan", *MRALm* ser. 5, 8, 1903, 62–126, here 113f., 163; ID., *Il Libro della luce del negus Zar'a Ya'qob (Maṣḥafa Berhān)*, II, Louvain 1954–65 (CSCO 261, 262 [SAe 51, 52]), 131 (text) = 64 (tr.); JOHANNES KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega. Annales et documents*, Uppsala 1914 (Archives d'études orientales 5:3), 23f. (text) = 30f. (tr.).

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, *Il libro etiopico dei Miracoli di Maria*, Roma 1943, 112–16, 119ff.; TadTChurch 213–20, 225, 228; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Bisanzio e il Regno di 'Aksum. Sul manoscritto Martini etiop. 5 della Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia", *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma* 7, 1993, 161–99; LusStud 8ff., 12, 32, 89, 104ff., 126; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "I codici etiopici del fondo Martini nella Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia", *Aethiopica* 5, 2002, 156–76, here 162f.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Bartels, Lambert

B. (b. 1915, d. 2000) was ordained a Lazarist priest in 1941. After serving as a seminary teacher in the Netherlands and then as a missionary in Brazil he was sent to western Ethiopia in 1967. An essential part of pastoral care, he argued, was to acquire a sympathetic understanding of the lives, thoughts and spiritual experiences of one's parishioners. From his arrival in western Ethiopia until he died B. dedicated himself to the study of the diverse manifestations of ↗Oromo religion. He concentrated on the ↗Mäčča Oromo of the extreme west but also travelled widely among western and central Oromo and the ↗Boorana of Kenya. For several years during the *Därg* (↗Revolution) he refused home leave from fear he would not be allowed to return to his flock and his work. His monograph, which is the most substantial account we have of Oromo religion, is based on accounts by informants of their rituals and beliefs and, especially, their experiences of the Superhuman. It describes and analyses in detail, by setting each in their social contexts and with full verbal transcriptions, Mäčča notions of God ↗*Waaqa* as experienced in *ayaana*; rituals of purification and peacemaking; rules of ritual alternation ↗*obo* and *čora*; the coffee bean ritual ↗*buuna qallaa*; and the concept of ↗*safuu*.

B. felt that he had only scratched the surface of Oromo religion and that much more humble enquiry was required into the intellectual subtleties and imaginative insights of traditional religion, mystical experiences and theology and continued to "attempt to understand" until his death. He drafted and redrafted many papers but, never satisfied with his results, resisted publication. He donated copies of his collection of texts and tape recordings to the John Rylands University Library of Manchester and the Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di Studi Africani, Napoli.

Src.: LAMBERT BARTELS, *Oromo Religion: Myths and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia – An Attempt to Understand*, Berlin 1983, ²1990 (Collectanea Instituti Anthropos 8); ID., "Birth Customs and Birth Songs of the Macha Galla", *Ethnology* 8, 1, 1969, 406–22; ID., "Studies of the Galla in Wallaga", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 135–60; ID., "Dabo, a Form of Cooperation between Farmers among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia: Social Aspects, Songs and Ritual", *Anthropos* 70, 1975, 883–925; ID., "On Pilgrimage to a Holy Tree", in: DAVID BROKENSHA (ed.), *A River of Blessings*, Syracuse 1994, 1–13.

Lit.: PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER, "Obituary – Father Dr. Lambert Bartels. 1915–2000", *Journal of Oromo Studies* 8, 1–2, 2001, 184–86.

Paul T.W. Baxter

Bartoli, Antonio

B. (late 14th–early 15th cent.) was a Florentine traveller who seems to have visited Ethiopia in the early 15th cent. Returning to Europe in 1402, he led the first known Ethiopian delegation to Europe. Little is known about this mission, except that it was despatched by *aṣe* ↗Dawit II,

shortly after King Henry VI of England had sent a letter of greeting to the "King of Abyssinia, Prester John" (TadTChurch 257). There is, however, no evidence that the letter ever reached Ethiopia, the supposed "Land of Prester John", let alone that it precipitated the mission. B.'s embassy, which included a number of Ethiopians, was nevertheless important in that it "began a new chapter of intermittent, but direct, contact with Europe", which was "given a particular impetus" (TadTChurch 258) during the reigns of *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq and *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob. It is also indicative of increased contacts after the mission that there is a report of the presence of five Ethiopian pilgrims in Bologna in 1407. B. is believed to have been responsible for a detailed and geographically most interesting itinerary of a journey from Venice to Aksum, dating from this period (CrawItin 28–39).

Src.: CrawItin 5, 28–39.
Lit.: RENATO LEFEVRE, "Presenze etiopiche in Italia prima del Concilio di Firenze del 1439", *RSE* 23, 1967–1968, 5–26; TadTChurch 257f. (Lit.).

Richard Pankhurst

Barton, Sidney

Sir Sidney B. (b. 1876, d. 1946), an Ulster Protestant, was British Minister to Ethiopia during the Italian Fascist invasion (↗Italian war 1935–36). Serving British Government interests in China for 34 years, he had been involved in Foreign Office efforts to separate Chiang-Kai Shek's Kuomintang from the Chinese Communist Party. Arriving in Addis Abäba in 1932, he became an admirer of Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase's modernizing programme, but was soon embroiled in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict. After the ↗Wälwäl incident of December 1934, he gave the Emperor the British Foreign Secretary Sir John Simon's advice that Ethiopia should accept Italy's demand for an apology and compensation and avoid appealing to the League of Nations. B., however, privately sympathized with Ethiopia. After the Stresa conference of April 1935, he advised the Foreign Office that the only way to prevent conflict was for Britain and France to "tell Italy that she cannot have Ethiopia". After the ↗Hoare-Laval proposals of December, he had, however, officially to urge the Emperor to accept them. Later, after the battle of ↗Mayčäw, he was obliged to tell Ḫaylä Śəllase that there was no hope that League sanctions would be strengthened. Losing his post, after the Italian occupation, he insisted that Ethiopia remained unconquered.

B.'s wife, Lady Winifred Barton (d. 1945), collaborated with Ethiopian noblewomen, at the time of the Italian fascist invasion, in establishing the Ethiopian Women's Work Association and the Ethiopian Red Cross Society. B.'s eldest daughter Marion married Filippo Muze Falconi, the Italian Consul in Däbrä Marqos and a prominent supporter of ↗Mussolini, while their younger daughter Esmé married the British journalist George Lowther Steer, a passionate anti-Fascist and author, inter alia, of *Caesar in Abyssinia* (London 1936).

Src.: British Foreign Office papers; SIDNEY BARTON, "Abyssinia and the Future", *United Empire*, September–October 1941, 133–36.
Lit.: THOMAS M. COFFEY, *Lion by the Tale: the Story of the Italian-Ethiopian War*, London 1974, 362, index; ANTHONY MOCKLER, *Haile Selassie's War*, Oxford 1984, 437, s. index.

Richard Pankhurst

Baruch, Apocalypse of

The Ethiopic B. (called 5 Baruch in Leslau 1951) should be distinguished from two other apocalypses attributed to Baruch: the so-called Syriac B., or 2 Baruch, and the so-called Greek B. (also known in a Slavonic version), or 3 Baruch. The Ethiopic B. was originally composed in Ethiopic and has been preserved only in this language. As such, it does not, contrary to the *Book of* ↗*Baruch*, have any counterpart in other literatures of the Christian Orient.

Both Christian and Fälaša (Betä Ǝsraʾel) versions exist, the difference being, as may be expected, in the replacement of Christian doxological formulae with their Betä Ǝsraʾel counterparts. The B. was at an unknown time taken over by the Betä Ǝsraʾel and purged of obvious Christian elements. Surprisingly, however, some Christian elements (e.g. the Cross, the name of Constantine) remained. So far only the Betä Ǝsraʾel version has been published. No separate title is provided but the author says that he will write 'what God has revealed to *abba* Baruch' (**ዘከመ፡ ከሠተ፡ ሎቱ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለአባ፡ ባሮክ**, *Zäkämä käśätä lotu əgziʾabəḥer läʾabba Barok*).

The apocalypse consists of two unequal parts. The first tells of how Baruch was taken to heaven at the time of the fall of Jerusalem and shown the rewards of Paradise and the punishments of Hell. The second, shorter, part concerns the future,

induding righteous monarchs, the Antichrist, the millennium and the Resurrection.

Although there are parallels to the apocalyptic literature known in Ethiopia (↗*Enoch*, *Apocalypse of* ↗*Ezra*; s. Leslau 1951:63), the closest connection seems to exist between our text – except for the eschatological part – and the *Apocalypse of* ↗*Mary*, which is a composition of the 9th cent., translated into Ethiopic from Arabic in the 14th cent. This is a reworking of the *Apocalypse of Paul* (ca. 400 A.D.), which in its turn is based on the *Apocalypse of* ↗*Peter* (2nd cent.) and the *Apocalypse of Thomas*.

The eschatological part of the B. (never studied systematically) is, according to Leslau (1951:63), an abridged version of the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter* (in ↗*Qälemənṭos*). Recently Beylot (1980) noticed that this part has a parallel in the addition to the *Wisdom of* ↗*Sibyl* (*Ṭəbaba läsabela*). There are possible parallels with the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* ('Glory of the Kings'): the mention of Constantine and Helena (ch. 93), and the colophon, reflecting the quotation in ch. 94.

The time of the composition of the B. cannot be established with any accuracy. Since some of its sources were translated into Ethiopic in the 13th cent. at the earliest, perhaps the 14th–15th cent. may be an acceptable approximation. There are no clear historical allusions in the text and none of the known manuscripts reaches back farther than the late 18th cent.

↗Pseudoepigrapha and apocrypha

Src.: JOSEPH HALÉVY, "Baruch", in: ID., *Tĕ'ĕzâza Sanbat* (*Commandements du sabbat*), *accompagné de six autres écrits pseudo-épigraphiques admis par les Falachas ou Juifs d'Abyssinie*, Paris 1902, 80–96 (text) = 196–209 (tr.); WOLF LESLAU, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven 1951 (Yale Judaica series 6), 57–76, 162–72 (notes).

Lit.: ROBERT BEYLOT, "Sur deux textes apocalyptiques éthiopiens", *Semitica* 30, 1980, 89–92; GENEVIÈVE NOLLET, "Le culte de Marie en Éthiopie", in: HUBERT DU MANOIR (ed.), *Maria: études sur la Sainte Vierge*, vol. 1, Paris 1949, 363–413, here 388f.; HERBERT SCHMID — WOLFGANG SPEYER, "Baruch", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 17, 1974, 189.

Witold Witakowski

Baruch, Book of

Baruch son of Neriah is known from the Old Testament (Jer 32, 36, 43, 45) as the disciple and secretary of the prophet Jeremiah (6th cent. B.C.). It seems that the fact of his setting down Jeremiah's writings was the reason why a series of compositions was later attributed to him. These are often connected to the fall of Jerusalem. Out of this literature only two, the B. (4 Baruch) and the *Apocalypse of* ↗*Baruch* (5 Baruch), are extant in Ethiopic.

The B. first became known under the title *Liber Baruch*, given by its first editor, August ↗Dillmann, in his *Chrestomathia Aethiopica* (1866). Today, the most common title is 4 Baruch, but others are also used: some authors called it 3 Baruch or 2 Baruch. The full title in Gəᶜəz is **ተረፈ፡ ነገር፡ ዘባሮክ፡ ዘኢኮነ፡ ኅቡአ፡ ዘአመ፡ ይፄወዉ፡ ባቢሎን** (*Täräfä nägär zäbarok zäʾikonä ḫəbuʾa zäʾamä yəṣewwäwu Babilon*, 'The rest of the words of Baruch, which are not hidden [= apocryphal, and concern the epoch] when they [i.e. the Jews] were taken captive to Babylon'). The addition *zäʾikonä ḫəbuʾa*, according to Piovanelli (1986), is not present in all the mss. The title of the Greek version is, however, **Παραλειπόμενα Ἱερεμίου του προφήτου**, 'Jeremiah the prophet's (words) omitted (from his book)' or 'The things omitted from Jeremiah the prophet('s book)'. Gəᶜəz *täräf* renders well the Greek *paraleipomena*.

Its contents refer to the capture of Jerusalem by the Chaldaeans, the destruction of the Temple (587 B.C.), the Babylonian captivity and the return of the Jewish people to Jerusalem.

God warns Jeremiah of the destruction of Jerusalem and tells him to take the vessels of the Temple and bury them, which he does. Jeremiah asks God to save Abimelech the Ethiopian (**አቤሜሌክ፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ**, *Abemelek ityopyawi*, as in Jer 38:7, 39:16; in the Hebrew text he is called *ᶜEḇeḏ Meleḵ hak-Kūšī*), who often helped him (cp. Jer 38:7–13), from the sight of the destruction of the Temple. God tells Jeremiah to send Abimelech out of the city to the vineyard of Agrippa to collect some figs for the sick of the city. Abimelech plucks the figs, but then falls asleep for 66 years.

The angels open the gate of Jerusalem for the Chaldaean army, which captures the city, and Jeremiah, together with the people, goes as a captive to Babylon. Baruch, however, remains in Jerusalem and mourns its destruction. He hides in a tomb-cave and angels explain to him what happens and why. Abimelech wakes up after 66 years, the figs in his basket being still fresh and juicy, but he hardly recognizes the city. He learns from an old man what has happened. An angel leads him to the tomb-cave where Baruch has been living. Now Baruch and

Abimelech write a letter, which is dictated by an angel, and send it by an eagle to Jeremiah in Babylon, urging him to lead the people back to Jerusalem. They start the journey and reach the Jordan, but the removal of foreign spouses is required, and those who will not divorce their non-Jewish wives cannot cross the river. They return to Babylon, but are not welcome there either and eventually, having built a new city north of Jerusalem, Samaria, they settle there. They are the forefathers of the Samaritans.

The people who have arrived in Jerusalem celebrate a feast for nine (in the Ethiopian version seven) days. On the 10th day Jeremiah offers a sacrifice to God and gives up his soul. Three days later he is resurrected and prophecies the coming of Jesus and the twelve apostles, but the angry Jews stone him to death. Baruch and Abimelech bury him.

The first third of the 2nd cent. A.D. is the most probable date of composition for the B. The author was a Jew, but soon after Bar Kokhba's rebellion, or perhaps in the middle of the same century, the text was Christianized by a Jewish Christian editor. The language of the original (and probably of the Christian appendix) was either Hebrew or Aramaic, as can be inferred from the presence of Semitisms and untranslated (only transliterated) Hebrew words. The Jewish original is completely lost and the composition is known only in Christian transmission.

It is believed that the translation into Gəʿəz was made from Greek and belongs to the Aksumitic period of Gəʿəz literature (4th–7th cent. A.D.). As a Christian text it has been preserved in several languages: two Greek (a shorter and a longer), Armenian (three versions), Old Church Slavonic (two translations), Rumanian and Gəʿəz. The Coptic *Paralipomena of Jeremiah*, and its Arabic translation *History of the Captivity of the Israelites in Babylon*, is a different composition.

Among the sources of the B. the most important is the canonical *Book of Jeremiah*, from which both the setting of the B. and all the main characters come. Some of the themes have clear parallels in Rabbinic literature, which confirms the Jewish origin of the composition. For instance, the angels opening the gates of Jerusalem for the Chaldaean army is known from the midrash *Pesiqta Rabbati*, ch. 26 (end of the 3rd–7th cent. A.D.). The most characteristic idea of the book, that of the 66 years' sleep of Abimelech, is present in the Talmud (*Taʿanit Bavli*, 23a; 2nd cent. A.D.), where, however, the person who sleeps is one *Honi ham-Meʿaggel* ('the drawer of magic circles'), who slept for 70 years, from the destruction of the Temple until the end of the Babylonian captivity. The hiding of the Temple vessels is based on the *2nd Book of Maccabees* (2:4–8). The account of Jeremiah's death, a Christian supplement (9:10–32), may be patterned on the *Ascension of ↗Isaiah* and *The Lives of the Prophets*. Moreover, the first chapters of the B.B. depend on the Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch* (*2 Baruch*), although it has been argued (Nickelsburg 1977) that the parallels with the latter depend on a common source shared by the two rather than on the actual use of *2 Baruch* by the author of the B.

Src.: AUGUST DILLMANN, *Chrestomathia aethiopica*, Leipzig 1866, ²1951, 1–15 [repr. in: ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT (ed.), *Anthologia aethiopica*, Hildesheim 1988]; PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI, *La traduzione etiopica dei Paralipomeni di Geremia: testo critico con introduzione e commento*, M.A. thesis, Firenze 1986; FRANZ PRAETORIUS, "Das apokryphische Buch Baruch im Aethiopischen", *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 15, 1872, 230–47; HUGO SACHSSE, "Zu dem äthiopischen Baruchbuche", *ibid.* 17, 1874, 268–69; EDUARD KÖNIG, "Der Rest der Worte Baruchs", *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 15, 1877, 318–38; RENÉ BASSET, *Les apocryphes éthiopiens*, 1: *le Livre de Baruch et la Légende de Jérémie*, Paris 1893, 39.

Lit.: JAMES HAMILTON CHARLESWORTH, assisted by P. DYKERS – M.J.H. CHARLESWORTH, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research, with a Supplement*, Chico 1981 (Society of Biblical Literature: Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series 7S), here 275f.; MICHAEL STONE, "Baruch, Rest of the Words of", in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 4, Jerusalem 1971, 276–77; GEORGE NICKELSBURG, "Stories of Biblical and Post-Biblical Times", in: MICHAEL STONE (ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, Assen – Philadelphia 1984 (Compendia Rerum Judaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 2: The Literature of the Jewish People in the Period of the Second Temple and the Talmud 2), 72–75; PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI, "Les aventures des apocryphes en Éthiopie", *Apocrypha* 4, 1993, 197–224, here 202; JEAN SIMON, "Notes bibliographiques sur les textes de la 'Chrestomathia Aethiopica' de A. Dillmann", *Orientalia* 10, 1941, 285–311, here 286f.; JEAN-CLAUDE HAELEWYCK, *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti*, Turnhout 1998 (Corpus Christianorum), here 183, no. 225.

Witold Witakowski

Barya

In Ethiopia and Eritrea, two terms, both designating ethnic groups, came to be used almost interchangeably to refer to each other and, generally, to "slave": B. (ባሪያ) and ↗Šanqəlla. Both these terms are also applied to Negroid physical characteristics in Amharic and Təgrəñña. Nowadays, the meaning "slave" tends slowly to

get lost, the word being mostly used to mean "black ones".

B. originally referred to a specific ethnic group (↗Nara), often used as a source for slaves, appearing in inscriptions from the reign of the Aksumite king ↗ʿEzana as early as the 4th cent. Later B. became a generic term for slave, without reference to any particular group – to the extent that in certain historical periods it was used in such glorifying appellations as **የሥላሴ፡ ባርያ** (*yäśəllase barya*, 'slave of the Trinity') and **የማርያም፡ ባርያ** (*yämaryam barya*, 'slave of Mary'). In its own, however, the term B. connotes subjugation and racial inferiority, anti-slavery laws and social taboo, granting it the intensity of a curse. The term is contrasted with ↗*čäwa*, which designates a civilized, free human being.

Differences between *čäwa* and B. are culturally highlighted in terms of skin colour, as the traits of both groups were associated with origin and "character" (↗Colours). The B. are considered black (Amh. **ጥቁር**, *ṭəqur*), regardless of their actual colour, while non-B. perceive themselves as red (Amh. **ቀይ**, *qäyy*), in a dichotomy fortified by a system of mythological stories that was conceived to perpetuate the B.'s "otherness". Most prominent among these are the Noah stories both in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* and in the O.T. (Gen 21–23). Ham, one of Noah's three sons, witnessed his father's nakedness when he was drunk and, unlike his brothers Sem and Japhet, did not cover him. According to these mythologies, Noah gave Sem and Japhet his blessing and cursed Ham with slavery. The black skin colour of the B. signifies their descent from the tribe of Ham, their assumed separate origin fastidiously maintained in the collective memory (Pankhurst 1977; Salamon 1994), while the *čäwa* are identified with the tribe of Sem.

Mixed offspring and their progeny continue to be perceived as B. as long as the collective memory, particularly deep in Ethiopia, can be perpetuated. These genealogical distinctions have served over the generations as a divinely approved explanation legitimizing master-slave relations and racial hierarchies.

↗Slavery

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of Bareya, Šanqella and other Ethiopian Slaves from the Borderlands of the Sudan", *Sudan Notes and Records* 58, 1977, 1–43; HAGAR SALAMON, "Slavery among the 'Beta Israel' in Ethiopia: Religious Dimensions of Inter-group Perceptions", *Slavery and Abolition* 15, 1994, 72–88; JAMES QUIRIN, "Society and the State: Reflections from the Northwest, 1300–1900", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 233–34; JAMES MCCANN, "Children of the House: Slavery and its Suppression in Lasta, Northern Ethiopia, 1915–1935", in: SUSAN MIERS – RICHARD ROBERTS (eds.), *The End of Slavery in Africa*, Madison 1988, 331–61.

Hagar Salamon

Bäšada

The B. (self-name, also spelled as Beshada, Bashada, Baschada) are an ethnic group of no more than 3,000 members living in the South Omo Region, east of the ↗Omo River in southern Ethiopia. They share the same language, which belongs to the ↗Aroid group of South Omotic languages (↗Hamar cluster), with their immediate neighbours the ↗Hamär and the ↗Banna. The social and political organization of the B., their economy and their ritual and religious life are much the same as these of the Hamär, a group much larger in number. However, some distinctive features relating to origin, economy and ritual are described below.

The B. say, that their name refers to the time when, during a period of drought, a group of people moved from the Marle (↗Arbore), who live near Lake Stephanie, towards the Omo River in search of water. While the people were looking for water, one of their cows disappeared for several days. When it came back, it obviously had drunk water and so the next day some men followed the cow through the bush and eventually found the Omo River. Part of the group decided to move on and live next to the river. They were from then on called the ↗Karo ('the ones who eat fish'). The other part was too exhausted to reach the river and decided to stay in the area further away from the river. They were then called the B. ('the exhausted ones', i.e. those who stayed behind).

Until recently their agropastoralist neighbours described the B. as poor. As the tsetse-fly had diminished their cattle, they lived mainly on hunting, gathering and apiculture. Another source of income was the pottery for which the B. were famous throughout the whole region. Beside trading in big clay pots and exchanging them for other goods and animals, they have recently started successfully to breed cattle, goats and sheep and to cultivate fields of sorghum, maize, beans and pumpkins.

In B. only women and girls are allowed to make pots. They produce different sizes of pots and pans out of clay found in B. The only tool, a leather-like fruit-shell, is used to smoothen the

surface of the pots. The pots are used for cooking food, brewing sorghum-beer and making coffee by many of the people in South Omo. Among the ethnic groups of South Omo, the B., the ↗Aari, the Karo and the ↗Mursi are the only ones who are allowed to make pots. For the other neighbours of the B. it is said to be taboo: in Hamär, for example, it is said that the rain will stop falling when a pot is secretly made. The pottery does not, however, make the B. into outsiders. Intermarriage with the Hamär, Banna and Karo is allowed. B. men marry girls from Aari and B. girls are married by Arbore, ↗Ñaŋatom and ↗Ṣamay men.

The few ↗blacksmiths who live among the B., Hamär and Banna are considered ritually impure: they are neither allowed to intermarry with the B., Hamär or Banna, nor do they perform the same rituals. They may not enter the homesteads and eat or drink from the same bowls with the members of several B. groups: a bowl that has been touched by a blacksmith becomes impure. Metal jewellery and tools are considered ritually pure and if one is dropped into a used bowl, it cleanses the bowl, which then can be handed back to its original owner. Blacksmiths also have the power to perform rituals for the B. which ritually cleanse people who are considered impure, as, for example, a woman who has aborted an impure conception.

Cooking inside a B. pot can also mean a process of ritual cleansing: meat from an animal that has been slaughtered during a funeral is considered impure and may not be eaten by some people. After it has been cooked in a B. pot, it becomes pure and may be eaten. There are no rituals connected with the making of the pots, except for blessing of the clay sources with magical plants from time to time.

Even though the B. nowadays have become successful agropastoralists, in times of drought and hunger, pottery is important as a means of exchange for sorghum from bondfriends among the Hamär, Banna, Karo and Ñaŋatom. Since the 1980s, pots are also sold at the weekly markets in Hamär and Banna.

Part of initiation in B. is a ritual called *arsi*, after which a girl is allowed to get married and a boy may perform the rituals connected with the "leap-across-the-cattle", an initiation rite which allows him to marry a wife.

For males, the *arsi* may take place when a boy is still very young, six or seven years old, or when he is adult, as long as it is before the final initiation. A man who has already performed the *arsi* ritual will give a metal ring (*mido*) to a peer or younger boy as a sign that he is going to initiate him and be his *arsi* father (*arsi-imba*). Several days, or even years, later the *arsi* father will take the initiate (*arsi-nasi*, '*arsi* child') to his cattle-camp. At night, in the presence of other boys and young men, the initiate is made to leap four times over a row of cattle, which are held by his peers. After the leap, the initiate's peers sing certain songs about the *arsi*-ritual while the initiate is lying naked on a cowhide and given clotted blood to eat, blood which has been drawn from the jugular vein of a cow.

The next morning the initiate is invited to his ritual father's home for coffee and food. After the meal, the *arsi* father smears the now-naked initiate with a mixture of butter and red ochre and gives him additional metal rings: two are put on each elbow and ankle and one around the neck. Naked and smeared with the red butter, the initiate is then accompanied back home, where he takes off the metal rings and wipes off the butter. From then on he will call his *arsi* father by the term *imbo* ('father') and his ritual father will call him by his *arsi*-name, for example *burdimbe* ('father of the spotted cow', a term that refers to the colour of the calf which stood in front of the row of cattle he leapt over).

The *arsi* ritual is known only in B. It seems to be a simplified version of the rituals connected with the "leap-across-the-cattle" performed in B. (after the *arsi* ritual), Hamär, Banna and (in another variation) in Karo. While the "leap-

The elder sister removes the red butter from the initiate's body after the *arsi* ritual has been finished, 1999, photo courtesy of the author

across-the-cattle" involves numerous ritual steps and many people, such as the ritual assistants, the members of the community and relatives, the *arsi* is a ritual in which only the initiate's peers are involved.

B. females perform a variation of the *arsi* before they get married. Like the boys, a girl is given a metal ring by a girl peer who has already been initiated. At night, she leaps four times over a row of *garanti* (*Pupalia lappacea*), a small, round, yellow or green-and-white fruit which symbolizes cattle. After being smeared with red butter, additional metal rings are attached to her elbows, wrists and neck and she is accompanied home by her *arsi-imba*, who will invite her for good food and drink. Like boys, girls obtain a cow-name which refers to the colour of the fruit. In case a girl is stolen into marriage before she could do the *arsi*, she has to leap four times over a crevice instead of leaping over *garanti*. Girls who want to marry without performing the *arsi* are given one *mido* metal ring, which they put on one wrist before the marriage-sealing ritual is performed. In former times, a B. girl could only be married having performed the *arsi*-ritual, but nowadays this tradition is disappearing.

Like most of the peoples that live in South Omo, the B. have not yet had much contact with northern Ethiopian culture. During the conquest of the south of Ethiopia by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II at the turn of the century, they came into contact with the Ethiopian world for the first time. During the Italian occupation, roads were built in South Omo which, during the reign of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I, allowed police and administration access to the area. Along the road which passes B. and leads through Banna and Hamär, weekly markets have been established. Traders from other parts of Ethiopia have settled and opened shops and bars in these places. As the markets can be reached from B. within a few hours' walk, they are frequently visited by the B.

Only very few B. males have attended school yet; since the new government took over in 1991, schools have opened in the whole area, including a primary school which was opened in B. in 1997.

The B. first were mentioned by Adolf Jensen (1959, s. VSAe I), who, during his expedition through the south of Ethiopia, had talked to a B. elder. In 1970 Jean Lydall and Ivo Strecker started their research among the Hamär. They have briefly visited the B. and mentioned them in some of their books and films. Recent fieldworks have been carried out by Mohaupt and Epple.

Lit.: VSAe I; IVO STRECKER – JEAN LYDALL, *The Hamar of Southern Ethiopia*, vol. 1: *Work Journal*, vol. 2: *Baldambe Explains*, Hohenschäftarn 1979; NICOLE MOHAUPT, *The Dances of the Youth as a Reflection of Gender Relations in a Gerontocratic Society*, M.A. thesis, Mainz University 1996; ID., "Whose Damage? Aggression and Respect in Bashada", *AE* 16, 2000, 125–34; SUSANNE EPPLE, *Life in Gunne – Social Relationships in a Village in Bashada*, M.A. thesis, Mainz University 1996; ID., "The Social Roles and Self Esteem of Widows in Bashada", in: IVO STRECKER – BAYE YIMAM (eds.), *Cultural Contact, Respect and Self-Esteem in Ethiopia*, Hamburg 2002 (Mainzer Beiträge zur Afrika-Forschung 10).

Susanne Epple

Bäšah Abboyye

Däğğazmač B.A. (በሻህ፡ አቦዬ, "horsename" አባ፡ ደፋር, Abba Däffar; b. ca. 1850, d. 1896) was a military commander and provincial governor. He was the elder brother of *nəguś* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis. His father was *afä nəguś* Abboyye, once the proxy administrator of Šäwa under *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, and his mother *wäyzäro* Ayahlušəmm, a daughter of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase. Hence, he was first cousin of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II.

B.A.'s early life is obscure. He appeared first in the historical sources as a distinguished horse-man and skilled fighter in the clashes between the armies of ↗Yoḥannəs IV and Mənilək in 1877. A couplet in praise of his bravery was composed at the time by a singer (HerTar 25f.; MahHorse 228). It subsequently became almost synonymous with his name and has been mentioned in every source. In the 1880s, he commanded a military division of his own and conquered the Gibe kingdom of

↗Geeraa, which he subsequently governed for almost ten years. He was killed in action at the battle of ↗[c]Adwa in March 1896.

Src.: GueCopMen 143, 262, 306ff.; JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale. Journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama, septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 150f.

Lit.: HerTar 25f.; MahHorse 228.

Bairu Tafla

Bäšah Täklä Maryam

B. (**በሻህ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ማርያም**, b. 1912 A.M. [1919/20 A.D.], Goba, d. 1985 A.M. [1992/93 A.D.]) was a well-known Ethiopian musician. He graduated from Mənilək II Secondary School in Addis Abäba, where he learned to play the violin, probably from one of the foreign teachers who worked there (Gérard 1971:295f.). Gradually he made headway in this field.

Once, when B.T.M. was teaching a class in violin at Mənilək II Secondary School, the then Director of the Hagär Fəqər Theatre Mäk[w]ännən Habtäwäld saw him and invited to teach in his theatre. Two of them chose 200 students to study music in order to create an orchestra. 60 of those successfully finished their studies and as a result, the first orchestra was set up in 1934 A.M. [1941/42 A.D.]. Afterwards, B. taught the students to play traditional Ethiopian instruments. After 10–15 years of leadership in the orchestra B. interrupted his musical career and began to work in the Ministry of Finance in Addis Abäba.

B. was the first in the history of Ethiopian music to create a professional orchestra of Ethiopian traditional musical instruments. It has survived, with small modifications, till nowadays.

Src.: interview given by QIRQOS ḪAYLÄ ŚƎLLASE of the Hagär Fəqər Theatre in Addis Abäba to AYYALNÄH MULATU (from the archives of the Hagär Fəqər Theatre), November 2001.

Lit.: ALBERT GÉRARD, *Four African Literatures: Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1971, 295f.; QIRQOS ḪAYLÄ ŚƎLLASE, *Theatrical Motivation towards Theatrical Profession in Ethiopia*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1975.

Galina Balashova

Bäsaka

Lake B. (**በሳካ**, 10°53' N, 39°52'E) is a small graben-enclosed saline lake located approximately 200 km to the east of Addis Abäba in the Ethiopian Rift Valley. Archaeological excavations carried out in the 1970s on the western side of Lake B. (Clark – Williams 1978; Brandt 1980, 1982) have provided evidence of Later Stone Age human occupation characterized by multiple phases of lithic (stone-tool) industries. The earliest Later Stone Age phase is dated to ca. 22,000 to 19,000 years before the present and the most recent phase to ca. 3,500 years before the present, suggesting non-continuous occupation of the lake-shore environment from the Upper Pleistocene to the Holocene. Excavations of Early Holocene deposits at Lake B. have revealed some of the earliest evidence of intentional human burial in the Horn of Africa. In addition, Holocene deposits at Lake B. provide evidence of change in Later Stone Age subsistence and settlement patterns from a hunting/gathering/fishing economy to one based on pastoralism.

Lit.: STEVEN A. BRANDT, "Investigation of Late Stone Age Occurrences at Lake Besaka, Ethiopia", in: RICHARD E. LEAKEY – BETHWELL A. OGOT (eds.), *Proceedings of the Eighth Panafrican Congress of Prehistory and Quaternary Studies*, Nairobi 1980, 239–43; ID., *A Late Quaternary Cultural/Environmental Sequence from Lake Besaka, Southern Afar, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley 1982; J. DESMOND CLARK – M. A. J. WILLIAMS, "Recent Archaeological Research in Southeastern Ethiopia (1974–75): Some Preliminary Results", *AE* 11, 1978, 19–44.

Matthew C. Curtis

Bäṣälotä Mikaʾel

B.M. (**በጸሎተ ፡ ሚካኤል**) is venerated as one of the great saints of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and as one of the religious and moral reformers of the 14th cent. According to his hagiography, he was born in Sägla (Šäwa). His father Marqos was

a priest, his mother Ǝgziʾ Kəbra was a relative of *aṣe* ↗Wədəm Räʿad. Against his parents' strong resistance, B.M. decided early in life to become a monk and entered the monastery of Däbrä Gʷäl. Leading an ascetic life, he remained a deacon for 13 years and then was ordained a priest (Conti Rossini 1905:14f.). Afterwards he went to the north of Ethiopia and visited "the place of Damo" (↗Däbrä Damo), "the house of *abba* Mäṭṭaʿ" (↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana), Mäqäle, "the place of Gäfe" of Gäbrä Nazrawi etc. Among his disciples the *Gädl* mentions Natnaʾel, Gäbrä Nazrawi, Samuʾel and Ǝndrəyas (cp. also KinBibl no. 69).

B.M.'s reform efforts were directed towards monasticism, the Church hierarchy and the monarchy. As far as the first of these three is concerned, B.M. tried to break the existing custom according to which monks and nuns were allowed to dwell together. In this endeavour he is claimed to have received the backing of a royal decree (cp. Conti Rossini 1905:36, 40). However, he did not find such a support when he directed his attack on the Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Yoḥannəs, accusing him of simony (Conti Rossini 1905:22). *Aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I did not side with the saint, but had him exiled to Təgray, "the land of Sard". There, as we are told in his *Gädl*, he was liberated on the order of the *śəyyum* of Ṣəraʿ. This harsh treatment, rather than subduing the religious zeal of the saint, actually launched him on his third reform effort, i.e. the moral reform of the royal court itself. Accompanied by his disciples, B.M. went to the Emperor to reprove him for his marriage to his father's widow and for keeping numerous concubines. ʿAmdä Ṣəyon was offended by the boldness of the saint, exposed him to cruel tortures and sent him and his followers into a second exile. B.M. spent years in exile, wandering, preaching and working miracles among Muslims in Ṣäwän (Dära) and further on in Zʷay, Narʾət and Təgray, Gərʿalta. He died on 21 *Ḥamle* and was buried in Gəlo Mäkädä (between present-day Akkälä Guzay and ʿAgamä). Under an order of the new Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Yaʿəqob, the relics of B.M. were brought to Sägla.

Controversies arose around the name of B.M., since some other hagiographic traditions claim their saints to be connected to B.M. E.g., in the *Sənkəssar* for 24 *Näḥase*, *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot is reported to be a spiritual son and disciple of a certain B.M. (who is called "B.M. of Gəsse" in the *Gädlä Taklä Haymanot*). Aron of ↗Däbrä Daret is said to have been a spiritual son of B.M. as well. Moreover, the Acts of ↗Iyäsus Moʾa report that he was a spiritual father of B.M., who then "preached in the whole land of Amhara, residing in the land of Gol" (s. Kur 1965:34f.). A mention of a certain B.M. can be found in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗məṣtirä sämay wämədr* (s. Perruchon 1903:76, 85). There is clearly a possibility of the existence of more than one monastic leader, called B.M., who lived in different times (cp. commentary to ms. EMML 1843, fol. 168a).

The monastery of Däbrä Gʷäl in Amhara is said to have been destroyed by Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī and never restored (AmhChurchDic vol. 2, 33). But the place of the tomb of B.M. in Sägla was affiliated to another important monastic institution, that of Däbrä Baḥrəy (in Gasəčča, Wällo), which is connected to the name of the famous ↗Giyorgis of Sägla/Gasəčča (s. Colin 1987, Derat – Hirsch 1994).

Src.: EMML vol. 4, 160ff., no. 1200, fol. 346 [*wazema* hymn from the *Dəggʷa* in honour of B.M.]; vol. 5, 313, no. 1843, fol. 168a; vol. 6, 121, no. 2061, fol. 44b; AmhChurchDic vol. 2, 33.

Lit.: KinBibl 66f., no. 28; 75, no. 69; GÉRARD COLIN, *Vie de Georgis de Saglā*, Lovanii 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]); STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Iyasus Mo'a abbé du couvent de St-Etienne de Hayq*, Louvain 1965 (CSCO 259, 260 [SAe 49, 50]), 34f.; JULES PERRUCHON (ed., tr.), *Le livre des mystères du ciel et de la terre*, Paris 1903 (PO 1, 1), 76, 85; MARIE-LAURE DERAT – BERTRAND HIRSCH, "Recherches sur la biographie de l'abba Giyorgis de Gassēčča (ca. 1365–1425)", paper presented at the *12th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Michigan State University, September 5–10, 1994; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitæ Sanctorum Indigenarum I. Acta S. Basalota Mikāʾēl, S. Anorewos (seu Acta Sancti Honorii)*, Louvain 1905 (CSCO 28, 29 [SAe 11, 12]); STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Monastic Holy Man and the Christianization of Early Solomonic Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 1984 (SKK 73), s. index; TadTChurch 114–18; SAMUEL WOLDE YOHANNES, *Il fondo umanistico dei modelli e degli ideali dei gadl. Ricerca linguistico-filosofica su alcuni testi del XV secolo etiopico*, Roma 1996.

Samuel Wolde Yohannes – Denis Nosnitsin

Baṣəʿ ↗ Bāḍiʿ

Bäšəlo

The B. (ቤሸሎ) river is the major tributary of the Blue Nile river (↗Abbay) with a total catchment area of 13,242 km² (Ministry of Water Resources 1998). It originates in the north central-Ethiopian Plateau. Many of the small tributaries of the B. rise in the high mountains of Wällo, Gondär and Šäwa, among them Mount

Guna in Gondär, Mount Amba Färit in northern Šäwa and Mount Abunä Yosef in northern Wällo, with altitudes of 4,231 m, 3,975 m and 4,190 m A.S.L. respectively. The river drains in humid and sub-humid regions of the country with high rainfall ranging from 1,000 ml to 1,300 ml annually. Many of its tributaries are perennial. The rivers drain in the thick Cenozoic volcanic terrain, in the lower reaches close to the confluence with the Blue Nile in a deeply incised canyon characterized by the thick volcanic and Mesozoic sedimentary sequence.

Src.: ETHIOPIAN INSTITUTE OF GEOLOGICAL SURVEYS (ed.), *Geological Map of Ethiopia* [at the scale of 1:2,000,000], Addis Ababa, no date; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *Atlas of Ethiopia* (*with Maps and Descriptions*), Addis Ababa, no date.

Lit.: ETHIOPIAN VALLEYS DEVELOPMENT STUDIES AUTHORITY (ed.), *Rift Valley Lakes Integrated Natural Resources Development Master Plan,* unpublished report, Addis Ababa 1989; MINISTRY OF WATER RESOURCES (ed.), *Abbay River Basin Integrated Development Master Plan Project*, Section II: *Sectoral Studies*, Phase 3: *Master Plan* (*Main Report*), vol. 4: *Water Resources*, Addis Ababa 1998; M.J. MAKIN et al., *Prospects for Irrigation Development around Lake Zwai*, Surbiton 1976 (Land Resource Study 26), 270; PAUL A. MOHR, *Geology of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1970; TENALEM AYENEW, *The Hydrogeological System of the Lake District Basin, Central Main Ethiopian Rift*, Ph.D. thesis, Free University of Amsterdam 1998, 259; TESFAYE CHERNET, *Hydrogeologic Map of the Lakes Region* (*with Memo*), Ethiopian Institute of Geological Surveys, Addis Ababa 1982.

Tenalem Ayenew

Basəlyos

B. (ባስልዮስ), one of the dignitaries of the reign of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, was an officer of the royal army. He was *fitawrari* as early as 1690/91, and in 1694 he was appointed *blatten geta*. He still had this function when, on 2 September 1708, *aṣe* ↗Tewoflos appointed him *bitwäddäd* at the very beginning of his reign.

During the period 1698–1704 he was appointed chief of the king's army on six occasions and he is mentioned as having three different offices by the king's official history: *mälʾakä särawit*; *ʿabiy mälʾakä särawit*; *liqä särawit*.

As soon as *aṣe* ↗Yosṭos came to power, he appointed B. *däğğazmač* of Səmen (on 5 November 1711). However, B. was not loyal to the usurper Yosṭos, as he conspired against him. He was put in prison in 1712 and died there during the third year of Yosṭos's reign (1714), according to a version of the "short chronicle" (s. BassÉt 181). James Bruce gives us another version in his writings. "Basile", as he calls him, was condemned by Yosṭos to lose his eyes, but he does not mention anything about his death. The version edited by Béguinot does not mention that he died in prison either (BegCron 95). According to Bruce, B. had a son named Gälawdewos.

According to *aṣe* Iyasu's official history, B. was probably of partly Oromo ancestry. The chronider points out that he was Bunaya's son, himself an Oromo, and his mother, Səlṭanä Kəssos [=Krəstos], was a sister of a certain *däğğazmač* Lorens, who was a dignitary at the time of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs I.

Src.: GuiIohan 155, 178, 181, 195, 200, 203, 217, 224, 229, 244, 249, 261; BassÉt 156f., 176f., 180f.; BégCron 91f., 94f.; BruNile [ed. 1813], vol. 4, 50.

Dimitri Toubkis

Basəlyos

Abunä B. (ባስልዮስ, or Basəlwos; b. 1883, d. 1970, Addis Abäba) was an outstanding church scholar, administrator and the first Ethiopian Patriarch. He was the son of *däbtära* Wäldä Ṣadəq and *əmmät* Wälättä Maryam.

Gäbrä Giyorgis (as B. was known before he became *liqä paṗpasat*) was born in the vicinity of Mäṭṭaʿ Mikaʾel, northern Šäwa. He began his education at Koso Maryam, Amälza, and subsequently studied ↗*qəne* and ↗*tərgʷame* at Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa. He was ordained priest in 1914 and worked at Wašša Mikaʾel, where he became archimandrite in 1919. From 1924 to 1930 he taught at and administered the newly founded Maryam church of ↗Männagäša. After

bered for a reform of the church administration.

↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church; ↗Ṗappas

Src.: MÄRSƎ'E ḪAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, ሲመት፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ በቀዳማዊ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ (*Simätä liqä pappasat Ityopya bäqädamawi Ḫaylä Śəllase nəguśä nägäśt zä'ityopya*, 'Consecration of the Ethiopian Metropolitan in the Reign of Ḫaylä Śəllase I, King of Kings of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1943 A.M. [1950/51 A.D.]; ALTAYYÄ KƎNÄFÄ GÄBRƎ'EL, የመጀመሪያው፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ፓትሪያርክ (*Yämäğämmäriyaw yä'ityopya patriyark*, 'The First Ethiopian Patriarch'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]; ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH ADMINISTRATION (ed.), የአቡነ፡ ባስልዮስ፡ ታሪክ (*Yä'abunä Basəlwos tarik*, 'Biography of *abunä* Basəlwos'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.]; *Addis Zämän*, *Näḫase* 1, 1940.

Lit.: BEI'DE MARYAM MERSHA, *Die Geschichte der äthiopischen Patriarchen von 1926 bis zur Gegenwart*, Ph.D. thesis, Heidelberg 1982, 27–51; HAGGAI ERLICH, "Identity and Church – Ethiopian–Egyptian Dialogue, 1924–1959", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 32, 1, 2000, 23–46; AmhChurchD vol. 2, 47-51.

Bairu Tafla

The arrival of the new *abunä* Basəlyos in Addis Abäba, welcomed by Crown Prince Asfa Wäsän (right), courtesy of IES, Addis Abäba (catalogue no. 190 A9 II)

the death of *nəgəśtä nəgəśtat* Zäwditu, he was appointed head of the Gäbrə'el church in Addis Abäba. In May 1932 he was made *rayəs* ('dean') of the Ethiopian monastery at ↗Jerusalem.

In 1934, he was made ↗*aṣṣäge* (thus becoming the 59th abbot of Däbrä Libanos), an office which he kept until the end of his life. During the Fascist occupation of Ethiopia, he lived in exile in Jerusalem until he was invited by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I to join him in the Sudan. He accompanied the sovereign through Goğğam to Addis Abäba and was reinstalled in his former position.

Though the Emperor allowed *abunä* ↗Qerəllos, the last Egyptian metropolitan of Ethiopia, to return to Addis Abäba in 1942, *aṣṣäge* Gäbrä Giyorgis remained de-facto head of the Church and the Emperor's chief advisor on religious affairs. Following a new agreement with the Egyptians five Ethiopian monks were consecrated bishops in July 1949 in Alexandria, one of them, Gäbrä Giyorgis, was consecrated as *abunä* B. In January 1951, following the death of Qerəllos, *abunä* B. was consecrated in Cairo as the first ever Ethiopian Metropolitan. In June 1956, when the ancient affiliation of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church to the Egyptian ↗Coptic Church was finally terminated, *abunä* B. became the Patriarch of the new autocephalous church.

He was highly respected for his education, chastity and dignity; he was also a lifelong friend of the Emperor, but is hardly remem-

Basil the Great

B. (b. 329/30, d. 1 January 379), a saint and Doctor of the Church, was an important figure in the 4th-cent. strife against Arianism, an organizer of monastic life and a prolific writer. Excerpts of his works are extant in Ethiopic. He is venerated in Ethiopia on 6 *Ṭərr* (BudSaint 463ff.), in the Greek Orthodox Church on 1 January.

B. came from a deeply Christian Greek family of Asia Minor, many members of which are venerated as saints. B. acquired the best education available in the epoch. After a short period of work as a teacher of rhetoric, he became an anachorite. He visited all the most important monastic centres in Syria and Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt (357–58), whereupon he settled (358) near Neocesarea in Pontos. In 370 he became the bishop of his native city, Caesarea of Cappadocia, where he launched a welfare program, constructing a complex of Christian community life.

Together with Gregory of Nazianzus and his brother Gregory of Nyssa – the three of them are known as "the (Great) Cappadocian Fathers" – he worked out the Orthodox trinitarian doctrine encapsulated in the formula: **μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις** 'one essence, three substances (or persons)', eventually accepted by the second Ecumenical Synod in Constantinople (381), two years after B.'s death.

B. was the author of many works: especially important are *Against Eunomius*, an anti-Arian

polemic, and *On the Holy Spirit* (375). He wrote numerous letters (366 are known), as well as homilies and rules of monastic life, and formulated ecclesiastical canons. In Ethiopia **ባስልዮስ፡ ዘቂሳርያ፡ ዘቀጰዶቅያ** (*Basalyos zäqisarəya zäqäppädoqəya*, 'B. of Cesarea of Cappadocia') is mostly known for the anaphora which bears his name and which may contain material that derives from him, but as a whole it is not his work. Since most of the works attributed to B. in Ethiopia (many of them falsely) are not published, their identification with his original writings preserved in Greek cannot be established. The following homilies in Ethiopic are ascribed to B.:

1) Homily on Mary, e.g. BritLib Orient. 604, fol. 85b; Orient. 605, fol. 150a; Orient. 606, fol. 102a;

2) Homily on the occasion of the construction of the Church of Mary at Philippi (*Dərsan zäbəṣu wäqəddus abba Basəlyos ʿepis qoppos zäqesarəya bä'ntä ḥanṣabetä krəstiyan lämaryam nəṣəḥt …*), for 21 *Säne* [= 15 June], e.g. in mss. EMML 5 (I, 8) of the 16th cent., EMML 543 (27), 1496–95, 2044 (34), 2461 (25); 4279 (9), 4335 (9). This is found also in the ↗*Tä'ammərä Maryam* ('Mirades of Mary'), EMML 3873, fols. 28a–35a. is extant also in Coptic for 21 *Paone/Ba'unah* [= 21 *Säne*];

3) Homily on the Angels, God and Faith (as e.g. ChAbb no. 54 and EMML 2303). Another (?) Homily on Angels is extant in the Homiliary for the year (as in EMML 1763, fol. 86);

4) Homily in the Homiliary for Lent (as in EMML 1956, fol. 69).

Extracts from B.'s writings are present in the patristic anthology ↗*Haymanotä abäw*, identified by Zotenberg (1877:111) as taken from the third and fourth book of his *Against Eunomius* (… **በውስተ፡ አውናምዮስ**, … *bäwəstä ʿAwnaməyos*), from a *Letter to Amphilochus* and from the *Homily on the Faith and Trinity*.

B.'s answers to some questions of Gregory (of Nazianzus?, of Nyssa?) on some words of the Gospels are extant in ms. d'Abbadie 54, fol. 91v (ChAbb 38).

Benedictions (*burake*) in the Funeral ritual (*Mäṣḥafä ↗gənzät*) are published (1944:114a–b), as is another Prayer of Blessing **ጸሎተ፡ ቡራኬ** (*Ṣälotä burake*) of B. published in the *Mäṣḥafä qəddase* 57f., no. 10–21.

Prayers for Monday (*zäsänuy*) are the first item in the Praises of God (↗*Wəddase amlak*), perhaps from the 14th cent. (Baumstark 1911:45) and possibly translated from a similar collection used in the Coptic Church. It is extant, e.g., in BritLib Orient. 559, fol. 2a; SixDeu 199, 460. The mss. EMML 924 (III, 250) and 1222 (IV, 205) contain the same prayer in an Amharic translation. Prayer of Thanksgiving **ጸሎተ፡ አኩቴት** (*Ṣälotä akkʷätet*) occurs relatively often, as, e.g., in EMML 74, 3, fol. 2b, EMML 321; EMML 4777, etc. A prayer in EMML 2652, fol. 2b, is, as identified by Getatchew Haile, an excerpt from the Anaphora of St. Basil. There is also a magical Prayer of St. Ephrem, "uttered by the tongue of Basil of Caesarea" (EMML 628).

In the ↗*Senodos* B. is quoted as the author of some canons ("Canons of various fathers"), e.g. in BritLib Orient. 793, fol. 77b. He is also quoted in the Commentary of the great Doctors of the Church on the Law of the Church (EMML 417, 695, 19th cent.). Doubtful is his authorship of an account of the origin of the apostles in the ↗*Gädlä ḥawarəyat*. Other texts or fragments related to B. are listed by Fedwick (1996:245f., 1227ff.) as spurious.

B. is mentioned in the ↗*Sənkəssar*, where episodes of his life and the miracles he is reported to have worked are described (13 *Mäskäräm*, 6 *Ṭərr*, 21 *Säne*, 15 *Ḥamle*, 15 *Yäkkatit*).

He occurs also in some episodes of the *Tä'ammərä Maryam* (Cerulli 1943:217f.) and in the *Acts* and *Mirades* of ↗Märqorewos (EMML 3290, 2.11). A legendary *Gädl* of the hermit *abba* Ablo/Abbəlo/Öbelo (Apollo?) in a manuscript of ca. 1400 (EMML 1840, fol. 36a, also in EMML 141, fols. 94–102) presents B. discussing who of the hermits is the greatest saint (the same in the *Sənkəssar* on 3 *Yäkkatit*).

There is even a miniature of B. in a 14th-cent. Psalter (EMML 2064, fol. 106a, with a ↗*sälam*), and in a 19th-cent. manuscript (EMML 1762) showing him and Jacob of Nisibis visiting Ephrem.

↗Anaphoras

Src.: ChAbb 38, no. 54; BudSaint 463ff.; EMML; SixDeu 199, 460; MAURICE GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, vol. 2: *Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomum*, Turnhout 1974, 140–78; ENRICO CERULLI, *Il libro etiopico dei Miracoli di Maria e le sue fonti nelle letterature del medio evo latino*, Roma 1943; **መጽሐፈ፡ ግንዘት፡ ጸሎት፡ ላዕለ፡ ምውታን** (*Mäṣḥafä gənzät: ṣälot laʿlä məwətan*, 'The Funeral Ritual: Prayer over the Dead'), Addis Abäba 1944 A.M. [1951/52 A.D.]; **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ፡ በግዕዝና፡ በአማርኛ** (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase bägəʿəzənna bä'amarəñña*, 'The Missal in Gəʿəz and Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.].

Lit.: GUSTAVE BARDY, "Basile (saint)", in: *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 1, Paris 1937, cols. 1273–83; ID., "Basile (saint), évêque de Césarée de Cappadoce", *Catholicisme* 1, 1948, cols. 1280–84; PAUL JONATHAN FEDWICK (ed.),

Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic: a 1600th Anniversary Symposium [papers presented at a symposium held in Toronto, June 10–16, 1979], Toronto 1981; ID., *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis: a Study of the Manuscript Tradition, Translations and Editions of the Works of Basil of Caesarea*, II: *The Homiliae morales, Hexaemeron, De litteris, with Additional Coverage of the Letters*, 1–2, Turnhout 1996 (Corpus Christianorum); JEAN GRIBOMONT, "Basil the Great", in: *Encyclopaedia of the Early Church*, vol. 1, New York 1992, 114–15.

Witold Witakowski

Basketo

Basketo language

Together with the closely related Dokko-Dollo, the B. language forms the western branch of the ↗Ometo cluster, which itself represents a subfamily of the Western ↗Omotic languages (Fleming 1976). Most B. speakers are monolingual (except for limited bilingualism in ↗Wälaytta); the literacy rate lies below 1%.

The phoneme inventory of B. presents a complete series of ejectives as well as labial and alveolar implosives. Furthermore, it contains two sounds which are not attested in other Ometo languages: the mid-central vowel *ə* and, the voiced/breathy fricative *ɦ*:

labials:	*b, p, ɓ, f, m, w*
denti-alveolars:	*d, t, ɗ, z, s, ʦ, ʃ, n, l, r*
palatals:	*č, čʼ, š, y*
velars:	*g, k, q*
glottals:	*h, ɦ, ʾ*
vowels:	*i, e, a/ʌ, o, u*

Morphological categories of nouns are: gender (fem. / masc.), definiteness / indefiniteness, number (for nouns marked as definite) and case system (nominative, accusative).

Adjectives formally look like nouns, i.e., they may end in a consonant, in *-i* or *-a*. They can also be marked for definiteness and case. As modifiers, adjectives normally precede the noun. Like nouns, adjectives can also be used predicatively.

Verb roots typically have (Consonant) – Vowel – Consonant – (Consonant) structure. Inflectional categories marked on the verb include tense-aspect markers and morphemes indicating the person and/or number of the subject. It is not clear whether aspect is more prominent than tense, or vice versa. In simple declarative sentences we find four tense-aspect markers which seem to involve both aspect and tense (past vs. present / habitual vs. perfective vs. future / intentional). The perfective and the future tense forms are not inflected for person. The past and the present/habitual have pronominal affixes marking gender (only for 3rd pers. sg.) and number distinction.

The self-standing independent pronouns are respectively: sg. 1st/2nd/3rd pers. masc. / 3rd pers. fem.: *tani / neni / ii / iza*, 1st/2nd/3rd pers. pl.: *nuni / yinti / int-i*. B. personal pronouns exist also in a "shortened" form (the latter only for 1. person sg./pl.: *ta/nu* and 2nd pers. sg.: *ne*). In some contexts "full" and "shortened" pronouns are used interchangeably. In others, e.g. in conjunctions and copula constructions, the "short" pronouns are excluded.

Demonstratives are *haadi / hanna*, 'this' (masc. / fem.) and *sekadi / sekana* 'that' (masc. / fem.). A sample of interrogative forms which have been recorded is: *ono* 'what?, who?'; *ant* 'when?'; *habz* 'what?', *habz-ab* 'why?'; *apun* 'how many?'.

B. is basically a head-final language. In simple sentences, this results in Subject-Object-Verb order. In noun phrases, the basic modifier-head order can optionally be changed into head-modifier order.

B. has 61% of vocabulary shared with the ↗Oyda language. The standard ten-word list for B. is:

'one'	*petan*	'moon'	*agan*
'two'	*namʾi*	'sun'	*awa*
'three'	*hadzi*	'blood'	*zomʾi*
'fire'	*tama / tʌma*	'tongue'	*intsʾirs*
'water'	*waaṣe*	'tooth'	*aççʾ*

Lit.: ALEMAYEHU HAILE, "Some Aspects of the Phonology of Basketto", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 393–406; AZEB AMHA, *The Case System of Basketto*, M.A thesis, Addis

Ababa University 1993; ID., "Case in Basketto", *African Languages and Linguistics* 7, 1994; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il Linguaggio dei Basketto", in: ID., *Studi Etiopici*, vol. 3: *Il linguaggio dei Giangero ed alcune lingue sidama dell'Omo (Basketo, Ciara, Zaisse)*, Roma 1938, 99–117; MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, *Comparative Morphology of Omotic Languages*, München 2000; HAROLD FLEMING, "Cushitic and Omotic", in: *BendLang* 34–53; HAILEYESUS BALA, *Masketto Phonology*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1988; ÉVA HOMPÓ, *Report on a Trip to Basketto*, ms. 1987 [in the possession of the author].

Azeb Amha

Basketo ethnography

B. (Basketto, Baskatto) is the self-designation of an Omotic-speaking group inhabiting a plateau (1,800 m to 1,900 m A.S.L.) west of Bulki in the North Omo Administrative Zone (in the old Gamo Gofa province). Neighbouring groups refer to the B. also as Mesketto.

The B. ("Basketa") were described for the first time by Antoine d'Abbadie in the 1840ies (but published 1890; cp. also Borelli 1888), who identifies them as one of eight Dokko kingdoms (together with "Gara", "Qula", "Bita", "Dapa" or "Dafa", "Ẓolo" or "Tolo" and "Dimea" (↗Dime). According to Haberland (1959:189f) the B. form almost one single cultural unit, the "B. group", together with the Dokko, the Balta, the Dafa, the Laha and the Dola-Mašira, all living in the area between the scarps of the mountains of Aari and the River Omo. The Dola-Mašira show more cultural influence from the Dime. Less culturally related neighbours of the B. are the ↗Malo in the north, the ↗Gofa in the east, the Dime and ↗Me'en in the west, and the ↗Aari and ↗Galila in the south.

The base of the B. economy is mainly *ənsät* farming. Additionally the B. cultivate tuber roots, maize, millet and different kinds of vegetables. The keeping of animals like sheep, goats and cattle is of less importance.

The traditional socio-political system of the B. was a segmentary society structured by exogamous and patrilinear clans and lineages. It was a chiefdom headed by the *Basketto kati*, with elements reminisced of divine kingship, and thirteen sub-chiefs, three of them being superior to the others. The *kati* clan Goyriinaa, which claims to have immigrated from ↗Bərbər Maryam in Gamo 15 generations ago, had a privileged status as a kind of nobility. The *kati* clan of Dokko and Balta (in both cases Gošinaa) together with the Goyriinaa of B. claim a common genealogical relationship. The other socio-political layers of B. society were the common peasant clans, from where most of the religious functionaries came, a group of clans considered to be dishonourable and a despised caste of craftsmen.

Basketo cultural landscape, photo by Eike Haberland, © Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23–Ha056–11)

Significant elements of the pre-Christian religion of the B. were the veneration of the male sky-god Ṣosii, mainly a deus otiosus, and the female earth-goddess Qačaarunde, who was said to be the mother of Ṣosii and was later equated with St. Mary. Sacrifices to male and female ancestors were to be carried out regularly. The priesthood was diversified according to different ritual functions (e.g. sacrifice, divination). The most respected of them was the *gara kati*, who was surrounded by many taboos and received a yearly tribute of cows and goats.

Ritual consumption and the sacrifice of beer played an important symbolic role. A compound included a special "house of beer", in which the beer was brewed and food stock was stored. It also was the place were the deceased were laid out.

Another special house in the compound, already vanishing in Haberland's time, served as a place of seclusion for mothers during menstruation. When a woman became pregnant again, the small building was burned down and a new was built. In the seclusion house umbilical cord and placenta were buried.

The B. were conquered and integrated into the Gofa province (since 1941 Gofa *wäräda* of Gamo Gofa) by *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis in 1893. They came under a strong Amhara influence, adopting Orthodox Christianity for the most part.

The B. of today (including all B.-speakers) are

reported to number about 51,000 (Central Statistical Authority 1998). The area suffers of a very dense population and deficiency of land. B. *kätäma* has access to trans-regional roads via Bulki and Fälägä Nəway (Sawla). In 1998 the B. People's Democratic Organization was one of the 65 licensed political parties of Ethiopia 1998 (s. *News Release*, 14 October 1998).

Src.: *News Release*: *FDRE Office of the Government Spokesperson*, 14 October 1998; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia*, vol. 1, Addis Ababa 1988.

Lit.: ERNESTA CERULLI, *Peoples of South-West Ethiopia and its Borderland*, London 1956 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa, North-Eastern Africa 3), 96, 99, 100f., 109; ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Géographie de l'Éthiopie: ce que j'ai entendu, faisant suite a ce que j'ai vu*, Paris 1890, 118; JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridinale*, Paris 1888, 437; F. MAURETTE, *Mission de Bonchamps. Vers Fachoda à la rencontre de la Mission Marchand, à travers l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1906, 274, 276; EIKE HABERLAND, "Die Basketto und verwandte Stämme", in: *VSAe* I, 189–226, here 189f., 194f., 197ff., 203–06, 211.

Azeb Amha – Dirk Bustorf

Basketry

B. was considered by Paul Mérab the most perfected of all Ethiopian crafts, and many travellers have noted the variety, intricacy and beauty of B. produced by different ethnic groups, such as Amhara, Təgrəñña speakers, Oromo, Gurage, Añwaa, Somali and ʿAfar.

Requiring no equipment beyond an awl, but much painstaking labour, baskets are made almost exclusively by women, who learn the skill from their mothers. Unlike other craftwork, no stigma attaches to basket-making. Baskets were used for a wide variety of domestic purposes, but mainly as containers for food and drink. Baskets to hold liquids were so skilfully made, sometimes reinforced by *Candelabra euphorbia* sap, that they were entirely watertight. B. was also used for other functional purposes: to store household goods and grain; and, reinforced with leather, to carry food when travelling. Baskets also served ritual and symbolic purposes. Whereas shapes remained fairly constant over time, sizes and designs vary greatly.

A unique object of daily use, the መሶብ, *mäsob*, or basket-table with lid, was already in use at the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th cent. Nicolò ↗Brancaleone, a Venetian painter at the Ethiopian court, in depicting the Flight into Egypt, painted Salome carrying a *mäsob* (Chojnacki 1983:61). This characteristically Ethiopian artefact, which symbolizes food, figures, often on Salome's head, in many subsequent Gondärine paintings.

A type of basket that has since disappeared was used to carry imperial brocades and other treasures, following the emperor on campaign. Around the years 1520–27, Francisco Alvares saw servants carrying large numbers of these baskets (BeckHuntAlvar vol. 2, 447f.). They were rectangular, lined with raw cow hide, and closed with chains from the four corners coming to a central padlock.

The best known B. traditions are those of ↗Harär. Young women of all classes belonged to basket-making groups. It was there where socialisation took place, with prayers and singing. Work would proceed on the 13 baskets formerly needed to adorn the back and sidewalls of each woman's future house, where every basket had its appointed place. They would become a symbol of her identity. Baskets were used symbolically during rites of passage, notably marriage, when the bridegroom was expected to appreciate the bride's work. Baskets served primarily decorative purposes, so that the designs and colours were to be viewed from the outside. The dominant artistic influence derived from Islamic culture, hence geometric designs prevailed – triangular, rectangular, lozenge-shaped, zigzag, each identified by name. Some six basic basket shapes and more than 25 designs are today in use, some integrating calligraphy. The materials needed to make a Harari basket are *agärgära* (*Eleusine jaegeri*), a type of straw used as weaving thread, *migir* (*Pennisetum schimperi*), a sturdy grass used for the coil, and *qärma*, barley storks split and wrapped round it. These grasses were formerly available locally, as was the awl. Since the 19th cent., imported dye powders have replaced locally made ones, though even in the 20th cent. the art of making dyes was still known. The technique used to make Harär and other highland baskets is to wrap the coils with split, and often dyed barley stalks, and stitch the coils together at specific intervals, following the selected pattern and colour scheme. Coloured glass beads and cowrie shells could be added for decoration.

Several developments are threatening Harär's traditional basket culture. Firstly, for many decades, enamelware from Asia has been a cheap substitute for the former large, flat woven bread baskets, which have practically disappeared.

Cheap plastic and metal containers and trays vie with baskets of all kinds. Secondly, in the *Därg* period traditional associations were disbanded. Thirdly, the grasses needed for weaving are no longer available in the vicinity, and must be purchased at increasing prices. Fourthly, since modern Harär houses are made with cement, it is difficult to hang baskets on the walls. Fifthly, and most importantly, girls now go to school and therefore have no time to make baskets. However, baskets are still a prerequisite for marriage, and now have to be purchased at considerable expense. Lastly, the tourist trade though ensuring a clientele and some employment among poor basket-makers does not demand quality work. Though some basket artists can supplement their income by making fine dowry baskets, many for Harari marriages in Addis Abäba and abroad, especially in the USA, the industry is in decline. Modern baskets are of poorer workmanship than older ones, which had slim coils, an astonishing blend of colours, and the patina of old age (Ahmed Zekaria 1998:47–63; Hecht 1994:159–63).

Basket-making has also been brought to a fine art by the ↗Boorana Oromo. Women, here too, are the artists, though when the pot is carved and has woven decoration both men and women make it jointly. The most utilitarian and artistic creation of Boorana women is the milk container. Girls begin to identify the material, learn the stitches and handle two awls, at the age of ten. Making a milk-pot is part of the educational process of every woman before marriage. The fibres used for weaving come from the bark and root of plants growing in the lowlands. It takes several days to collect them, as they are often too expensive to purchase in the market. Girls acquire the skill to make the container perfectly rounded and symmetrical, with the correct proportions and with the unique raised surface patterns of vertical lines made with cross stitches for which these pots are famous. To begin with, some fibres are bunched together to form a horizontal coil that moves in an upward spiral from the base. Small pieces of another fibre are wrapped round the coil at regular intervals, forming decorative vertical lines. The diameter increases and then decreases, involving the adding and then the dropping of a stitch at regular intervals. The pot is so woven that transpiration and evaporation can take place. There are two weaving techniques. In one, the fibre is simply passed round the coil; in the other, it is also twisted, which makes for a tighter weave and is correspondingly more laborious.

Basket weaving, photo courtesy of Chris Grant

There are two kinds of milk containers, made of the same materials and using the same techniques, but differing in size, shape and decoration. If the container is a *gorfa*, it will often have cowrie shells round its waist, round the edge of the pot and round the lid. The *ċüċoo* has no cowrie shells, is smaller, more elyptical in shape, and the lid does not break the continuity of the profile. There is much prestige in making a fine milk pot, which may express the maker's own ideas and individuality. Sometimes giraffe's tail hair is woven into the pot to add a black decorative element, and recently coloured plastic cord has been used as decoration. It normally takes a year to make a *gorfa*, or three months full time. Unlike men's work, the milk pot is not sold in the market, though it may be made for a gift. Containers are used in ritual ceremonies, including marriage, and have a highly symbolic meaning. Rounded, full of milk and nourishment, like a pregnant woman, they represent women's fertility and the reproductive capacity of the family (Bassi 1998:65–87).

Another distinctive type of basket is produced by ↗Fuga women. The Fuga, who live in Gurage land, are a caste-like group that, as well as performing some ritual functions, specialize in working with ↗bamboo, wood and clay. The wood-carving is done by men, the pottery by women, and the bamboo work by both men and women. Very large round baskets, mainly made by men, are used to store grain and dung, smaller ones to carry grain and vegetables, and still smaller ones made by women are for carrying food such as butter and cheese from the market, to keep belongings as well as to serve roasted grain (Pankhurst – Worku Nida 1998:126–31).

The smaller round baskets made of split bamboo canes are very strong, distinctive and attractive. The unpainted strips of bamboo are all made to pass through the centre of the basket or its tight-fitting lid and around them very thin strips of bamboo are skilfully woven. The bamboo is held together with contrasting strips of dark brown hide that radiate from near the centre like the hub of a wheel. Such baskets are used at home and sold in the market.

In areas where the ↗*ənsät* grows, in the south west of the country, containers for dry food are made from the fibres of the plant. In the far west regions, in Gambella, Añwaa women weave a distinctive boat shaped all-purpose grass basket, the *lul*, dyeing the dried grass in strips of black and brown. It is for home use, but also for sale in the towns.

Throughout Ethiopia, techniques related to basketware were also used to make hats, parasols, mats, bee-hives, and even cane tables and chairs. Sadly, B., except in Harär, is undervalued and faces growing competition from locally produced and imported plastics.

↗Handicrafts

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar vol. 2, 447f.; JEAN DUCHESNE-FOURNET, *Mission en Éthiopie (1901–1903)*, Paris 1908–09, vol. 2, 320–24, pl. 19f.; ETIENNE MÉRAB, *Impressions d'Ethiopie: l'Abyssinie sous Ménélik II*, Paris 1921–29, vol. 3, 398f.

Lit.: AHMED ZEKARIA, "Harari Basketry through the Eyes of Amina Ishmael Sherif", in: RAYMOND AARON SILVERMAN (ed.), *Ethiopia: Traditions of Creativity*, East Lansing 1998, 47–63; MARCO BASSI, "Every Woman an Artist", in: *ibid.*, 65–87; AMBAYE DEGEFA, *Social Organization and Status of Occupational Groups: the Case of Woodworkers in Megnako and Gambela Villages, Woliso District, Southwestern Shewa*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University, School of Graduate Studies 1997, 60; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Major Themes in Ethiopian Painting*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 10), 61; ADRIAN DIGBY, "Pottery and Basketwork from Abyssinia", *British Museum Quarterly* 11, 2, 1937, 54f.; ETHIOPIAN TOURIST ORGANIZATION, *Handicrafts of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa [1971], 45–56; VSAe I; ELIZABETH-DOROTHEA HECHT, *Basketwork of Harar*, Tokyo 1992 (African Study Monographs, Supplementary Issue 18); ID., "Harari Basketry. An Art and its Function in Harari Society", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, 159–76; NAHU SENAY, *Social Organization and Status of Artisans in Emdibir Area (Gurage)*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University, School of Graduate Studies 1998, 76f.; ALULA PANKHURST – WORKU NIDA, "Menjiye Tabeta, Artist and Actor", in: RAYMOND AARON SILVERMAN (ed.), *Ethiopia: Traditions of Creativity*, East Lansing 1998, 126–31; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Oldtime Handicrafts of Ethiopia, with a Note on Traditional Dress", *EthObs* 8, 3, 1964, 221–42, here 234; ERNST FRIEDRICH ROHRER, "Die Flechterei der Amhara", *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums* 7, 1928, 67–81.

Rita Pankhurst

Baso

B. (ባሶ) was, until the late 19th cent., an important market in the Nile valley to the south of Däbrä Marqos, Goğğam. Oromo regiments whom *aṣe* ↗Susənyos and *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I stationed there seem to have given their clan name both to the market and the district where it was located at the crossroads of several major caravan routes. One of these ran from the port of Massawa through Təgray and Bägemdər to B. Another ran from the Gibe region to B. It was a safe and convenient location for merchants to hold a market and for the provincial governors to levy market tolls. Domestic and imported goods from northern parts of the country (such as salt, mules, calicoes, glass beads, mirrors and knives) were traded here for slaves, cattle, cof-

fee, gold, musk, civet, ivory, rhino horns and leopard skins from south-western regions. In its heyday, the market was a major source of revenue for the rulers of Goǧǧam. Before the emergence of the modern Ethiopian Empire from the 1880s onward, B. was on the main artery which linked the north and the south-west. The development of rail and road transport in eastern and central parts of the country in the early decades of the 20th cent., was one of the factors which accelerated the decline of the market until it came to an abrupt end in the 1930s.

Src.: CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE, "Abyssinia. Being a Continuation of Routes in that Country", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 14, 1844, 259–60; ID., *Letters on the Commerce of Abyssinia and other Parts of Eastern Africa: Addressed to the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade*, London 1852, 15f., 21; ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Géographie de l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1890; ARNAULD D'ABBADIE, *Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute-Éthiopie*, Paris 1868; WALTER CHICHELE PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country*, London 1868; BassÉt 55, 81, 165f., 197.
Lit.: MORDECHAI ABIR, "Southern Ethiopia", in: RICHARD GRAY – DAVID BIRMINGHAM (eds.) *Pre-Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900*, London 1970, 119–37; MHasOr 135–39, 148f.; RICHARD PANKHURST, *Economic History of Ethiopia: 1800–1935*, Addis Ababa 1968.

Girma Getahun – Mohammed Hassen

Bašša

B. (Amharic **ባሻ**, Təgrəñña **ባሻይ**, from Arabic *bāšā*, Leslau 1990:23, 209, cp. Turkish *paşha*) is a title which was granted to a commander of a detachment armed with firearms. Its origin goes back to the 16th cent., when *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngal in 1578 took captive Turkish musketeers from the garrison of Dəbarwa and offered them, with their *paša*, an opportunity to enter his service. During the reign of *aṣe* Susənyos, there is mention of such a *paša*, called by the Ethiopians B., who also was a Turk called Muṣṭafā. During the reign of his grandson *aṣe* Yoḥannəs I, this office was granted to an Ethiopian, Ləsanä Krəstos, nephew of the famous ↗Wälättä Ṗetros.

The descendants of Turkish mercenaries also continued to serve the Ethiopian emperors and in the Chronicle of *aṣe* Iyasu I Muṣṭafa's son Gälawdewos, who was one of the Emperor's warlords, is mentioned. By this time, however, the title was granted to Ethiopians only and in the 17th cent., according to the official hierarchy recorded in the ↗*Śərʿatä mängəśt*, B. took the 14th place and referred to an officer guarding the throne-room.

In the 18th cent., when firearms became very widespread, the title went out of use, but it was revived again towards the end of the 19th cent. when artillery appeared. There is a reflection of the Turkish origin of the title in the reign of ↗Mənilək II when the title of *turk bašša* (lit. 'Turkish B.') was granted to the commander of the royal artillery.

Src.: BTafA 893; DombrChr 217ff., 299f. (text); WOLF LESLAU, *Arabic Loanwords in Ethiopian Semitic*, Wiesbaden 1990, 23, 209; *blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŚELLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **ዝክረ፡ ነገር** (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 644; KaneDic 901.

Sevir Chernetsov

Bassano, Francesco da

B. (b. 1867, d. 18 March 1934, Asmära) was a missionary of the Capuchin Friars' Minor Order of the Province of Rome. On 23 December 1894 he arrived at the Italian Colony of Eritrea, where he acted as Superior in the Mission of ᶜAsäb, Aḳrur, Sägänäyti and ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ and in Kärän as Rector of the Diocesan Seminary. After the death of Michele da Carbonara (1836–1910) he replaced him as Apostolic Prefect of the Catholic mission in Eritrea, but soon gave up the office.

B. studied the ↗Təgrəñña and ↗Gəᶜəz languages. He published a Təgrəñña–Italian vocabulary (1918), which remained one of the most comprehensive Təgrəñña dictionaries for a long period. He also edited the entire Gəᶜəz Bible in five volumes, printed by the Tipografia Francescana at the Catholic Mission of Asmära.

↗Capuchins; ↗Bible

Lit.: FRANCESCO DA BASSANO, *Vocabolario tigray-italiano e repertorio italiano-tigray*, Roma 1918; **ብሉይ፡ ኪ.ኪዳን። ዘተሰናአወ፡ ምስለ፡ መጻሕፍት፡ ቀደምት፡ ዘብራና፡ ወምስለ፡ መጻሕፍተ፡ ሶርያ፡ ወጽርእ፡ ወዓረብ** (*Bəluy kidan. Zätäsänaʾawä məslä mäṣaḥəft qäddämt zäbərana wäməslä mäṣaḥəftä Sorya wäṣərʾ wäʿaräb*, 'The Old Testament, Compared with the Old Manuscripts and the Syriac, Greek and Arabic Books'), 4 vols., Asmära 1915–18 A.M. [1922/23–25/26 A.D.]; **ሐዲስ፡ ኪ.ኪዳን። ወንጌል፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘእግዚእነ፡ ወመድኃኒነ፡ ኢያሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወመጻሕፍቲሆሙ፡ ለሐዋርያት፡ ቅዱሳን** (*Ḥaddis kidan. Wängel qəddus zäʾəgziʾənä wämädḥaninä Iyäsus Krəstos wämäṣaḥəftihomu läḥawaryat qəddusan …*, 'The New Testament. The Gospels of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and the Books of the Holy Apostles …'), Asmära 1912 A.M. [1919/20 A.D.]; ÖSCAR LÖFGREN, "Die äthiopische Bibelausgabe der katholischen Mission", *Le Monde Oriental* 23, 1929, 174–80; EZECHIA DA ISEO, *Pionieri di fede e di civiltà. In Eritrea e regioni limitrofe*, Asmära 1937, 148; AYELE TEKLEHAYMANOT, "The Contribution of the Capuchins to the Ethiopian Studies", in: *Proceedings of the Symposium on the First Centenary of*

the Capuchin Presence in Eritrea (*1894–1994*), Asmara 1996.

Ayele Teklehaymanot

Basset, René-Marie-Joseph

B. (b. 24 July 1855, Lunéville, Meurthe-et-Moselle, d. 4 January 1924, Algiers) was a French orientalist. After reading Oriental studies at the École pratique des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Collège de France and the École des Hautes Études in Paris from 1873 onwards, he graduated in 1879 with a study on *Prières des musulmans chinois* and later worked temporarily as collaborator on the *Journal Asiatique*. In April 1880 he moved to Algiers where he began his career as chargé du cours de littérature arabe at the École Supérieure des Lettres, which had been founded a year before by Jules Ferry. In 1885 B. was appointed as successor of Émile Masqueray to the Chair of Arabic language and literature, rose in 1894 to become Director of the institution and became in 1909 the first head of the Faculté des Lettres of the University of Algiers.

During his long and productive career, stretching over more than 40 years, B. undertook more than 25 scientific missions between the years 1881 and 1914 in different countries of North Africa, from Morocco to Tripolitania, from Algeria to Senegal and Portuguese Guinea. As a noted scholar of Arabic, Ethiopic and African languages, but particularly notably as an expert on Berber languages, B. was a corresponding, ordinary and honorary member of many academies in Paris, London, Rome, Madrid, Lisbon, Leipzig and Florence. B.'s studies were abundant and embraced many interests in lexicography, linguistics and ethnography. As an eminent Arabist he dealt with a number of Arabic pre-Islamic and Islamic authors (Kaʿb b. Zuhayr, Aws b. Ḥaǧar, Našwān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī) and edited and translated several Arabic texts on the history and geography of North Africa and Muslim Spain. He contributed bibliographical notes regularly and described many Arabic manuscripts, for instance parts of the collections of Algiers, Tunisia, Fes and Lisbon. B.'s own Arabic manuscript collection, acquired by the Leiden University Library in the 1970s, is described by van Koningsveld (1973:370–85). B. was the co-editor of the *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* from 1906 onwards and to it he himself contributed about 30 important articles.

A significant part of B.'s scholarship was devoted to Ethiopia. His *Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie* (BassÉt), based on the Ethiopian ms. BN, Paris 142 (fol. 3–207), cover the history of the Ethiopian rulers from ↗Mənilək up to ↗Bäkaffa. Wellknown is his edition and French translation of ʿArab Faqīh's ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (BassHist), the detailed account of the Muslim conquests of almost the whole of Ethiopia under the command of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ) in the second third of the 16th cent. Important also are his *Les apocryphes éthiopiens de la Bible* and *Vie d'Abba Yohanni*, the first edition of the Ethiopic acts of a Saint (↗*Gädl*) in full with a profound literary analysis, which demonstrate B.'s scholarly authority in ↗Ethiopian studies.

Src.: BassÉt; BassHist; RENÉ BASSET, *Les apocryphes éthiopiens de la Bible, traduits en français*, 11 vols., Paris 1893–1900; ID., "Chronologie des rois de Harar (1637–1887)", *JA* 3ème sér., 245–58; ID., "Vie d'Abba Yohanni", *Bulletin de Correspondence Africaine* 26, 1884, 433–53; Algiers ²1885.

Lit.: PIERRE DE VAUCELLES, "Basset", in: MICHEL PRÉVOST – ROMAN D'AMAT (eds.), *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, Paris 1951, 5, 755f.; JOHANN FÜCK, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1955, 251f.; PIETER SJOERD VAN KONINGSVELD, "The Arabic Manuscript Collection of René Basset (1855–1924)", *BiOr* 30, 1973, 370–85; CAMILLE LACOSTE-DUJARDIN, "Basset, René", in: KURT RANKE – HERMANN BAUSINGER (eds.), *Enzyklopädie des Märchens: Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, Berlin – New York 1977, 1, 1319–21; VLADIMIR A. GORDLEVSKIY, "Pamyati René Basseta" ('In Memory of René Basset'), *Vostok, Zhurnal Literatury, Nauki i Iskusstva* 5, 1922, 275–77; ALFRED BEL, "René Basset", *Revue Africaine* 65, 1924, 12–19; GABRIEL FERRAND, "René Basset (1855–1924)", *JA* 204, 1924, 137–41; ÉVARISTE LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, "René Basset 1855–1924", *Hespéris: Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines* 4, 1924, 1–8; "Obituary Professor René Basset", *BSO[A]S* 3, 1926/28, 411; ID., "La mort de M. René Basset", *Revue d'Ethnographie et des Traditions Populaires* 5, 1924, 112; *Mélanges René Basset; études nord-africaines et orientales*, Paris 1923–25 (Publications de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines 10–11), vol. 2, 463–503, esp. 501ff.

Franz-Christoph Muth

Bati

B. (ʿAfar: Bāté; Oromo: Baatii) is a town and important market located 65 km east of Däse on the Kombolča-ʿAsäb road, at the base of the Rift Valley escarpment as one descends from Däse (2,470 m A.S.L.) to B., where the elevation drops to 1,600 m A.S.L. Today it administratively belongs to the Amhara *kəllil* of Oromiyaa Administrative Zone.

The name of the town seems to be connected with a forgotten plague: the ↗ᶜAfar verb *bāte*, meaning 'be lost oneself', from *bay* 'be lost' (it also appears in the name *Waytāle* 'those who have been in despair'), is still the name of a surrounding ᶜAfar group.

B. is the site of a major market and its location is in an area that can be characterized as a "transition zone". Because of its location, B. serves as a major cultural bridge between the highlanders, mostly Christian Amhara and Təgrayans, and the lowlanders, largely Muslim ᶜAfar and Oromo.

Historically, B. has always served as a staging-ground for the camel caravan between the coast, mainly the ᶜAsäb area, and the lowland areas of Təgray and Wällo. At the B. market, which is held on Monday, the highlanders carry grain, vegetables, spices, coffee, cooking-oil and an assortment of manufactured goods, which are exchanged for cattle, goats and ↗*amole* from the lowland areas. At B., there is a large cultural diversity, as one can discern from the different clothing, hair and jewellery styles representing various cultural groups.

B. has a permanent population of about 2,000, but on market-days the number swells to several thousands, increasing to as much as 10,000 (Henze 1977:45–48).

During the 1985 drought, B. was used as a major feeding-ground. At one time there were as many as 95,000 people at the B. feeding-camp.

The 2000 Census estimated the population as 18,506 inhabitants.

Src.: DAVID BUXTON, *Travels in Ethiopia*, New York 1950, 158; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *Ethiopia: Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa 2000.

Lit.: PAUL HENZE, *Ethiopian Journeys: Travels in Ethiopia, 1969–72*, London 1977, 45–48.

Mulatu Wubneh – Didier Morin

Bati Dəl Wämbära

B. (ባቲ፡ ድል፡ ወምበራ) may be considered as one of the most prominent and famous women of the Horn of Africa in the 16th cent. The deferential epithet *bati* or *baᶜtya* (from a Cushitic word meaning "lady") became an integral part of her name. She was the youngest daughter of *amīr*, later *imām*, ↗Maḥfūẓ b. Muḥammad, a famous war-leader of *ǧihād* at the turn of the 16th cent. She was given in marriage to ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") and when Maḥfūẓ was killed in 1518, she became a symbol of succession in the "holy war". However, B.'s role was far from being only a symbol; she was an energetic helpmate to her husband. Grañ wanted to conquer the Christian Kingdom and she took the field with him in spite of the protests of his followers (BassHist 51f.).

He wanted to "reform Abyssinia", i.e. to destroy the Christian Kingdom and create instead the ideal theocratic Muslim state he dreamed of and B. tried to create here some sort of transition of power and even organized a marriage between her own daughter and prince, later *aṣe* ↗Minas, the captured son of the Ethiopian King, *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl. The idea was later dropped, and Minas was sent as hostage to the Turkish pasha of Zabīd, but he was neither killed nor castrated like his other captured relatives. Later it made it possible for B. to exchange him in 1547 for her own son, who had been taken prisoner by Minas's brother, *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos.

When Grañ was killed by a Portuguese bullet on 22 February 1543 and his nephew ↗Nūr b. Muğāhid, who wanted to continue *ǧihād*, asked her to marry him, B. demanded the head of *aṣe* Gälawdewos as her bride-price. Nūr b. Muğāhid fulfilled her request on 23 March 1559 and the war went on, with disastrous effect upon both the Christians and the Muslims. The end of B. herself remained obscure, but her fame long survived her.

Src.: BassHist 51f., 416; MANFRED KROPP (ed., tr.), *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minas*, Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]); FRANCISCO ALVARES, *Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia during the Years 1520–1527*, ed., tr. by Lord STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, London 1881 (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society 64); BassÉt I; BégChron 30f.; DombrChr.

Sevir Chernetsov

Bäträ Gela Maryam

B. (**በትረ፡ ገላ፡ ማርያም**) was an Ethiopian saint. A fragment of his Acts, found in the ↗*Täʾammärä Maryam* (ed. Täsfa Giyorgis Zädäbrä Libanos 1931/32:233-37; tr. Cerulli 1943), refers to B. as "a son of a prince" and reports that as a child he was imprisoned and tortured together with his brothers – on the order of their own father. As he had once dreamt of the icons of the Crucifixion and Mary with her Child, he "made vows" to Mary.

By the time that the anger of B.'s father had subcided, he was the only child to have survived; his brothers had died in prison. On the way home, B. had to pass twice through villages devastated by plague. He, however, was not infected – a sign of divine protection.

This account resembles stories that are told in the royal Ethiopian chronicles, where it is said that *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (r. 1434–68) acted resolutely against his sons after charges were made against them that they were practising "pagan" rites (PerChron 98f.). B. could possibly be thus identified with *aṣe* ↗Bäʿədä Maryam, son and successor of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob.

Another person of the same name appears in the feudal act (WrBriMus 2 [Orient. 481]; s. Conti Rossini 1940:91), in which *aṣe* ʿAmdä Ṣəyon (r. 1314-44) endows a certain B. with the land of Gəra. This B. should not be confused with Saint B., also for chronological reasons.

Src.: KinBibl 67, no. 30; PerChron 98f.; WrBriMus 2 [ms. BritLib 481]; ENRICO CERULLI, "Un frammento degli Atti di Bätergela Maryam", *RSE* 3, 2, 1943, 131–38; TÄSFÄ GIYORGIS ZÄDÄBRÄ LIBANOS (ed.), **ተአምረ፡ ማርያም** (*Täʾammərä Maryam*, 'The Miracles of Mary'), Addis Abäba 1924 A.M. [1931/32 A.D.], 233–37, no. 42.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Sulle missioni domenicane in Etiopia nel secolo XIV", *Atti della Reale Accademia d'Italia* ser. 7, 1, 1940, 91; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Power Struggle in the Medieval Court of Ethiopia: the Case of Bätärgéla Maryam", *JES* 15, 1982, 37–55; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Bäträ Gela Maryam", in: *EncSan*, vol. 1, 416–17.

Osvaldo Raineri

Bäträ Giyorgis

B.G. (**በትረ፡ ጊዮርጊስ**), a prominent 17th-cent. ecclesiastic, was born in Čalma (Dämbəya). During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, who wanted both to introduce Catholicism and to avoid opposition from the native clergy, B.G. was several times appointed ↗*əčč̣äge* and then dismissed. However, he was adamant in his rejection of the Catholic faith and did his best to persuade Susənyos's son and successor *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs to restore the national "Alexandrian faith". He succeeded in this, but here another religious debate broke out between the adherents of the ↗*Qəbat* and ↗*Täwaḥədo* christological doctrines, in which B.G. took an active part and became the leader of the party of *Qəbat*.

Fasilädäs was concerned to put an end to this conflict, which greatly endangered peace and order in his kingdom and tried to do this himself, but B.G. sharply opposed such an interference of secular authority in ecclesiastic matters. In 1654 he deliberately ignored the church council summoned by Fasilädäs in ↗Aringo, an action which only resulted in the defeat for his own party. This did not end the schism, however, and in 1666 Fasilädäs summoned another church council in Aringo, which also failed to solve the problem, but turned into such a scandal that the Emperor had to discontinue the debates. Soon after this, B.G. died, but in popular memory he remained the *əčč̣äge* who persuaded the Emperor to restore the "Alexandrian faith" and was a staunch champion of Orthodoxy.

Src.: BegCron 40.

Lit.: YAQOB BEYENE, *L'unzione di Cristo nella teologia etiopica. Contributo di ricerca su nuovi documenti etiopici inediti*, Roma 1981 (OrChrA 215), 31; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libanos, capi dei monachismo etiopico, secondo la «lista rimata» (sec. XIV–XVIII)", *Orientalia*, nuova ser. 13, 1944, 137–83, here 163–72; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Uno squarcio di storia ecclesiastica di Abissinia", *Bessarione* 8, 1900, 10–25.

Sevir Chernetsov

Bäträ Ḫayl

B.Ḫ. (**በትረ፡ ኃይል**, d. 1703) was an officer in *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I's army. He started his career in the army headed by the Emperor himself. In May 1684 he was appointed *grazmač* and sent, together with *grazmač* ↗Atnatewos, across the Abbay via Aḥəyo and Dänqäro Dur. Later, in 1688, he fought against the ↗Beni Šangul at the Kali river, between Garguba and Šandi. In 1689 he became *qäññazmač*.

B.Ḫ. is mentioned in the orders of *blatten geta* Yoḥannəs from the time of his campaign against the Oromo – carried out around 1690 at the order but without immediate participation of Iyasu I.

He died in his land of Aśaśa as *fitawrari* and *rəʾəsä šärawit* ('head of the army') of Yoḥannəs's troops (cf. GuiIohan 127, lines 122f. [text]), in the 21st year of Iyasu's reign according to the "short chronicles", i.e. in 1703.

Src.: GuiIohan II 70, 127, 132, 154, 155; BassÉt I, 164; BegCron 77.

Dimitri Toubkis

Bäträ Maryam

B.M. (በትረ ማርያም) of ↗Zäge (on Lake Ṭana) was a 14th-cent. saintly monk. His acts are known through two manuscripts. The first, translated by Enrico Cerulli (1944, 1946), was copied at the church of Mahal Zäge Giyorgis in 1933 from a manuscript written during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I and completed in 1684–85. The second ms., EMML 8137, also preserved at Mahal Zäge Giyorgis and studied by Claire Bosc-Tiessé (2000, 2001), gives a longer version of the text with unedited references to the relations between the saint and his monastery.

Born in Mugär (Šäwa), B.M. entered a monastery belonging to the community of *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot, where he received the skull-cap (*qobᵓ*) and the ↗*askema* from Yoḥannəs of Däbrä Säbla (Mugär). After he had been ordained deacon, then priest, he became administrator of the monastery of Däbrä Säbla. Attacked by the Oromo, B.M. was forced to flee through Damot, Goğğam and Dämbəya. There his reputation as a healer reached *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I, who summoned him. Weakened by fasting and mortification, B.M. did not join him.

Later the saint went to ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos (Lake Ṭana), where the monks advised him to settle at Zäge, on the south-west shore of the lake. There he established a community that cultivated the soil and built a church dedicated to Saint George. Before his death, 17 *Ḥamle*, B.M. named Bärtälomewos as his successor. He is supposed to have been buried at Zäge.

The period of activity of B.M. is debated. The "short chronicles" allude to a certain *abba* B.M. of Gädamä Zäge, a contemporary of *əčč̣äge* Bäträ Giyorgis and *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl (r. 1563–97). However, the Acts of the Saint ascribe his activity to the reign of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon. The ms. EMML 8137 gives credence to this chronology because the name of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon is quoted many times (only once in the manuscript studied by Cerulli) and the author gives the name of the Metropolitan who ordained B.M. to the priesthood as *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob, a contemporary of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon. Finally, the Acts of ↗Zena Marqos present B.M. as a disciple of the saint, also contemporary with ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon.

Src.: KinBibl 67, no. 31; EMML 8137; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli atti di Batra Maryam", *RSE* 4, 1944–45, 133–44; *ibid.* 5, 1946, 42–66; ID., "Gli atti di Zena Marqos, monaco etiope del sec. XIV", *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda*, vol. 1, Città del Vaticano 1962 (Studi e testi 219), 191–212, here 198; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Due squarci inediti di Cronaca etiopica", *RRALm* ser. 5, 2, 1893, 804–18, here 806; CARLA FOTI, "La cronaca abbreviata dei re d'Abissinia in un manoscritto di Dabra Berhān di Gondar", *RSE* 1, 1, 1941, 87–123, here 108f.; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Le règne de Sarṣa-Dengel ou Malak Sagad Ier (1563–1597)", *Revue Sémitique* 4, 1896, 177–85, 273–78, here 278.

Lit.: CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, "Notes sur l'histoire et l'art des églises du lac Tana. Rapport de mission", *AE* 16, 2000, 207–70, here 254f.; ID., *Art, église et royauté en Éthiopie aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: écriture de l'histoire et «fabrique» des images dans les églises du lac Tana*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris I, 2001, 75–79.

Marie-Laure Derat

Bauer, Gleb Mihailovich

B. (b. 26 July 1925, Istanbul, d. 8 October 1989, Moscow) was a prominent Russian orientalist, who specialized in South Arabian and Aksumite studies. Born into the family of a Soviet diplomat, he took part in World War II. In 1954 he graduated from the Faculty of History at Moscow State University and in 1960 joined the staff of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, where he worked as Research Fellow until his death.

In 1964 B. submitted his Ph.D. thesis on *Sabaean Inscriptions as a Source for the Study of Land-ownership Relations in Sabaᵓ during the 'Era of the Mukarribs'*. Although his research activities were mostly connected with the social and economic system of ancient Yemen, especially of the kingdom of Maᶜīn, as well as with the language of South Arabian inscriptions and their palaeography, he made a considerable contribution to Ethiopian studies. He became the first Russian scholar after the death of ↗Turaiev to undertake a thorough examination of the principal sources for the history of Aksum in the 4th–6th cent. A.D. in Gəᶜəz, Sabaeic, Greek and Syriac and published their translation in Russian with a commentary. B. produced cogent arguments against ↗Pirenne's proposal to attribute the inscriptions DAE IV 8–11, traditionally ascribed to ↗ᶜEzana, to other rulers of Aksum. On the basis of epigraphic and narrative sources, he provided convincing evidence in favour of dating the victorious campaign of ↗Kaleb in Ḥimyar from 525 A.D.

Src.: *Yazyk yuzhnoaraviyskoy pismennosti* ('The Language of South Arabian Writing'), Moscow 1966; P. GRYAZNEVICH – SERGEY FRANTSUZOV – ANDREY V. KOROTAYEV, *Yuzhnaya Araviya. Pamyatniki istorii i kulturi* ('South Arabia. Monuments of Ancient History and Culture'), vol. 2: *Materialy ekspeditsii P.A. Gryaznevicha v 1970–71 godah* ('Materials of the Expedition of P.A. Gryaznevich in 1970–71'), part 2: *Epigraficheskiye pamyatniki drevnego Yemena* ('Epigraphic Monuments of Ancient Yemen'), St. Petersburg 1998; GLEB M. BAUER, "Nadpisi rannih tsarey Aksuma" ('The Inscriptions of the Early Kings of Aksum'), "Kosma Indikoplov. Hristianskaya topografiya" ('Cosmas Indicopleustes. Christian Topography'), "Voyny Aksuma v pervoy chetverti VI v. n.e." ('The Wars of Aksum in the 1st Quarter of the 6th Century A.D.'), in: O.K. DREJER (ed.), *Istoriya Afriki v drevnih i srednevekovyh istochnikah. Hrestomatiya* ('The History of Africa in Ancient and Medieval Sources. A Chrestomathy'), Moscow ²1990, 161–79, 189–239.

Serguei A. Frantsouzoff

Baylūl

B. (Tgn./Amh. በይሉል Bäylul, Arabic بيلول), 50 km north-west of ↗ʿAsäb, is a small port in the ʿAfar-inhabited area of the Red Sea coast. It was visited in 1625, during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Susanyos, by the Portuguese Jesuit missionary Jerónimo ↗Lobo. He describes the place as only a "small town", consisting of a few straw huts and inhabited by "no more than fifty inhabitants". The journey inland ran through waterless country, endangered by incursions from hostile tribes.

The port nevertheless acquired some political importance when *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, displeased by the Ottoman Turkish occupation of Massawa, sought to open a new trade route to the coast. B. seemed more conveniently situated than Massawa, as it was located further south than the latter, opposite the Yemeni port of Mokha (Muḫā) and beyond the sphere of Turkish influence. In the hope of obtaining help from the Yemen in establishing, and protecting, a trading connection with B., the Emperor despatched a letter of greeting in 1642 to the Yemeni *imām*, al-Muʾayyad billāh. The latter and his brother and successor, al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh Ismāʿîl, both thought the Ethiopian ruler's interest in contacting them stemmed from his secret desire to convert to Islam. Al-Mutawakkil accordingly despatched an embassy to the Ethiopian monarch in 1646. The mission, led by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymî, travelled via B. to the Ethiopian capital at Gondär, where Fasilädäs confided his wish for assistance in developing the B. route. The Yemeni ruler, realizing the Emperor's motives and disinterest in Islam, displayed no enthusiasm for the B. project, which was thus abandoned.

The port, though frequented by local ʿAfar traders and fishermen and a few occasional Arab merchants, never achieved the significance for which Fasilädäs had hoped and was later overshadowed in importance by the nearby ʿAsäb.

Lit.: EMERI JOHANNES VAN DONZEL (ed., tr.), *A Yemenite Embassy to Ethiopia 1647–1649. Al-Ḥaymî's Sîrat al-Ḥabaša*, Stuttgart 1986 (AeF 21); *Guida* 337; PankHist I, II, s. index.

Richard Pankhurst

Bayso

Bayso language

The B. language, first made known by Fleming (1964) and more thoroughly described by Hayward (1978, 1979), is spoken on the ↗Gidiccо island in Lake Abbayya and in some villages located along its western shore by ca. 1,000 fishermen and agriculturalists (out of a larger ethnic group). The (Lowland East Cushitic) language is classified together with Rendille, Boni, Somali and Đáasanač (Galab) into a larger group called Macro-Somali.

The phoneme inventory contains many consonants which are ejective (*p̓* [*pʼ*], *t̓* [*tʼ*], *č̓* [*tšʼ*], *q* [*kʼ*], *s̓* [*tsʼ*]) and preglottalized (*ʾm*, *ʾl*, *ʾw* and *ʾn*, *ʾr*, the last two with variants *nˀ*, *rˀ*). The occlusives *b*, *d*, *g*, *k* can become fricative. Note the almost-free variation *p* – *f*. There are five vowels *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, which are either short or long (cp. *ga* 'tree' versus *gaa* 'forest').

A noun is characterized by gender and number, which become evident in concord with demonstratives (e.g., the associative particle used in relative clauses, masc. *ka*, fem. *ta*, pl. *o*) and verbal forms. The adjectives show this gender/number distinction, too: sg. masc. *ki-čerki*, fem. *ti-čerti*, pl. *o-ki-čer'ni*, 'small'. A morphological subject/object distinction, widespread in Cushitic languages is marked only in the sg. of 1st and 2nd pers. personal pronouns: 1st sg. subj.: *áni*, obj.: *in*; 2nd sg. subj.: *áti*, obj.: *ku*. The other forms are: sg.: 3rd masc. *úsu*, fem. *ése*; pl.: 1st person *no*, 2nd *ísin*, 3rd *íso*. In *ker(o) in abate* 'a dog [*ker*] bit [*ab-at-e*] me' "*kero*" is a rare case of subject marking.

In the verbal morphology we have essentially three verbal extensions: *-s*, *-is* (transitive, causative), *-am* (neuter-passive), *-t* (reflexive, autobenefactive, intransitive). In the simple so-called 'Cushitic' suffix-conjugation, the following pattern is added to the verb-stem: sg.: 1st pers. – *V[owel]*, 2nd *-tV*, 3rd masc. *-V*, 3rd fem. *-tV*, pl.: 1st pers. *-nV*, 2nd *-tVn*, 3rd *-Vn*. The vowel is *é* in the simple perfect and *á* in the simple imperfect (the negative imperfect has *ó* but 2nd and 3rd pl. *á*). In the compound verbal forms an auxiliary verb is added; it is conjugated as a simple perfect or imperfect, e.g., the auxiliary **r* in the compound perfect: 1st pers. sg. *dubé-ra*, 2nd pers. sg. *dubté-tta* (<**-rta*), 1st pers. pl. *dubné-nna* (<**-ma*). In other periphrastic constructions only this auxiliary verb is conjugated, as in the compound imperfect: 1st pers. sg. *dubá-ra*, 2nd pers. sg. *-tta*. The copula is identical with the suffixed elements of the 'Cushitic' conjugation, except for the 1st and 3rd pers. sg. *-yV* (instead of *-V*), e.g., *hitti yaydóota* 'this [fem.] is [*-ta*] a calf [*yaydó*, fem.]'.

An areal feature is the use of a verb meaning 'say' (*am-*) for constructing composite verbs, e.g., *huss-em-* 'become low'.

The syntax is Subject-Object-Verb. All qualifying elements, such as demonstratives, adjectives and relative clauses, precede the element to be determined. Emphasis can be expressed by using cleft sentence constructions (*X-ya* … *ka* … 'it is (*-ya*) X, who/that (*ka*) …').

The ten-word list for B. is: *koo* (f. *too*) 'one', *láma* 'two', *seed(i)* 'three', *elén* 'fire', *bekee* 'water', *ariiti* 'sun', *diginni* 'moon', *ilkoo* 'tooth', *iig* 'blood', *érreb* 'tongue'.

Lit.: HAROLD C. FLEMING, "Baiso and Rendille: Somali Outliers", *RSE* 20, 1964, 35–96; RICHARD J. HAYWARD, "Bayso Revisited: some Preliminary Linguistic Observations", *BSOAS* 41, 1978, 539–70 [part I]; *ibid.* 42, 1979, 101–32 [part II]; EIKE HABERLAND – MARCELLO LAMBERTI, *Ibaado ka-Ba'iso: Culture and Language of the Ba'iso*, Heidelberg 1988; MATTHIAS BRENZINGER, "The Islanders of Lake Abaya and Lake Ch'amo: Harro, Ganjule, Gath'ame and Bayso", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports* 26, 1995, 2–36; BARBARA GRIMES (ed.), *Ethnologue. Languages of the World*, Dallas [14]2000, vol. 1, 110.

Rainer Voigt

Bayso ethnography

The B. live in the villages of Bayso, Šigama and Arura (Golma) on the Gidiččo island (therefore B. are sometimes also referred to as the Gidiččo).

Being farmers, the B. plough their fields on the eastern part of the island, but many of the inhabitants additionally work fields on the mainland. Haberland (VSAe II, 688) states that fields were originally laid out in rectangular terraces, but these are now disappearing under the plough. The B. grow sorghum, eleusine, cotton, cabbage, pumpkin, red and green peppers, maize, beans and tobacco. Besides this, some people engage in trading goods to the mainland and vice-versa. They sell woven cotton cloth, and claim to profit from buying *ansät* in ↗Gide'o to sell it to the ↗Gamo on the market of Dudane at a much higher price. However, the B. are also interested in obtaining *ansät* themselves, their island being unsuited for its cultivation. As the island is also unsuited for raising cattle, many B. have their herds tended by the ↗Guğği on the mainland. Relatively large herds of goats, which are allowed to run free and wild, are kept on B., along with donkeys and chickens.

The B.'s principal means of transportation are their boats made from the wood of the ambatch

Bayso with their cattle on the way back home, south of the village Bayso, photo by Eike Haberland, 1954/55, © Frobenius-Institut Frankfurt am Main (27–Ha074–040)

tree (*Aeschynomene elaphroxylon*). The B. claim to have adopted the construction of these boats, which are propelled by either rowing or punting, from the Gaṭame (↗Harro).

The highest ritual office is occupied by the *wono*, an equivalent to the ritual leaders (*kallu*) of the ↗*gadaa* system (Le Quellec – Poissonnier 2000). The villages Bayso and Šigama each have their own *wono* and the period of office may differ from one village to the other. The office is not inherited and office-holders may be selected from all men belonging to the clan which is entitled to provide *wono*. The *wono* is, although only during the time of his office, regarded as holy. He is the ritual head who takes care of the country's well-being, and the health and abundance of his people and the animals. His official decorations are a necklace of beads which only the *wono* may touch, a ↗*kallačča* and a spiralled stick called *čerfana*.

Lit.: FRANÇOIS AZAÏS – ROGER CHAMBARD, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Ethiopie*, Paris 1931; VITTORIO BOTTEGO, *Il Giuba esplorato*, Roma 1895; GUSTAVO BRUNELLI, *Esplorazione dei laghi della fossa galla; missione ittiologica dell'Africa orientale italiana*, 2 vols., Roma 1941; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Contributi per la conoscenza della lingua haruro*, Roma 1937 (RRALm 6, 12); EIKE HABERLAND – HERMANN STRAUBE, "Nord-Ost Afrika", in: HERMANN BAUMANN (ed.), *Die Völker Afrikas und ihre traditionellen Kulturen*, Teil 2: *Ost-, West und Nordafrika*, Wiesbaden 1979, 69–156; VSAe II, 688f.; E. MAASS, *Eine Reise durch das südabessinische Seengebiet*, Hamburg 1941 (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg 47); ROBERTO ASINARI DI SAN MARZANO, *Dal Giuba al Margherita, attraverso le provincie etiopiche del Boran, Conso, Gardulla, Gamò, Borodda, Uallamo, Sidamo, Galana, Burgi, Arero e Liban: con 97 illustrazioni e una grande carta geografica*, Roma 1935; LAMBERTO VANNUTELLI – CARLO CITERNI, *L'Omo: seconda spedizione Bòttego, viaggio d'esplorazione nell'Africa orientale narrato da L. Vannutelli e C. Citerni*, Milano 1899; JEAN-LOÏC LE QUELLEC – NICOLE POISSONNIER, *Rock Art, Environment, Settling Process and Regional Relations in the Lacustrine and Riparian Areas of the Rift Valley: Gidiččo, Lake Abbayya and Surroundings*, first field survey mission report to the ARCCH, Addis Abäba, October 2000.

Nicole Poissonnier

Bayto

The Tgn. term B. (**ባይቶ**) is traditionally used to describe a council of elders at the village (ᶜ*addi*) or district (*wäräda*) level in Təgrəññña-speaking areas of Eritrea and Təgray.

In the traditional B. male elders from the community met and discussed common village affairs. Based on lineage affiliation (Tgn. **ገዛውቲ** *gäzawəti*, **እንዳ** *ənda*), the B. elected certain land-holding members of the community to serve in a village administrative council (↗*Rim*). There were four positions in the *rim*-council: leader, administrator of village land, administrator of practical village affairs, and administrator of church affairs. It is important to note, however, that *rim* was not only an administrative structure, but also a conceptual framework of local democracy. *Rim* united the various classes of inhabitants according to their land-owning status (**ደቂባት** *däqqibat*, **ወዲ፡ ንል** *wäddi gʷal* and **ማእከላይ፡ ዓለት** *maʾəkälay ᶜalät*) and to the different positions of trust they enjoyed in the council, safeguarding the rights of each village member.

Parallel to the *rim*, a state-appointed village chief (↗*Čaqa šum*) functioned on a life-time basis. He operated as a tax-collector and judge (↗*daññña*) for the state. Within this administrative framework, B. was the meeting place for all male community elders, a place where issues of concern could be raised and addressed by everyone. The *rim* council and the *čaqa šum* thus used debates in the B. as a guiding reference for their subsequent administrative decisions.

After the fall of the *Därg* in 1991, the new governments of Ethiopia and Eritrea formalized the term B., as an equivalent to 'assembly', i.e. an elected group of representatives from a specific constituency (for example *bayto wäräda*) in Eritrea and Təgray.

Lit.: KJETIL TRONVOLL – TEKESTE NEGASH, "Rim: a Form of Land Holding or a Conceptual Framework of Local Governance? The Rise and Decline of Rim in Eritrea", in: ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANNI DORE – IRMA TADDIA (eds.), *Anthropological and Historical Documents in "Rim" in Ethiopia and Eritrea: Rim Land in Historical Ethiopia*, Torino 2001, 93–114; SIEGFRIED

FREDERICK NADEL, "Land Tenure on the Eritrean Plateau", *Africa* 16, 1, 1946, 1–14; ID., *Races and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1944; KJETIL TRONVOLL, *Mai Weini: A Highland Village in Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 1998.

Kjetil Tronvoll

Bäyyänä Zahlay

B.Z. (በየነ፡ ዛህላይ, b. 1900, Tokonda', southern Akkälä Guzay), son of Zäwditu Bokru and *däğğazmač* Zahlay, was an important Eritrean politician. He inherited the chieftainship from his father in 1925 and became the chief administrator of the ʿAddi Qäyyəḥ district. The British Military Administration in Eritrea also confirmed his office in the district. He was elected as a representative of the ʿAddi Qäyyəḥ district to the Eritrean Assembly on 26 March 1952.

Lit.: ErDizBio 40.

Mussie Tesfagiorgis

Bazen

According to tradition (s. Neugebauer 1989:58ff.), B. (**ባዜን**) was the name of the king who ruled in ↗Aksum at the time of Christ's birth. The so-called "tomb of B." in Aksum was only named after its discovery in 1954, and the inscription-stone built into the wall of the cathedral terrace, which has been misread (DAE IV, no. 15), refers to a certain Lazen (RIE no. 200), which is the clan name of king ↗Kaleb (s. also Phillipson 1998:95ff.). How the connection of Christ's birth with a regnal name like B. came about is inexplicable. The Aksumite coins, which may have been a possible source of inspiration, do not provide very similar names (the nearest are: Ousanas in Greek, Wazen in Gəʿəz; not to be confused with ↗ʿEzana).

↗Coinage

Src.: DAE IV, 48f., no. 15; RIE 295f., no. 200.
Lit.: OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *Chronography in Ethiopic Sources*, Wien 1989 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 512), 58ff.; DAVID W. PHILLIPSON, *Ancient Ethiopia: Aksum, its Antecedents and Successors*, London 1998, 95ff.; BELAYNESH MICHAEL, "Bazen", in: *DicEthBio* 39 (Lit.).

Wolfgang Hahn

Bäzzabbəh Täklä Haymanot

Ras B. (በዛብህ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት, "horse name" **አባ፡ ጠጣው** Abba Ṭäṭṭaw, d. 19 August 1905, Afkära), was the eldest son of *nəgusˊ* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goğğam. His brothers and sister were *däğğazmač* Śəyyum (later *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot), *däğğazmač* ↗Bäläw Täklä Haymanot and *wäyzaro* Nəgəśt Täklä Haymanot, respectively. When *nəgusˊ* Täklä Haymanot died on 11 January 1901, he apparently left his domains to his eldest son, *ras* B. But this did not solve the succession problem. Three contenders claimed to be the legitimate successors of the king. These were, apart from B., his father's widow *wäyzäro* Laqäčč, who wanted to exercise the regency, and his brother *däğğazmač* Śəyyum.

Using this opportunity to weaken the autonomous power of Goğğam and its traditional ruling house, *aṣe* Mənilək's court intervened. Accordingly, the autonomous province of Goğğam and other domains of the late *nəgusˊ* were divided among the new appointees: the Emperor appointed *däğğazmač* Śəyyum over Goğğam proper, *ras bitwäddäd* ↗Mängäša Atikäm over Agäw Mədər, ↗Mäšäša over the Mätäkkäl region and *däğğazmač* Dämməssäw over the Oromo territories of the *nəgusˊ*.

In 1902 *däğğazmač* Śəyyum, who was a dominant figure – of Goğğam in particular and Ethiopia in general – in the later part of the 19th and early 20th cent., was accused of treason against *aṣe* Mənilək and was sent to ↗Afqära in Mänz, a well known strategic centre and prison for Ethiopian notables.

When B. became disloyal, Damot was taken from him by his father *nəgusˊ* Täklä Haymanot and given to *ras* Wärqe. B., who did not enjoy a good relationship with his father, is reported to have come to the court of *aṣe* Mənilək to plead his case. Following the imprisonment of *däğğazmač* Śəyyum, B. was appointed by the Emperor governor of Goğğam. In addition, he was also given the hand of Zännäbä Wärq, Mənilək's grand-daughter through the union of *wäyzäro* Šäwa Rägga and *ras* (later *nəgusˊ*) ↗Mikaʾel Ali of Wällo. This union was marked with great joy and jubilation at a grand wedding ceremony prepared by *ras* B. The wedding was attended by nobles, the clergy, local *balabbats* and troops, as well as by the common people of Däbrä Marqos. B. was also responsible for reinstituting the honorary drinking horn vessels used by the local *balabbats* and troops which had been forbidden during the days of *däğğazmač* Śəyyum.

However, B. soon became involved in a plot against *ras bitwäddäd* Mängäša Atikäm, which

in turn was seen as a destabilising factor against the reign of *aṣe* Mənilək. For this reason, he was detained and imprisoned in Afqära, where he finally died of illness. He was buried there, in the presence of his brother *däğğazmač* Śəyyum.

Src.: *śəḥafe taʾəzaz* GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE, **ታሪክ፡ ዘመን፡ ዘዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ** (*Tarikä zämän zädagmawi Mənilək nəguśä nägäśt zäʾityopya*, 'Chronicle of Menelik II, King of Kings of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], 294, 299, 301, 314; *aläqa* TÄKLÄ IYÄSUS, **ታሪክ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ** (*Tarikä nägäśt zäʾityopya*, 'The History of the Kings of Ethiopia'), IES ms., fols. 123–27.

Lit.: BEZUALEM BERHANE, *Adal Abba Tänna: Nigus Tekle Haymanot of Goğğam, 1850–1901*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1971, 7, 49, 57; MahHorse 33, 47.

Ahmed Hassan Omer

Bəčäna

B. (**ብቾና**, also Bičäna, Bəğäna) is the name of a town, located 365 km north-east of Addis Abäba (10°27'N and 38°12'E) in the Goğğam region and of the surrounding area. The town was formerly the capital of B. *awraǧǧa* and Ǝnnämay *wäräda* (Goğğam province), at present the capital of Ǝnnämay *wäräda*, in the East Goğğam (Məsraq Goğğam) administrative zone. The region of B. is characterized by an extremely fertile highland on the western side, with the Muga and Suha rivers as well as Ḳay and Tidan rivers in the north. The lowland has a hot climate, including the Somma desert in the east.

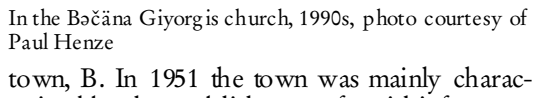
The old B. town (today **አሮጌው፡ ብቾና**, Arogew Bəčäna) became the capital of Goğğam following the war between Bəčo, the leader of Oromo warriors sent by *aṣe* ↗Susanyos, and Wädağe, son of Abäddäb, who was the ruler of Goğğam at that time in the 1680s. According to a tradition, the site, previously known as Ǝmbʷačo, received the name B. after the words Wädağe used in the war with Bəčo, i.e. *bəčo na* meaning 'Bəčo, come on!'. Wädağe ruled Goğğam for about 25 years under the title of *däğğazmač*. After his death, his son, Wäldä Abib (ruler of Goğğam in 1730s) succeeded him. The establishment of B. as the capital of Goğğam was formalized during the reign of Wäldä Abib. Local sayings tend to contrast the reign of Wädağe with that of Wäldä Abib through the following songs **በወዳጂ፡ ቀና፡ በወልደ፡ አቢብ፡ ጸና** (*Bäwädağe qänna bäwäldä Abib śänna*, 'B. was established by Wädağe [and] consolidated by Wäldä Abib').

Since its foundation in the second half of the 17th cent. B. has passed through several stages of development. In the days of *däğğazmač* ↗Yosedeq Wäldä Abib and *ras* ↗Ḫaylu, residences were built in B. for the Goğğam princes. Market centres developed, and attracted merchants from different parts of the country. The economic, social and political activities of the people also increased.

When *ras* Ḫaylu died there was a power struggle between two rival groups, one under the leadership of *ras* ↗Marᶜad Ḫaylu, the eldest son of *ras* Ḫaylu, and the other under the leadership of *däğğazmač* ↗Zäwde, son-in-law of *ras* Ḫaylu. This rivalry directly affected the development of the town as B. declined.

A further transformation of B. occurred with the rise to power of ↗Tädla Gʷalu in 1840. Soon after his succession, Tädla Gʷalu shifted his headquarters from B. to Yäwəš near present ↗Däbrä Marqos, which later became the capital of Goğğam, retaining B. as an *awraǧǧa* capital of B. and Moṭa. Thus, B. declined from a prominent political center to an ordinary town.

The last period of B.'s transformation was associated with the coming of the Italians, who established their camp at the old B. When they later left B. for strategic and climatic reasons, they burnt the town including the special thatched huts which served as a palace. Thus, 1937 marked the disappearance of B. as a prominent town. With the fall of the old B. a new town was established at a place called Yäkäfät, 3 km south-west of old B. Later Yäkäfät assumed the name of the historical



In the Bəčäna Giyorgis church, 1990s, photo courtesy of Paul Henze

town, B. In 1951 the town was mainly characterized by the establishment of social infrastructures: health centres, modern schools, power and water supplies.

In the 20th cent. B. was a center of political activity. This was manifested in patriotic uprisings during the Italian period (↗Bälay Zälläqä) and in revolts against the central government in 1956 and 1968.

B. has been one of the most famous centers of church education. Church schools in the area, such as the ↗Dima Giyorgis monastery and Bəčäna Giyorgis church, are still prominent places for ecclesiastical learning. In the 18th and 19th cent. these two areas were prestigious centers of church education, especially well-known for ↗*qəne* and ↗*tərgʷame*.

Src.: HERBERT WELD BLUNDELL (tr.), *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia 1769–1840*, Cambridge 1922; TÄKLÄ IYÄSUS, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾityopya tarik*, 'History of Ethiopia'), ms., Addis Ababa University; ZÄNNÄBÄ GÄDLE, **የብቸና፡ ከተማ፡ እድገት** (*Yäbəčäna kätäma əḍgät*, 'Development of Bəčäna Town'), ms., 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.]; **የጎጃም፡ አርበኞች፡ ታሪክ** (*Yägoğğam arbäñočč tarik*, 'History of the Patriots of Goğğam'), ms. in the archive of *Yäʾityopya ğägnočč arbäñočč maḫbär* ('The Ethiopian Patriots Association'), Addis Abäba; WALTER CHICHELE PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country: with an Account of a Mission to Ras Ali in 1848*, London 1868.

Lit.: PankHist II, 323, 354, 361; TÄKLÄ ṢADƎQ MÄKʷƎRIYA, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ። ሦስተኛ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ከዐፄ፡ ልብነ፡ ድንግል፡ እስከ፡ ዐፄ፡ ቴዎድሮስ** (*Yäʾityopya tarik śostäññä mäṣḥaf: käᶜaṣe Ləbnä Dəngəl əskä ᶜaṣe Tewodros*, 'History of Ethiopia. Book III: From *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl to *aṣe* Tewodros'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]; DERJAW BAYCHEKIN, *Historical Significance of Bichena Town*, Addis Abäba 1999; FANTAHUN BIRHANU, *Gojjam 1800–1855*, senior paper, Addis Ababa University 1973; SAMSON CHANE, *The Court System of Dejazmach Belay Zeleke*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1994; SELESHI MENGISTE, *A History of the Monastery of Dima Giorgis, from Foundation to 1974*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1998.

Agedew Redie

Beccari, Camillo

B. (b. 1849, Rome, d. 1928) was an Italian Jesuit. After obtaining a doctor's degree in Arts at Naples, he served from 1902 to 1923 as postulator general for the canonization of saints of his order. At the same time, he took care of the Ethiopian mission and became interested in Ethiopian history.

B. began to publish the reports of the first Jesuit missionaries in Ethiopia. These were the first scientifically based reports of the region, which had been brought to Europe during the 16th–17th cent. His book *Notizia e saggi di opere e documenti inediti riguardanti la storia di Etiopia durante i secc. XVI, XVII e XVIII* (1903) was the first of a series of 15 vols., which included editions of such important sources on Ethiopian history as Manoel ↗Almeida's *História de Etiópia a alta, ou Abassia* and provided detailed indices as well as clarifying footnotes. Manoel ↗Barradas's treatise *Do Reino de Tigré* (vol. 4 of the collection) was translated by B. into Italian and published as *Il Tigré: descritto da un gesuita del secolo XVII* (1912). B.'s work is considered fundamental for the study of the history of Ethiopia.

Src.: CAMILLO BECCARI (ed.), *Rerum aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, 15 vols., Romae 1903–1917; ID. (ed., tr.), *Il Tigré: descritto da un gesuita del secolo XVII*, Roma 1912.

Lit.: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Roma 1965, vol. 7, 432; *Enciclopedia Italiana*, Roma 1949, vol. 6, 461–62; *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, Vaticano 1949, vol. 2, 1123; *Rivista geografica italiana* 19, 1912, 618.

Osvaldo Raineri

Beckingham, Charles Fraser

B. (b. 18 February 1914, Houghton, Huntingtonshire, d. 20 September 1998, Lewes, East Sussex) was a British scholar with an interest in medieval geographical literature relating to Ethiopia and the Orient. After a Classical education, he studied English at Cambridge before joining the Department of Printed Books at the British Museum Library in 1936-1946, where he turned his attention to Turkish and Portuguese.

B. entered academic life in 1951 when he was appointed Lecturer in Islamic History at the University of Manchester, becoming Professor of Islamic Studies in 1958. In 1965 he moved to London University with the same title, retiring in 1981.

He established a reputation for meticulous scholarship with close attention to detail. In collaboration with G.W.B. ↗Huntingford, he prepared annotated translations of the travel accounts of Manoel de ↗Almeida (BeckHuntAlm) and Francisco ↗Alvares (BeckHuntAlvar), both published by the Hakluyt Society, of which he was President from 1969 till 1972. Perhaps his most abiding concern was with the person of ↗Prester John, in both his Central Asian and his Ethiopian setting, and he made valuable contributions to our understanding of the legend in several articles and monographs. His completion of Sir Hamilton Alexander Rossekeen Gibb's translation of ↗Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, also through the Hakluyt Society, is a testimony to the breadth and depth of his scholarship.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm; BeckHuntAlvar; for the full bibliography s. Lockot II; JAMES DOUGLAS PEARSON, "Bibliography of Charles Fraser Beckingham", *JSS* 29, 1, 1984, 179-88.

Lit.: ARTHUR K. IRVINE, "In Memoriam Charles Fraser Beckingham", *Aethiopica* 3, 2000, 191–94; PETER JACKSON – OWEN WRIGHT, [Obituary], *BSOAS* 62, 3, 1999, 543–46; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "Charles Fraser Beckingham", *JSS* 29, 1, 1984, 1-5.

Arthur Irvine

Bəʿəlä Krəstos

Abetohun B.K. (ብዕለ፡ ክርስቶስ), an aristocrat from Goǧǧam, was a governor of ↗Wäläqa at the turn of the 17th cent., during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yaʿəqob. B.K. was loyal to the monarch and devoted to *ras* ↗Atnatewos, who was both his relative and superior. He loyally and consistently repelled the inroads into his territories of a pretender to the throne, later Emperor, ↗Susənyos. However, B.K. valued the latter highly and even tried to establish a union between *ras* Atnatewos and Susənyos. When the latter became Emperor, B.K. served him loyally both as commander of a royal guard cavalry regiment *Kokäb* ('Star') and as governor of the most endangered provinces where his military skill was needed. In 1629 he governed Dəḫana, then Damot and in 1632 Bägemdər, where B.K. acted as preceptor for young *alga wäraš* ↗Fasilädäs in his first military expeditions. B.K. was a staunch adherent of strong royal authority, but not of the religious reforms of *aṣe* Susənyos. It was probably under his influence that in 1632 Fasilädäs persuaded his father Susənyos to suspend these reforms and abdicate. Later B.K. loyally served Fasilädäs as well, until his own death which occurred sometime in the middle of the 17th cent.

Src.: PerChron 13, 16f., 20f., 39–42; BassEt 31.
Lit.: BTafA 894.

Sevir Chernetsov

Bəʿəlä nägäśt

B.n. (ብዕለ፡ ነገሥት; 'Riches of the Kings') is a Gəʿəz treatise relating to the re-institution of the ↗Solomonic dynasty. It was created after the death of *aṣe* Fasilädäs (1667), obviously *en pendant* to a much earlier literary work ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, i.e. 'Honor of Kings', for, as B. Turaiev (1901:169) remarked, "'Honor and riches' is a common combination in the Old Testament language". Both works deal with the story of the Solomonic dynasty in Ethiopia: *Kəbrä nägäśt* with its origin from King Solomon and Makəda, and B.n. with its restoration in 1270, when ↗Yəkunno Amlak, a descendant of the Solomonic dynasty, "took the throne back" from usurpers of the ↗Zagʷe.

The treatise begins with a fabulous story: at the court of the last Zagʷe king a cock appears, who cries out at midnight that the man who eats his head will possess the kingdom. The scared Zagʷe King appeals to *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot who reasonably advises him to eat the head himself, and the King tells his maid to cook the bird. While doing so, the girl habitually throws out the head, which is picked up and eaten by a hungry little servant called Yəkunno Amlak. Immediately the humble boy realizes that "he is filled with grace which makes him great and strong, so that he is raised over the mighty" (Turaiev 1901:164). The King discovers the loss of the head and asks Täklä Haymanot to pray for him,

but an angel appears and explains that now it is useless to pray for the last Zagʷe king, who will lose his kingdom all the same, and that it is time instead to pray for the boy who has eaten the cockrel's head and to anoint Yəkunno Amlak for his new reign. Then the angel gives Täklä Haymanot the precise recipe of how to prepare this royal chrism, which is in fact B.n., and pronounces a prophesy, that not all Yəkunno Amlak's descendants will be anointed with this sacred chrism, but only *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob and "that one who will rise long ago after Zärʾa Yaʿəqob in the 7160 Year of Creation; and the years of reign of this king are 43". This means the year 1667, when Fasilädäs died and his son ↗Yoḥannəs I became the Emperor. Yoḥannəs I happened to be the next Emperor after Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, and he was honoured with the epithet "Righteous". In fact he did not reign for 43 years, but B.n. was written evidently in the beginning of his reign, and 43 is just the reverse number of 34 — the years of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob's reign.

There were various reasons for dating this prophesy to Yoḥannəs I. His grandfather Susənyos was a distant descendant of Yəkunno Amlak and in fact a founder of a new dynasty of Gondär kings. Being a Catholic convert he, however, was the most inconvenient figure to restore the dynasty. The reign of Yoḥannəs' father, Fasilädäs, was also clouded by serious conflicts with higher ecclesiastics (s. van Donzel 1983:419–29). Thus it was Yoḥannəs who was chosen by the Church or, more precisely, by the Däbrä Libanos clergy at ↗Azäzo, who were by now staunch supporters of the ↗*Täwaḥədo* faith, as the monarch destined to restore their cordial relations. To this end in B.n. Täklä Haymanot, the founder and patron of the congregation, was made "the second Samuel of the house of David" (Turaiev 1901:171) and Yoḥannəs – the righteous monarch foretold.

Due to dogmatic differences that darkened the political life of the entire period of the ↗Gondärine kingdom, the treatise enjoyed considerable longevity, and in the long run the prophesy written in B.n. indeed came true, and among the Gondärine monarchs only those who supported the *Täwaḥədo* faith, the faith of the "House of Täklä Haymanot", became prominent. In other respects, B.n. obtained importance for establishing the claim of the "House of Täklä Haymanot" for "one third" of the land-property of the Kingdom, which was supposed to be one of the conditions of the "pact" between *abba* Täklä Haymanot and *aṣe* Yəkunno Amlak. The Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church today still considers this claim formally valid.

Lit.: GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "'The Wealth of Kings' and the End of the Zagwe Dynasty", *BSOAS* 28, 1, 1965, 1–23; BORIS TURAIEV, "*Bogatstvo Tsarei*": *Traktat o dinasticheskom perevorote v Abissinii v 13 veke* ('The Riches of Kings: the Account of a Dynastic Overthrow in Abyssinia in the 13th cent.'), St. Petersburg 1901 (Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arheologicheskogo Obschchestva II–III, vol. 13), 157–71; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La caduta della dinastia Zagué e la versione amarica del Beʿela Nagast", *RRALm* ser. 5, 31, 1922, 279–314; EMERI JOHANNES VAN DONZEL, "King Fāsilidas, Abuna Marqos and Abēto Galāwdēwos", in: STANISLAV SEGERT – ANDRÁS J.E. BODROGLIGETI (eds.), *Ethiopian Studies. Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, Wiesbaden 1983, 419–29.

Sevir Chernetsov

Bees and Beekeeping

In Ethiopia, the tradition of beekeeping is one of the oldest agricultural sectors that has been practised and developed for generations. Hieroglyphs from ancient Egypt refer to this land as a source of ↗honey and beeswax. The biblical land of ↗Punt was a source of gold, ivory, incense, honey and beeswax, which was exported through the ancient port of ↗Adulis.

Ethiopian Christianity, with its strong emphasis on monastic culture, contributed to the intensive growth of beekeeping because of the need for beeswax in religious ceremonies. It is to be noted that the Ethiopian hagiographic literature liked to represent bees as a symbol of purity and monastic constancy (e.g., the third part of Pachomius's *Regulae*), especially in connection with the birth of a saint (e.g., ↗Lalibäla or ↗Märḥa Krəstos): a positive image of this insect already present in both the Classical World and Late Antiquity.

Bees were among the animals most closely connected to the king. Beekeeping products were also closely connected with the king's image: at least in Šäwa, as late as 1850 only kings had the prerogative of mead production, and wax was also among the regal attributes. In Ethiopia, bees were also believed to bring luck and are still used in southern Ethiopia as an orade in the election of kings (Haberland 1965:123ff.).

In past times, farming communities had to supply the nobility and social elite with honey for making traditional beverages such as ↗*täğğ*.

Beehive of the Maale, southern Ethiopia, 1950/52, photo by W. Schulz-Weidner, © Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23–Wd020–06)

To this day, traditional beekeeping is still practised by many farmers throughout the country, often as a means to supplement their income. Traditional beehives are of cylindrical form and made of bark from trees, hollowed logs, bamboo, clay-pot straw and coils of climbing plants.

There are many species of honey-bees in Ethiopia, but only those which form permanent colonies and store sufficient honey are of relevance; according to Ayelew Kassaye (1990), five species of honey-bees are known to exist in Ethiopia: *Apis mellifera adasoni*, *Apis mellifera monticola*, *Apis mellifera litora*, *Apis mellifera yemenitica* and *Apis mellifera abyssinica*.

Src.: JULES PERRUCHON, *Vie de Lalibela roi d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1892, 12 (text) = 77f. (tr.); STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 4 (text) = 4 (tr.); AUGUST DILLMANN, *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, Lipsiae 1866, 62.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Api e apicoltura in Eritrea", *Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero d'agricoltura, industria e commercio* 2, 1902, 296–306 [= *Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia* 21, 1902, 47f.]; EIKE HABERLAND, *Untersuchungen zum äthiopischen Königtum*, Wiesbaden 1965 (SKK 18), 123-27; CARL SEYFFERT, *Biene und Honig im Volksleben der Afrikaner*, Leipzig 1930, 108f.; FRIEDRICH HEYER, "Die Tiere in der frommen Vorstellung des orthodoxen Äthiopien", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 20, 1971, 97–114, here 102f.; AYELEW KASSAYE, *Beekeeping Extension Services and Development in Ethiopia from 1976–1984*, Ministry of Agriculture, Addis Ababa 1984, 10–35; ID., *A Morphometric Study of Ethiopian Honeybees*, M.A. thesis, Agricultural University of Norway 1990, 50–60; REINHARD FICHTL – ADMASU ADI, *Honeybee Flora of Ethiopia*, Weikersheim 1994.

Admasu Addi

Bəʾəse Sälam

B.S. (ብእሴ ሰላም) of Mäzba was the founder of a little-known monastery located between Ṭalṭal and ᶜAzäbo. He was venerated in Hagärä Sälam, Tämben (the province of Təgray). His hagiography has yet to be published (KinBibl 67, no. 32).

The name B.S. is also known from the spiritual genealogies of Ethiopian saints. Most of those (though definitively not all) that mention B.S. seem to originate from the monasteries of northern Ethiopia, some of them being monastic institutions affiliated to the order of ↗Ewosṭatewos. These texts show B.S. as one of the first representatives of Ethiopian monasticism, or even sometimes as the first. According to, e.g., the spiritual pedigree of ↗Arkäläḍäs, B.S. is only separated from St. ↗Antony by three generations, his spiritual father being Mättaᶜ (↗Libanos), a 6th-cent. missionary monk from Byzantine, one of the famous ↗Nine Saints. In other genealogies, B.S. is put two or more generations later (e.g., after Maqarəs, Adḫani, Oṣ, as in the Acts of ↗Abiyä Ǝgziᵓ). Some of the presumably later genealogies, particularly those of *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot and his followers, present the history of the introduction of the monasticism into Ethiopia somewhat differently, omitting B.S. (cp. Getatchew Haile 1982–83:9) or replacing him with others personages (StrANL no. 13, III).

↗Genealogy

Src.: WrBriMus 186, no. 281 [Orient. 705], fol. 129r; StrANL 40f., no. 13, III; KinBibl 67, no. 32; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Täklä Haymanot", *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 7–38, here 9.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note di agiografia etiopica. ᶜAbiya Egziᵓ, ᶜArkalēdes e Gabra-Iyasus", *RSO* 17, 1938, 434–39.

Steven Kaplan – Denis Nosnitsin

Beğa

Beğa history

The B. are a nomadic people scattered over the territories of Egypt, the Sudan and Eritrea. The number of those who are considered to culturally belong to the B. is estimated at between 2 and 2.5 million. Most of them, though not all, speak the B. language (*tu-Beḍáwiɛ*). ↗Beni ᶜAmər, who retain some of the B. identity but speak the ↗Təgre language, are reported to territorially extend into northern Ethiopia,

An etymological link between the different designations of B. (*biğğāh, beğğatu, buğa,*

buğawi, also "Bugiha" in the 16th cent. descriptions by Johannes Leo Africanus [1540, s. Brown 1963], "Bugiens" of 17th cent. maps) and Arabic *badw* ('nomads, Beduins') was firstly proposed by Werner Munzinger (1864:282). The glossonym *tu-Beḍáwie* (Gaš Beğa *ti-beḍáwie*) still lit. means 'the Beduin language'.

Egyptian and Aksumite inscriptions confirm the continuous presence since the middle of the 2nd millenium B.C. of nomadic tribes in the Eastern Desert between the Nile, the ↗Atbara and the Red Sea, embracing the central plain and the Red Sea Hills to the south of Tokar: "*Bukak" or "*Bukkah", "Bega" (Adulis inscription **βεγὰ**; s. Müller 1894:16) or "Buga" (ᶜEzana's inscription **βουγαειτῶν**; s. Littmann – Krencker 1906:6ff.), possible variants of "*Meja" (Schäfe – Roeder 1901). A hypothesis on an etymological relation between B. *balami* 'inhabitant of the desert' and **βλεμμυες**, mentioned in Demotic, Coptic, Greek and Latin sources, has recently been proposed by Zaborski (1989). Traditions of the B. ↗Haḍándowa claim the ↗Barka region to be the historical cradle of the "true B.", who are still represented by *biḍáwi* ('nomads') of that area. In Egypt, the Qina-Quṣayr route is the actual limit between the Arab Maᶜaza Umsayri and the B. ᶜAbâbda.

After the Ptolemaic and Roman or Byzantine periods (Ibn Ḥawqal mentions that the Arabs found traces of "*al-Rūm*" when entering *ḫōr* ᶜAllāqī south-east of the present Aswan; s. ed. Kramer 1938), the B. are known through their relations with Muslim Egypt, beginning with the Arab penetration in search of emeralds and gold. After insignificant contacts in Nubia (31 H. [651/2 A.D.]), treaties with the "Ḥadārib" (216 H. [831 A.D.], 241 H. [855/56 A.D.], in order to protect trade with Egypt) alternate with periods of raids coming also from apparently more remote and non-Islamized groups (al-Uswānī).

Disputes are also recorded between Arab dans (Ibn Ḥawqal, s. ed. Kramer 1938:54). Other raids are recorded up to Esna and al-Fusṭāṭ (854 A.D.). ᶜAbd ar-Raḥmān al-ᶜUmarī with the Rabīᶜa and the Ǧuhayna takes the control of the mining zone (ca. 255 H. [868/69 A.D.]). In the following century, the Rabīᶜa command joint Arab and B. camel-men. Islamization and intermarriages should have lead to complete Arabization, due to the "matrilinear succession" among the B. described by various Arab sources (al-Uswānī, al-Balāḏurī, Ibn Ḥawqal). If this "matrilinear" system ever existed, it must have organized transmission of the inheritance (not of the power) from women's brothers to their daughter's brothers (al-Uswānī). In the middle of the 11th cent., the Ḥadārib (↗Ḥədarāb) gained new influence through the rise of ᶜAyḏāb, first mentioned in 1028 as a pilgrim port to ↗Mecca.

Al-Yaᶜqūbī (Houtsma 1883:217) indicates six B. "kingdoms" which show growing influence in an area left uncontrolled after the decline of the Aksumite empire, corresponding to northern Eritrea. These new political entities stopped the process of Arabization and initiated the indigenization of socio-political concepts.

True or claimed Arab genealogies were used to legitimate the transformation of the nomadic groups into political entities such as the Bišārīn (in the 14th cent.), or later (in the 17th cent.) the Haḍándowa, whose rise was the consequence of the decline of the Funǧ kingdom.

The adaption of *ʾárab* as an autonym can be explained by this bicultural context in which bedouin groups coexisted with more urban and bilingual B. circles. The generic term Ḥadārib (also Ḥadāriba) might be linked to Arabic *ḥaḍāra*, B. *hadare* (Reinisch 1895:112; Almkvist 1885, vol.3:28) with the sense of "sedentary", "civilized". According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1964, I, 110), the king of ᶜAydāb was nicknamed "*al-ḥadrabī*". Al-Qalqašandī (1913, IV, 493) says that in 1378 ↗Sawākin was ruled by the "Ḥadāriba".

The Beni ᶜAmər adopted the Təgre language, but still call the B. language Hadārāb (which is also the name of the clan of Ḥadārib; s. Paul 1959). B.-speaking Arteyga use *hadarabāit* as *beḍawiét* (final *-t* is the accusative form when quoting: *beḍawié-t* 'in the B. language'). In the 14th cent. the role of ᶜAyḏāb declined as its gold mines were exhausted. The port was destroyed by the Egyptian *sulṭān* ↗Barsbāy in 1426.

The generic term ↗Balaw came to designate a mixed group including either "Beğaized" Arabs (*baláwi*) and/or Arabized B. rulers of the Sawākin area. In the town itself, the Arteyga who replaced the Balaw kept the term Ḥadārab in use, which according to their daimed origin from Ḥaḍramawt in the 9th cent. (cf. Ibn Ḥawqal [ed. Kramer] 1938) lead to the merging of the two possible etymologies *hadārāb* 'Ḥadramî origin' or 'civilized B.'. The Balaw will even be confused with the Funǧ of Sinnār by Manoel de ↗Almeida (s. Beccari 5), as in the

chronicle of the wars waged by Iyasu II (GuiIyas). In the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (BassHist 319), "Balaw" is a synonym for Muslims of Təgray.

The Turkish occupation of the port accelerated the emigration of these Balaw towards the south, where they became a vassal group among the Beni ᶜAmər and part of the ruling class of the kingdom of ᶜAdal. Already in the 16th cent. *amīr* ↗Maḥfūẓ Muḥammad of Zaylaᶜ and *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī were said to be of Balaw origin, the latter coming from Təgre (BassHist). Təgre-speaking Balaw, installed by the Turks as *nāʾibs* of Massawa, Ḥərgigo and Ǝmkullu and ᶜAfar-speaking Balawtá in Randá, north of Taǧūra, are the remnants of this prolonged influx.

Following the Turkish domination, the Egyptian conquest of the Nilotic Sudan (1821) and the foundation of the administrative post of Kassala (1840) had new consequences on B. society, which gained its present form. Some groups, such as the Arteyga, who replaced the Beni ᶜAmər in the Barka cultivation scheme, entered the monetary economy. Others, such as the Bišārīn (Šantirāb), entrenched themselves in the Etbay wilderness in order to avoid the Arab penetration along the Nile valley.

Another attitude was that of the Haḍándowa who, after consolidating under *nāẓir* Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm (d. 1884), reacted to the British occupation and some of them joined belatedly the Mahdist movement under Atmān Diqna (↗ᶜUṯmān b. Abī Bakr Diqnā) from 1883 to 1891. The Ḥatmīya followers, among whom were the Beni ᶜAmər, refused to join the revolt. After a final attack on the Kassala fort by the Haḍándowa in 1918, the B. came under the administration of Kassala Province (1928).

The development of cotton cultivation in the ↗Gaš delta in the 1920s offered a new opportunity for economic integration. Allotments generated migrations and a new sociological context which appears in the term *malhít-kināb* 'owners of the middle [of the Gaš]'. Due to recent droughts, lack of sustainable financing and pressure on grazing lands, the Haḍándowa – and the B. as a whole – have become poorer, while being massively sedentarized.

Src.: MUḤAMMAD IBN ᶜABDALLĀH IBN BAṬṬŪṬA, *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭah. Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār fī ġarāʾib al-amṣār wa-ᶜaǧāʾib al-asfar*, 'The Travelling of Ibn Baṭṭuṭa ...', Bayrūt 1964, vol. 1, 110; AḤMAD B. ᶜALĪ AL-QALQAŠANDĪ, *Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-aᶜšā fī ṣināᶜat al-inšāʾ* ('The Dawn of the Night-Blind, on the Art of Composition'), 14 vols., Cairo 1913–18, vol. 4, 493; M. ADAROB O-HAJ, *Min taʾrīḫ al-Biǧā* ('From the History of the Beğa'), Khartum 1986; ABŪ AL-QĀSIM MUḤAMMAD IBN ḤAWQAL, *Opus geographicum*, ed. by JOHANNES HENDRIK KRAMER, vol. 1, Leiden 1938, 51ff., 54; AḤMAD B. ᶜALĪ AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Kitāb al-mawāᶜiẓ wal-ʾitibār fī ḏikr al-ḫiṭaṭ wal-āṯār*, ed. by GASTON WIET, Le Caire 1922 (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 46), 3, 267–80 [includes 10th-cent. account by Ibn Sulaym al-Uswānī]; AḤMAD B. ABĪ YAᶜQŪB AL-YAᶜQŪBĪ, *Ibn-Wādhih qui dicitur al-Jaᶜqubī historiae*, ed. THEODOR MARTIN HOUTSMA, Leiden 1969; CAMILLO BECCARI, *Rerum æthiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, Roma 1903–1917; BassHist 319.

Lit.: LEO REINISCH, *Wörterbuch der Bedauye-Sprache*, Wien 1895, 112; HERMAN NAPOLEON ALMKVIST, *Die Bishari-Sprache*, Uppsala 1881–85, 3, 28; ANDREW PAUL, *A History of the Beja Tribes*, Cambridge 1954; ID., "The Hadareb", *Sudan Notes and Records* 40, 1959, 75–78; ID., "The Problem of Blemmyes-Beja: an Etymology", *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 4, 1989, 9–177; ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI, "Notes on the Medieval History of the Beja Tribes", *Folia Orientalia* 7, 1966, 289–307.

Didier Morin

Beğa ethnography

The B.-speaking population, with densities ranging from virtually no human presence in *ḫōr* Oko to nearly 100 inhabitants per km² in the Gaš area, could reach two million people (including 400,000 for the Northern Red Sea Province of Eritrea). The main five groups of the B. are the ᶜAbabda, the Bišārīn, the Ammárʾar, the Haḍándowa and the Beni ᶜAmər. Each group is in its turn subdivided into subgroups and dans.

The ᶜAbabda live in upper Egypt and the north-eastern Sudan. Most of them speak an Arabic dialect though the southern and the south-east portion of the group still retain their B. dialect.

The Bišārīn (also Bišārin, Bišāriyīn) are the northernmost B. group, divided into two main sections (Umm Alī and Umm Nāǧī). Initially the Bišārīn homeland is said to have been in the mountainous Alba region. Expanding in the 14th cent., they reached the river Atbara (ca. 1760–70). Some sections of the Umm Nāǧī are sedentary farmers along the Atbara. Umm ᶜAlī occupy the less populated area *ḫōr* Oko, the coastal strip of Dungunāb where fishing and shell-collecting arepractised).

The Ammárʾar are the dominant group of the Port Sudan district. Among them, the Atmān, now in growing numbers, were favoured during the British period. They were the first to move in the 1930s towards the town, where they took

up various petty jobs. The Nurāb have began cultivation in the Tokar and the Gaš deltas since the 19th cent.

The Haḍándowa (also Haḍándiwa, with a possible etymology **haḍ°a-t ⁿḍíwa* 'chief's family' or **haḍa-t ⁿḍíwa* 'sons of the lioness') are the largest group. They occupy the Gaš valley and dominate in the towns from Kassala to Sinkat (B. *ó-K^{w}ak^{w}*).

The Beni ᶜAmər inhabit the area from the south of Tokar to northern Eritrea (Massawa and Kärän markets). Their traditional serfdom and the domination of the *nabtāb* lineages have been abolished during the colonial period. Because of the continuing warfare in Eritrea and subsequent famines, many Beni ᶜAmər have settled in Kassala, Port Sudan and Tokar.

Other scattered groups (Arteyga, Ḥalanga, Ašraf) can be found in towns, where they are merchants or cultivators, as in Tômala, founded by an Ašraf leader.

The basic unit of B. society is the family, traditionally living in a small group of tents (*ᶜamūd*). During the rainy season, a part of the camp stays on the dry area of the ancestral land of the clan (*dāmar*), when the herdsmen go for grazing to the *darát* ('pasture'). The generic "B. tent" (Gaš B. *b°áḍā-i gáw*, Eastern Sudan Arabic *beyt biriš*) is made of *ang^{w}á*, the palm-fibre of *Hyphaene thebaica*, *akáb*).

Endogamy and a strict code of gender relations are still dominant, whatever the ecological or economical differences may be. Among the pastoralist groups, milking is still a masculine task. One who draws the milk cannot drink it first and has to find somebody else to do so (*tilligēg*).

There is no intermediate level between the family (*ḍiwáb*) and the tribal division (*gabîla*, Northern B. *aḍát*, lit. 'stick', as used for measuring a piece of land). The *ḍiwáb* connotes territorial solidarity, while the equivalent Arabic term for lineage (*fara°*) is more strictly genealogical.

The B. continue to aggregate alien groups through adoption, marriage, or simply assimilation of B. customs and habits, as was the case with the Fellata Melle, West Africans from Takrūr, or the Arab Maǧāḏīb and Ǧaᶜalī from the Sudan. Polyethnic Islamic communities (Tômala, Hamaškorêb) developed by charismatic leaders are exceptions in a largely acephalous society.

Src.: JOHANNES LEO "AFRICANUS", *Della descrittione dell'Africa et delle cose notabili che ivi sono*, Venetia ca. 1540 [also in ROBERT BROWN (ed.), *The History and Description of Africa and of the Notable Things therein Contained, Written by al-Hassan ibn Mohammed al-Wezaz, al-Fasi, a Moor, Baptized as Giovanni Leone, but Better Known as Leo Africanus. Done into English in the Year 1600 by John Pory*, New York 1963]; ENNO LITTMANN – DANIEL KRENCKER, *Vorbericht der deutschen Aksumexpedition*, Berlin 1906, 6ff.; DAVID HEINRICH MÜLLER, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Abessinien nach Abklatschen von J. Theodor Bent*, Vienna 1894 [=*Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Classe* 43, Abh. 3], 16.

Lit.: STEN RINO BONSAKSEN, *Living Today on Tomorrow's Resource – Coping with Drought among the Hadendowa of East Sudan*, Bergen 1991; ANDERS HJORT AF ORNÄS – GUDRUN DAHL, *Responsible Man: the Atmaan Beja of North-Eastern Sudan*, [Stockholm] – Uppsala 1991; DUNCAN CAMERON CUMMING, "The History of Kassala and the Province of Taka", *Sudan Notes and Records* 20, 1937, 1, 1–46; *ibid.* 23, 1940, 2, 225–70; W.T. CLARK, "Customs and Beliefs of the Northern Bega", *ibid.* 21, 1938, 1, 1–30; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, "Notes on Beni Amer Society", *ibid.* 26, 1, 1945, 51–94; T. RICHARD H. OWEN, "The Hadendowa", *ibid.* 20, 1937, 2, 183–208; ANDREW PAUL, "Notes on the Beni Amer", *ibid.* 31, 1950, 2, 223–45; G.E.R. SANDARS, "The Bisharin", *ibid.* 16, 1933, 2, 119–50; WERNER MUNZINGER, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Schaffhausen 1864, 282; HEINRICH SCHÄFER – GÜNTHER ROEDER, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Leipzig 1901; ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI, "The Problem of Blemmyes-Beja: an Etymology", *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 4, 1989, 9–177 (Lit.).

Didier Morin

Beğa language

The self-name of the B. language is *tu Beḍawiɛ* in Haḍanḍiwa (Roper; s. Haḍándowa) or *ti Beḍaawye* in Arteyga, B. being the name of the language in Arabic (Hudson in BendNonSLang). The most important subgroups use their own dialects, e.g. Abābda (mostly speaking Arabic), Bišārīn, Haḍándiwa (lit. 'lion's family'), Halanga, Arteyga, Ammár°ar ('son's of A.') and Ḥadārib ('civilized'), a part of Beni ᶜAmər partially speaking ↗Təgre. All are mutually intelligible. Various varieties of B. are spoken in Egypt (60,000), the Sudan (2,134,000) and Eritrea (107,000), perhaps also in Ethiopia, but there are no reliable figures (s. [Orville Boyd] Jenkins). B. is the only representative of the northern sub-branch of the ↗Cushitic branch of the ↗Afro-Asiatic macro-family.

B. has 5 vowels, *a*, *ɛ*, *i*, *o*, *u*, plus their long correlates (Hudson in BendNonSLang 100). Roper (1928:8) also described *ɛ* and *ə* and the diphthongs *ai*, *au*, *oi*. The consonants are: dentals *d*, *t*, *s*, *n*, labials *b*, *f*, *m*, *w*, velars *g*, *k*, labiovelars *g^{w}*,

k^w, retroflexives *ḍ*, *ṭ* (usually in loanwords), palato-alveolar *š*, besides [*č*] and [*ǧ*] as palatalized variants of *t* and *d* respectively, glottals ʾ, *h*, palatal *y*, besides [*ñ*] occurring as a positional variant of *n*, liquids *l*, *r*. Loan-words from Arabic also contain *ǧ* and *z*: in earlier borrowings Arabic *z* > B. *d*; in recent ones *ġ*, *ẓ* occur too, although they are usually substituted by *g*, *h*.

The noun can be modified by the definite article (Reinisch 1893–94, II, §112):

	masc. sg.	fem. sg.	masc. pl.	fem. pl.
nom.	*wuu*[1], *uu*[2]	*tuu*	*yaa*[1], *aa*[2]	*taa*
obj.	*woo*[1], *oo*[2]	*too*	*yee*[1], *ee*[2]	*tee*

[1] Before vowel and laryngeal word-initials.

[2] Before consonant word-initials.

Cp. Vycichl's reconstruction of the proto-system (1953; 1988:414ff.)

Many nouns, commencing with *b*-, *d*-, *ḍ*-, *g*- in the indefinite form, add in the definitive form *-m-* before *-b-*, and *n-* before *d-*, *ḍ-*, *g-* (Roper 1928:10, §30). This implies that the primary forms terminated in **-n*, agreeing with the near demonstratives (cf. Voigt 1998:312); Vycichl (1953:374) found an analogy in the final *-n* in Egyptian *pn* / *tn* / *nn* 'this [masc./fem.]/ these'). Demonstrative pronouns (Roper 1928, §83):

	'this' / 'these'			
	masc. sg.	fem. sg.	masc. pl.	fem. pl.
nom.	*uun*	*tuun*	*aan*	*taan*
acc.	*on*	*ton*	*ɛn*	*tɛn*
	'that' / 'those'			
nom.	*bɛn*	*bɛt*	*balíin*	*balíit*
acc.	*bɛb*	*bɛt*	*balíib*	*balíit*

Personal pronouns as attested among the Beni ᶜAmər (Reinisch 1894, III, § 157):

person	sg.	pl.
1	*aní*(*i*)	*hanán* / *hanín* / *hinín*
2 masc.	*barúuk*	*baráak*(*na*)
2 fem.	*batúuk*	*batáak*(*na*)
3 masc.	*barúus*	*baráas*(*na*)
3 fem.	*batúus*	*batáas*(*na*)

Cp. 3 sg. masc./fem. *barúuh*/*batúuh* and 3 pl. masc./fem. *baráahena*/*batáahena* in Haḍándiwa, Halanga and Bišārīn.

The element *bar-* (fem. *bat-*<**bar-t-*) determining the 2nd and 3rd persons was derived from B. *bari* 'have, possess' (Bechhaus-Gerst 1988); it was also compared with Egyptian *b*[3] 'soul' (Vycichl). The interrogatives are *aw*, 'who?', acc. *aab* 'whom?'; *áai* 'whose?', *naa* 'what?, which?' (Roper 1928, §110).

B. nouns express gender: *yaas* 'a dog', *uuyaas* 'the dog'; *yăst* 'a bitch', *tuuyaas* 'the bitch'. The undefined masc. nouns ending with a vowel append *-b* in the accusative. The vocative is formed by *-i* and *-ɛ*(*i*) after the vowel and consonant in the nominative, respectively. The genitive is expressed by *-i* in the masc. and by *-ti* in the fem.: *ták-i kaam* 'a man's camel', *takát-ti kaam* 'a woman's camel'.

Number is expressed by different means. The nominal plural is determined by *-a* (*rágad* : *ragáda* 'foot', *térig* : *térga* 'month'), by shortening the long vowel in the final syllable (*taat* : *tăt* 'louse', *luul* : *lŭl*), or by the change of the ending *-ai* in the sg. into *-ei* in the pl. (*hatai* : *hatei* 'horse'). Some nouns build an internal plural (*bok* : *bɛk* 'he-goat', *meek* : *mɛk* 'ass'). Most nouns ending with a vowel in the sg. remain unchanged in the pl., if determined by the article (*tuufena* : *taafena* 'lance').

There are three adjectives preserving the old pl. pattern based on partial reduplication: *wun/wìn* : pl. *wáawun* / *wáawin* 'big', *dis* : pl. *dáadis* 'small', *dĭ* : pl. *dáadĭ* 'small' (Reinisch 1893–94, II, §119). The adjective shows concord of definiteness with the preceding noun: *ták wìn* 'a big man' : *uu-ták uu-wìn* 'the big man', but notvice versa (Hudson in Bend Non SLang 106).

Verbs can be divided into two classes of prefixal 1) and suffixal 2) conjugation:

present	1) *-an-* 'to be' / 'say'	2) *duur-* 'to visit'
1 sg.	(*á*)ʾ*ani*, ʾ*áne*	*dúur-ani*
2 sg. masc.	*teníya*, *téena*	*duur-teníy-a*
2 sg. fem.	*teníyi*, *téeni*	*duur-teníi*
3 sg. masc.	*yíni*, *íini*	*duur-íini*
3 sg. fem.	*tíni*, *téeni*	*duur-tíini*
1 pl.	*nééni*, *neey*	*duur-néey*
2 pl.	*ténna*, *teen*	*duur-téena*
3 pl.	*yénna*, *een*	*duur-éena*

The tense system:

verb:	1) *-hay-* 'to be'		2) *duur-* 't o visit'
form:	present	perfect[1]	pluperfect
1 sg.	*éehe*	*úhee*	*dúur-e, -i*
2 sg. masc.	*teháaya*	*tihíya*	*duur-téeya, -tíya*
2 sg. fem.	*teháay*	*túhii*	*duur-téey, -tii*
3 sg. masc.	*éehe*	*úhi*	*dúur-e, -i*
3 sg. fem.	*téehe*	*túhi*	*dúur-te, -ti*
1 pl.	*néehe*	*níihi*	*dúur-ne, -ni*
2 pl.	*tehéena*	*tihíina*	*duur-tíina*
3 pl.	*ehéena*	*ihíina*	*duur-íin(a)*

[1] Originally pluperfect.

See Reinisch 1893–94, III, §§ 232, 247, 306, 326, 330.

The suffixally conjugated verbs can also be analysed as the periphrastic constructions with prefixally conjugated *verba substantiva* in the functions of auxiliaries. Besides these forms, there is the present of the prefixal conjugation with an *n*-infix of unclear origin in the sg. (Roper 1928, §179; s. also Rössler, Vycichl; Zaborski 1997; Voigt 1998):

dif 'go'	past = perfect	present
1 sg.	*adíf*	*andúif*
2 sg. masc.	*tídífa*	*tíndiifa, téndiifa*
2 sg. fem.	*tídífi*	*tíndiífi, téndiifi*
3 sg. masc.	*idíf*	*indíif*
3 sg. fem.	*tidíf*	*tindúif, tendúif*
1 pl.	*nidíf*	*nɛdíf*
2 pl.	*tídifna*	*tédifna*
3 pl.	*ídifna*	*édifna*

The basic verbal extensions are in *s-* for the causative, *t-* for the passive and *m-* for the reciprocal. A standard word-order is Subject-Object-Verb, cf. [1]*uháda* [2]*uhíiwa* [3]*yakísia* "[1]the lion [3]carried off [2]the camel-foal" (Roper 1928, §47d). The ten-word list is (Roper 1928):

'one'	*gal*	'sun'	*yin*
'two'	*male*	'moon'	*terig*
'three'	*mehɛi*	'blood'	*boi*
'water'	*yam*	'tongue'	*midalab*
'fire'	*nʾe*	'tooth'	*kwire*

B. is not a written language and there are only a few records of the oral poetry (Roper 1927; Morin 1997). From the end of the 1990s the Latin script was introduced to Eritrea and the Arabic script to the Sudan.

Src.: ORVILLE BOYD JENKINS, "The Beja of Sudan, Eritrea and Egypt", *http://www.calebproject.org/obj04.htm*.

Lit.: HERMAN N. ALMKVIST, *Die Bischari-Sprache*, 3 vols., Uppsala 1881–85; VÁCLAV BLAŽEK, "Cushitic Lexicostatistics: the Second Attempt", in: ALESSANDRO BAUSI – MAURO TOSCO (eds.), *Afroasiatica neapolitana: contributi presentati all' 8° Incontro di Linguistica Afroasiatica (Camito-semitica), Napoli 25–26 Gennaio 1996*, Napoli 1997 (StAfEt 6), 171–88; RICHARD A. HUDSON, "Beja", in: *BendNonSLang* 97–131; DIDIER MORIN, "Mimetic Traditions in Beja Poetry from Sudan", *Research in African Literatures* 28, 1, 1997, 15–34; WERNER MUNZINGER, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Schaffhausen 1864; LEO REINISCH, *Die Beḍauye-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*, 3 vols., Wien 1893–95 [=*Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Classe* 128, Abtheilung 3, 1893, 1–74; Abtheilung 7, 1–80; *ibid.* 130, Abtheilung 7, 1894, 1–80; *ibid.* 131, Abtheilung 3, 1894, 44]; ID., *Wörterbuch der Beḍauye-Sprache*, Wien 1895; E.-M. ROPER, "The Poetry of the Haḍendiwa", *Sudan Notes and Records* 10, 1927, 147–58; ID., *Tu Beḍawie: an Elementary Handbook for the Use of the Sudan Government Officials*, Hertford 1928; RAINER VOIGT, "Zur Gliederung des Kuschitischen: das Beḍauye und das Restkuschitische", in: INES FIEDLER – CATHERINE GRIEFENOW-MEWIS – BRIGITTE REINEKE (eds.), *Afrikanische Sprachen im Brennpunkt der Forschung: linguistische Beiträge zum 12. Afrikanistentag, Berlin, 3.–6. Oktober 1996*, Köln 1998, 309–24; WERNER VYCICHL, "Der bestimmte Artikel in der Bedja-Sprache", *Muséon* 66, 1953, 373–79; ID., "Beja – a Language with Seven Seals", in: MARIANNE BECHHAUS-GERST – FRITZ SERZISKO (eds.), *Cushitic-Omotic: Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages, Cologne, January 6–9, 1986*, Hamburg 1988, 411–30; ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI, *The Verb in Cushitic*, Warszawa 1975; ID., "Der Wortschatz der Bedscha-Sprache. Eine vergleichende Analyse", in: *Ausgewählte Vorträge. Deutscher Orientalistentag*, Stuttgart 1989 (*ZDMG* Supplement VII), 573–91; ID., "Problems of the Beja Present Seven Years Ago", *Lingua Posnaniensis* 39, 1997, 145–53.

Václav Blažek

Béguinot, Francesco

B. (b. 1 August 1879, Paliano, Frosinone, d. 2 March 1953, Naples) was an important Italian Orientalist. Under the guidance of Ignazio ↗Guidi and Celestino Schiaparelli, both teaching in Rome, he studied various Semitic languages, achieving a particularly high competence in Gəʿəz and Arabic.

In 1901, before taking his university degree, he made his sole but decisive contribution to the Ethiopian studies, an annotated translation of the "short chronicle", already edited by René ↗Basset in 1881. For this important work, that cannot be disregarded even today, B. made use of the ms. Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale, orient. 129, containing remarkable variants, and integrated the first commentary provided by Basset (s. BegCron). That same year B. was employed by the Ministry of War, where he stayed until 1910. Same year, after completing his graduation thesis, devoted to Ethiopians in ancient

Greek sources (1904), B. was called to join the mission organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Libya and subsequently devoted his attention completely to the studies of the Maghreb and Berber languages.

In 1914 B. began his teaching activities at the ↗Istituto Universitario Orientale in Naples, where he worked until his death both as a professor of Berber and for long periods as the director (1917–21, 1925–40 and 1944–47). His scientific approach was based mainly on the rigorous application of the rules of comparative linguistics, but in carrying out his researches B. took great account of the cultural factors – ethnology, literature, religion – underlying the Mediterranean setting of the North African cultures as a whole.

Src.: BegCron; for a comprehensive bibliography of B.'s writings s. *Annali IUO* nuova ser., 3, 1949, 7ff.

Lit.: TULLIO DE MAURO, "Béguinot, Francesco", in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 7, Roma 1970, 541–43.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Bəḥer

The pre-Christian Aksumite deity B. is mentioned in three Royal Inscriptions of King ↗ʿEzana. RIE 185 and 185bis each contain two versions of more or less the same text:

1) RIE 185 I/20–21: *lʿstrm* / [*w*]*lbḥrm* / *w*[*lmḥrmm*]
2) RIE 185 II/21: *lʿstr* / *wlmdr* / *wlmḥrm*
3) RIE 185bis I/22–23: *lt̲trm* / *wl*[*b*]*ḥrm* / *wlmḥrm*
4) RIE 185bis II C/35–36 *lʿstr* / *wbḥr* / *wlmḥrm*
5) RIE 188/25–26: *läʿastär* / *wäläbəḥer* / *wälämədr*.

Littmann (DAE vol. IV, 13) identified B. as goddess of the sea according to ↗Monumentum Adulitanum: **κατῆλθον εἰ, τὴν Ἀδοὶλι τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῷ Ἄρεει καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι θυσιάσαι ὑπὲρ τῶν πλοϊζομένων** 'I [i.e. an unknown Aksumite king] came down to Adulis in order to bring offerings to Zeus, Ares and Poseidon for the (well-being of the) sailors' (RIE 277/39–40). Littmann equated B. with **Ποσειδῶν**. But this identification has to be rejected because:

1) The mention of Poseidon in the Monumentum Adulitanum could be motivated either by the locality (local cult of Adulis?) or the intention ("for the sailors"), so there need not be any connection between **Ποσειδῶν** and B.;
2) The Gəʿəz nominal form *bəḥer* with the meaning 'land' is already attested in Aksumite inscriptions (DAE vol. IV, 88a, s.v.).

Judging from the etymology, both B. and ↗Mədr seem to be chthonic deities. They are treated as different divine entities (RIE 188), but their characters must have been so similar that they could even be identified as one deity (cp. RIE 185 I and II).

↗Aksum; ↗Inscriptions

Src.: RIE 185, 188; WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS (ed., tr.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès. Topographie chrétienne*, 3 vols., Paris 1968–73 (Sources chrétiennes 141, 159, 197), here vol. 3, 372–78.

Lit.: HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, ***ΤΟ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΙC ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΙC ΕΡΓΟΝ ΘΕΙΟΝ***. *Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum*, Bonn 1994, 37–41; MARIA HÖFNER, "Die Semiten Äthiopiens", in: HANS WILHELM HAUSSIG (ed.), *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*. Band I. *Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient*, Stuttgart 1965, 555–67; ID., "Beḥēr", in: *ibid.* 557; DAE IV, 13, 88a.

Alexander Sima

Beka Nämo

B.N. (**ቢ.ካ፡ ነሞ**, b. 1930s, Wällo), an Amharic writer of Oromo origin, is known for his first and only novel **ገልጠን፡ ብናየው** (*Gälṭän bənnayäw*, 'If We Look Inside', 1956/57), which became an important contribution to the modern literature of Ethiopia.

The novel is based on the well-worn theme of separated twins already used before by ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus but transferred to a modern context. The story deals with a family which was broken up by the Italian invasion. The main heroine, Abäba loses her parents and is adopted by a certain Däräğğä, a good and progressive man as he enables the girl to get modern education. She falls in love with young Fəqru, another orphan, and gets engaged to him, without knowing that he is in fact her own twin brother – a circumstance which only becomes clear when their father – *ato* Käbbädä – appears.

B.N. was probably the first author who made an attempt to adapt a love novel to Amharic. Some scenes of drama, like kissing and fighting at the restaurant had no precedent in the Ethiopian fiction and were in stark contrast to the habitual restraint of the Amharic writing. The aspects of obsession and murderous violence may have been a result of American movie influence. The atmosphere of suspense and the number of murders and mysteries in the novel allow scholars to see one of the very few examples of an early Amharic detective story. Though B.N. paid his dues to the traditions of didactic prose by in-

cluding at the beginning of the book a short story about "Miss Caleb X", an unfaithful woman who comes to regret her infidelity and seeks atonement by serving God, the novel itself is free of any moralizing tendencies, which was another innovation for the Amharic novel.

Stylistically, B.N. used short clear sentences and jagged manner which can be compared only with the style of ↗Taddäsä Libän.

↗Läbb wälläd

Src.: BEKA NÄMO, ገልጠን፡ ውስየው (*Gälṭän bənnayäw*, 'If We Look Inside'), Addis Abäba 1949 A.M. [1956/57 A.D.].
Lit.: ALBERT GÉRARD, *Four African Literatures: Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1971, 353f.; THOMAS LEIPER KANE, *Ethiopian Literature in Amharic*, Wiesbaden 1975, 77f., 88–94; PIERRE COMBA, "Le roman dans la littérature éthiopienne de langue amharique", *JSS* 9, 1, 1964, 173–86 here 184.

Galina Balashova

Beke, Charles Tilstone

B. (b. 10 October 1800, London, d. 31 July 1874) was a British traveller to Ethiopia, an able geographer and a prolific scholarly writer. Coming from an old Kentish family, which gave its name to the English village of Bekesbourne, he entered a business career, which took him to Italy, but subsequently studied law in Lincoln's Inn, in London, received a doctorate from Tübingen University and was elected a fellow of several geographical and Orientalist learned societies.

In 1840 B. undertook his first journey to Ethiopia with a view to opening up commercial relations, studying the country's geography and helping the "suppression" of the slave trade. In the course of his travels, he mapped over 70,000 square miles of territory between the Abbay and the Awaš, north of Ankobär, as well as much of Goǧǧam and Damot. He studied the ↗Assal salt lake, discovered the source of the ↗Goǧäb river and collected vocabularies of 14 languages. He subsequently wrote many learned papers on Ethiopian geography, linguistics and commerce and entered into a geographical dispute with the French traveller Antoine d'↗Abbadie, which caused him to resign from the French geographical society. In 1853 he wrote a report on the trade and politics of Ethiopia for the British Foreign Office and Board of Trade. Three years later he despatched a vessel to Massawa in the hope of developing trade with the interior, but suffered considerable financial loss. He later applied, unsuccessfully, for the post of British consul at the port.

Reacting to *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II's imprisonment of the British consul Cameron, B. returned to Ethiopia in 1868, when he succeeded in obtaining the captive's temporary release, but incurred the monarch's displeasure. He later provided the ↗Napier expedition with maps and other information, and was rewarded with a British Civil List pension.

B.'s innumerable writings included *Abyssinia – Being a Continuation of Routes in that Country* (1844), *Letters on the Commerce of Abyssinia* (1852), *The British Captives in Abyssinia* (1865), *King Theodore and Mr. Rassam* (1869) and an unpublished diary for the years 1840–43, now housed in the British Library, as well as works on Mount Sinai and biblical archaeology.

Src.: CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE, "Abyssinia – Being a Continuation of Routes in that Country", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 14, 1844, 1–76; ID., *Letters on the Commerce of Abyssinia*, London 1852; ID., *The British Captives in Abyssinia*, London 1865; ID., *King Theodore and Mr. Rassam. A Letter to the Editor of the Quaterly Review Relative to the Article on "Rassam's Abyssinia" in the Number of that Review for April 1869*, London 1869; ID., *A Diary Written During a Journey in Abyssinia*, BritLib printed ms. 30, 250; for the other publications of Beke s. Lockot II, s. index.
Lit.: PERCY ARNOLD, *Prelude to Magdala*, London 1991, 331, index.

Richard Pankhurst

Bel, Pierre-Louis

B. (b. 27 August 1823, Castelfranc, France, d. 1 March 1868, Alexandria, Egypt) entered the noviciate of the Vincentians in September 1846. After his ordination he was sent to Syria, where, in due course, he became rector of the seminary. While in Syria, he was appointed "Vicar Apostolic of the Vicariate of Abyssinia" on 22 October 1865. He received his episcopal consecration in Paris on 22 October 1865.

On his way to the Vicariate of Abyssinia B. visited Rome and the Holy Land; it was only on 23 March 1866 that he disembarked at ↗Massawa. During his four years as Vicar Apostolic B. travelled extensively throughout the vicariate, but his principal residence remained at Massawa.

From the Holy See B. had received permission to use the Gəᶜəz rite. Accordingly, he introduced the use of the Ethiopian ↗calendar. His petition to the Holy See for permission to celebrate daily private masses was refused as being contrary to the Ethiopian custom. When he authorized the

printing of a new catechism in May 1867, it was the first book to be printed in ↗Təgrañña.

As a rigid disciplinarian, conflict between himself and the local clergy was inevitable. After a bitter confrontation with the priests, B. accepted a summons to return home. While travelling back to France, he died in Alexandria from typhoid fever.

↗Catholicism; ↗Lazarists; ↗Printing

Src.: PIERRE-LOUIS BEL, *Cronaca,* ms., archives of the Apostolic Vicariate of Eritrea.
Lit.: ALÉMÉ ESHÉTÉ, *La Mission Catholique Lazariste en Èthiopie*, Aix-en-Provence 1972 (Institut d'Histoire des Pays d'Outre-Mer 2), 1–7; PAUL GIMALAC, *Le Vicariat Apostolique d'Abyssinie 1839–1931*, Paris 1932, 8–11; EZECHIA DA ISEO, *Pionieri di fede e di civilta*, Asmara 1937, 58–61; KEVIN O'MAHONEY, "*The Ebullient Phoenix*". *A History of the Vicariate of Abyssinia,* vol. 2, Asmara 1987, 32–80.

Kevin O'Mahoney

Bela Šangul ↗ Beni Šangul

Bəlen Sägädä

B.S. (ብሌን፡ ሰገደ, or Bəlen Sägäd) is the name of at least two representatives of the ↗Adkämä Məlgaʾ kinship, rulers of Säraye (*śəyyumanä Särawe*) during the 14th and the 15th cent.

The earlier, who lived in the second half of the 14th cent, is known by genealogies and by the long colophon of an Octateuch preserved in the monastery of ↗Däbrä Maryam, in which he is recorded as the father of Säräqä Barhan, ↗*ʿaqaṣen* of Säraye during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II (fol. 151r).

As to the name of the later ruler, besides the form B.S. meaning 'the one who made the Bəlen kneel', the documents report also the form Bəlen Asgädä, or 'the Bəlen venerated him'. According to a good number of documents, he was the son of Bägädä (Bägʿä) Ṣəyon and Mägdäläwit, and bore the title of *ʿaqaṣen*. He was already active in 1455, when he contributed to the construction of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Ṣəge, established by the monk ↗Yonas in the Märagʷəz district. In 1489 his name was also associated with the foundation of the second monastery of the same Yonas, ↗Däbrä Dəḫuḫan, in the Qʷäḥayn district. He is recorded in the colophon of a Psalter dated 1476/77 (Paris, BN, ms. Abbadie 105) as the one who ordered the writing of that ms. (fol. 194v), and in the same codex (fol. 89v) he is also depicted on horse, according to an "aristocratic" iconography (↗Donors). The *Annals* of

ʿ*Aqanṣänä Śärawe* Bəlen Sägädä, son of Bägädä Ṣəyon, ms. illumination of 1476/77, from BN ms. d'Abbadie éth. 105 (CRAbb 19), fol. 89v, courtesy of the author

Maḥṣäntä Maryam fix his death to the "year of mercy" 148 [1495/96 A.D.]. The long leadership of this B.S. seems to mark a phase of good relations between the rulers of Säraye and the monarchs of the ↗Solomonic dynasty, after a troubled century, characterized by the vicissitudes of the *däqiqä Ewoṣtatewos* (↗Ewoṣtateans). In the oral tradition of Säraye and Ḥamasen, he himself, his leadership and also his conflict with Atäššəm, the founding father of the ↗Däqqi Täššəm, are still remembered (his name appears sometimes in the corrupted form Məlen Sägädä, cf. Kolmodin 1915, 32, 36).

Src.: CRAbb 45–48, no. 19 [Abbadie 105]; JOHANNES KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega*, II: *Traduction française*, Upsal 1915 (Archives d'études orientales 5:2), 32, 36; ID., *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega*, III: *Annales et documents*, Upsal 1914 (Archives d'études orientales 5:3), 25f. (text) = 32f. (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Gli Atti di Abbā Yonās", *RRALm* ser. 5, 12, 1903, 177–201, 239–55, here 24f. (text) = 44f. (tr.), 38f. (text) = 48f. (tr.); GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI (ed.), *Il Gadla Absādi* (*Dabra Māryām, Sarāʾē*), Louvain 1996 (CSCO 557, 558 [SAe 103, 104]), 83 (text) = 60 (tr.); ID., "Scritture documentarie etiopiche (Dabra Deḫuḫān e Dabra Ṣegē, Sarāʾē, Eritrea)", *RSE* 42, 1998 [1999], 5–55, here 21–24, 26 (MIE 17 I), 42–48 (22 IV–V).

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia, II. La seconda migrazione Agaw dell'Eritrea", *RSO* 4, 1910, 599–651, here 632f. [n. 3], and 640f. [n. 1]; LusStud 118–22; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Une page d'histoire des Adkama de la province du Seraé en Erythrée", in: YAQOB BEYENE et al. (ed.), *Etiopia e Oltre: studi in onore di Lanfranco Ricci*, Napoli 1994 (StAfEt 1), 245–54.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Bell, John G.

B. (d. 1860), a retired British navel officer and former consul at Aleppo, Syria, travelled to Ethiopia in 1840 as a merchant and adventurer. Living at Däbrä Tabor, he entered the service of *ras* ↗Ali Alula, the ruler of Bägemdər, and, together with his friend Walter ↗Plowden, persuaded the chief to sign the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement of 1849.

B. later transferred his allegiance to *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II and agreed to help train the latter's soldiers (who disliked the discipline involved). The monarch considered B. a friend and accorded him the title of *liqä mäkʷas*, or Royal Impersonator. After the death of his first wife, Tewodros is said to have taken the advice of B. to marry again. He refused, however, to accept the Englishman's suggestion that he should accept a British Consul.

B. was subsequently killed, shielding the Emperor from attack during fighting against rebels in Wäldəbba. Two of B.'s daughters by an Ethiopian wife (Wärqnäš Yəlma, daughter of *däǧǧazmač* Yəlma of Bägemdər) were married to Swiss missionary craftsmen: Susan Sara, also known as Yäwəbdar (Wəbdar), to Theophil ↗Waldmeier, and Mary, also known as Bälläṭäčč, to Karl ↗Saalmüller. B.'s son Aligaz, an artisan, was among the captives of Tewodros.

Src.: JOHN G. BELL, "Extract from a Journal of Travels in Abyssinia", *Miscellanea Aegyptica* 1842, 1.
Lit.: STEFANA ARMBRUSTER, *Life and History of John Bell and His Descendants*, Palma de Mallorca 1966; CLEMENTS ROBERT MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 340, 426, s. index; ASFA YILMA, *Haile Selassie Emperor of Ethiopia: with a Brief Account of the History of Ethiopia, the Origins of the Present Struggle, and a Description of the Country and its People; with an Introduction by A.W.C. Martin*, London 1935, n. 6.

Richard Pankhurst

Bəluy Kidan ↗ Old Testament

Benäro

B. (**ቤናሮ**, Banaro, Binaro) was king of ↗Ənnarya from ca. 1611 to ca. 1620 when he was killed by his own notables and replaced by a successor named ↗Sisgayo. When the Portuguese Jesuit Antonio ↗Fernandes came to Ənnarya in 1613 B. was unwilling to help him because he was afraid that the Portuguese soldiers who would follow the Jesuit priest, might occupy his country. Nevertheless, the threat of invasion by the ↗Mäčča Oromo forced him to cooperate with ↗Səᶜälä Krəstos, *aṣe* Susənyos's brother and governor of Goǧǧam throughout these years, in fighting the Mäčča. B. was killed allegedly because of his despotism and cruelty. There was nothing that *aṣe* Susənyos could do except to recognize Sisgayo.

B. seems to have been aware of the presence of his son ↗Yämanä Krəstos in the court. Yämanä Krəstos remained at the court where he embraced Catholicism and married a daughter of Səᶜälä Krəstos. Sometime later Sisgayo was in his turn overthrown, and the Ənnaryan throne was given to Yämanä Krəstos. According to the Jesuits' reports, Yämanä Krəstos refused to pay the customary tribute to Fasilädäs because of the imprisonment of his father-in-law.

The fate of both B. and Sisgayo provides a good example of internal conflicts which were taking place in Ənnarya. The conflicts probably contributed to the inability of this old Omotic state to withstand the repeated assaults of the Mäčča.

Src.: BTafA 349, 381, 715, 896, 970; EMMANUELIS ALMEIDA, "Historia de Etiopia a Alta ou Abassia", in: CAMILLO BECCARI (ed.), *Rerum aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, 15 vols., Romae 1903–17, vols. 5, 6, 7; BeckHuntAlm 150; PerChron.
Lit.: MHasOr 75ff.; WERNER LANGE, *A History of the Southern Gonga* (*Southwestern Ethiopia*), Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61).

Merid Wolde Aregay

Benč

Benč language

B. (also Bencho, Benesho, Gimira, Ghimirra; self-name Benč or Benčnon, spelled in Amh. as **ቤንች** Benč) is the current name for the language spoken in and around the towns of Mizan Täfäri and Šäwa Benč in the ↗Käfa region by approximately 175,000 people, according to the 1994 census. There are two mutually intelligible dialects: Še, spoken to the south of the Bonga-Mizan Täfäri road, and B., spoken to the north.

The language belongs to the Gimoǧan subgroup of the Northern Omotic language family (↗Omotic), according to Bender's 1976 classification (BendNonSLang 310), and is the major

language of the present-day Benç–Maği Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region.

The distinguishing feature of the language is its tone system, which consists of six distinct phonemic tones: five level or register tones and one glide. Evidence for tonemic contrast can be shown by one contrastive sextuplet and several quadruplets. B. shares the areal phonological features of five vowels, ejectives and palatalized and labialized consonants. Additional phonological features are the retroflexed series of fricatives and affricates, which contrast with a non-retroflexed set, syllabic nasals and word-final nasal release of stops. Neither vowels nor consonants are distinguished for length.

B. sentence structure follows the areal pattern of main clause preceded by subordinate clauses and the clause structure is the Subject-Object-Verb areal pattern. Distinctive features of the syntax include a case-system marked by suffixes on the noun phrase, the extended use of a 3rd pers. reflexive pronoun to mark any 3rd pers. constituent within a sentence that is coreferential with the subject of the sentence, a distinction between the structures of polar and content questions and the presence of four forms of participle: past, present perfect and imperfect, all of which can be marked for change of subject, and a distinct negative form.

A sample of B. lexicon is as follows (the superscript numbers indicate pitch level, one being the lowest):

'one'	*maṭ*^{3}	'child'	*nʸaˀ*^{3}
'five'	*uč*^{2}	'house'	*ket*^{4}
'water'	*soˀ*^{3}	'dog'	*kʸan*^{3}
'man'	*nas*^{4}	'ox'	*mant*^{1}
'woman'	*mayn*^{1}	'moon'	*ˀyarp*^{2}

The unmarked accusative pronoun forms are:

1st sg.	*ta*^{4}	1st pl.	*nu*^{4} (exclusive)/*ni*^{4} (inclusive)
2nd sg.	*ni*^{4}	2nd pl.	*yinˀtay'kˋn / yint*^{2}
3rd sg. masc.	*yi*^{5}	3rd pl.	*itsˀay'kˋn / its*^{5}
3rd sg. fem.	*wu*^{5}		

Free-standing subject forms, except for 2nd and 3rd pl., change to tone 1 and add *–s* for 3rd person and *–n* for 1st and 2nd pers.; all add the nominative marker *–i*^{3} or *–a*^{3}.
Determiners are:

'this'	*haš*$^{2–3}$ (masc.) *han*$^{2–3}$ (fem.)	'these'	*hand*$^{2–3}$
'that'	*uš*$^{2–3}$ (masc.) *en*$^{2–3}$ (fem.)	'those'	*end*$^{2–3}$

Some of the interrogatives are: 'who' *on*^{4}; 'what' *har*$^{2–3}$; 'when?' *wos*$^{2–3}$*ken*^{2}.

An orthography in Ethiopic script has been developed and a few pieces of literature have been published, including a reading-primer, the New Testament and a Church songbook. Work is in progress on a B.-Amharic dictionary.

Lit.: MARY J. BREEZE, "A Sketch of the Phonology and Grammar of Gimira (Benchnon)", in: RICHARD J. HAYWARD (ed.), *Omotic Language Studies*, London 1990, 1–67; KLAUS WEDEKIND, "A Six-Tone Language in Ethiopia: Tonal Analysis of Benchnon (Gimira)", *JES* 16, 1983, 129–56; BendNonSLang 310.

Mary Breeze

Benç ethnography

The B., together with the Še and Mer (the latter two distinguishable only by dialect), formerly known as Gimira, are a group of about 175,000 people in the Käfa region of south-western Ethiopia (1994 figure, s. Central Statistical Authority 1998), speaking an Omotic tone language. They are sedentary mixed cultivators in the temperate highlands of the south-west and grow coffee (the main cash crop), *čat*, sorghum, barley, maize, bananas, *ənsät* and other root crops. They also raise livestock.

The B. have an ancient history of settlement in the area. They were politically organized in a dispersed, segmentary society. Although they were incorporated into the Ethiopian empire without a violent campaign of conquest, they suffered the negative consequences of political and economic subjection, especially slave-trading and the *gäbbar* system (Montandon 1913; Lange 1975). In 1913 the Ethiopian ruler *ləğ ↗ Iyasu*, the heir to *aṣe* Mənilək II, fought with the B. and carried away thousands of serfs/slaves during his predatory expedition in the B. area.

The traditional socio-political organization of the B. is based on patrilineal descent groups or clans (about 30) organized into two ranked groups, and on religious-political chiefs (*tyat* or *koms*) who were usually recognized spirit mediums (*kahnan*; cf. Gezahegn Petros 1994). There was one paramount leader called the B. *tyat*. Within B. society there were also low-esteemed caste-like groups such as the *taskes* ('tanners') and *hand* ('hunters'), who could not intermarry with other B. and had different dietary habits. The local chiefs-spirit mediums probably grew in importance after the incorporation of B. into the Ethiopian empire. They established a complex hierarchical system of rule, based on tributes of food, cattle, cash and corvée labour. They also controlled bridewealth

exchanges between members of (exogamous) clans. In the Ethiopian imperial system, many of these chiefs were later made ↗*balabbats*. In the *Därg* period (1974–91), however, they were disinherited, persecuted and sometimes executed. Some B. leaders were major regional opponents of the *Därg* regime in the 1970s and 1980s and only "came out of the bush" after 1991.

The B. people have close social and cultural links with the neighbouring ↗Meʾen, leading in many instances to a fusion of culture and to the incorporation of B. into Meʾen society. Population density in the B. area is increasing rapidly, land for cultivation is becoming scarce and most of its forests have been cleared for settlement and agriculture. After 1991, under the federal government, the B. revived much of their social organization and religious culture (especially the spirit mediums).

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia. Results at Country Level*, vol. 1: *Statistical Report*, Addis Ababa 1998.

Lit.: GEZAHEGN PETROS, "The Kah of Shashintet: Spirit Possession Cult in Eastern Bench", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, 115–24; GIRMAYE KEBBEDE, *A History of the Bench to 1941*, Addis Ababa 1984; ID., *An Exploratory Study of Production Practices among the Bench*, Addis Ababa 1993; WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *Gimira: Remnants of a Vanishing Culture*, Bamberg 1975; GEORGES MONTANDON, *Au Pays Ghimirra*, Neuchâtel 1913.

Jon G. Abbink

Bender, Christian Friedrich

B. (b. 16 October 1827, Staufenberg [today Gernsbach], Baden, d. 8 May 1875, Alexandria) was a Protestant missionary. By the age of 24 B., who had learned the profession of stonemason, entered the seminary of the ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission near Basel. Three years later, in October 1854, he was sent to Jerusalem in order to prepare for a mission to Ethiopia. B. and his fellow missionaries ↗Flad, ↗Kienzlen and Johannes ↗Maier reached Ethiopia in May 1856, where they took up missionary work under the close scrutiny of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. Initially, Tewodros and the missionaries were not on very good terms. In late summer 1857 Tewodros denied B. permission to leave the country. In the following year, however, the situation improved; B. became one of several (missionary-) artisans of Tewodros, for whom he blasted roads and worked in the cannon-foundry in ↗Gafat. In 1861 he married Yäšimmabet Dästa, a daughter of the German botanist Wilhelm ↗Schimper, who resided in Təgray. B.'s wife, whose mother was an Ethiopian, bore him four children.

With a number of other Europeans B. and his family were used as hostages by Tewodros in his controversy with the British government. At the end of 1867 they were taken to Mäqdäla and held captive until April 1868, when they were freed by the British military expedition under the command of Napier and went to Jerusalem. But shortly after their liberation B. returned to Təgray in the service of the ↗British and Foreign Bible Society. He stayed with his wife's family in ᶜAdwa even after the Society had ceased to support his missionary efforts in 1870. B. died in Alexandria on a journey to Europe.

Src.: W. GEIGER, *Vom Abessinischen Missionar Christian Friedrich Bender*, ms.

Lit.: GUSTAV ARÉN, *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia. Origins of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus*, Uppsala 1978; DONALD CRUMMEY, *Priests and Politicians. Protestant and Catholic Missions in Orthodox Ethiopia 1830–1868*, Oxford 1972; GERD GRÄBER, "Die befreiten Geiseln Kaiser Tewodros' II. Aus dem Photoalbum der Royal Engineers", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 159–82, here 169f. (ill.); BARBARA STREBEL, "*… Den blinden Abessyniern die Augen aufzuthun*", *Chrischona-Pilgermissionare in Äthiopien (1856–1868)*, Lizenziatsarbeit, Universität Zürich 1999.

Barbara Strebel

Beni ᶜAmər

The B.ᶜA. (Təgre; Arabic: Banī ᶜĀmir) is an ethnic group, mostly of ↗Beğa origin, inhabiting the northern part of the lowlands of Eritrea on the border to the Sudan (↗Gaš valley;

A Beni ᶜAmər bride (under the tent) on the way to her marriage, followed by her mother (on the second camel), from Hartlmaier 1955:20

↗Barka) and along the coast down to Massawa and Ḥərgigo. The B.ᶜA. are to the greatest part Təgre-speakers. Apart from still-pastoralist groups (Labat), the majority of the B.ᶜA. are now settled in villages or towns (Kassala, ᶜAqordät, Kärän, Tokar, Port-Sudan). Anthropological or sociological data on the B.ᶜA. are antiquated, Trimingham's (1954) synthesis based on classical sources (Conti Rossini, Munzinger, Paul, Pollera, Nadel, Sapeto etc.) is still the best available. It must be emphasized that the severe human and social consequences of the Eritrean conflict have not been studied.

The formation of the B.ᶜA. as an independent group stood in connection with the decline of the ↗Funǧ kingdom over the B.ᶜA. in the 15th cent., which first established its domination. The political emancipation was achieved at the expense of the ↗Balaw, who were recorded by James Bruce as shepherds of the ↗Ḥabab.

Traditionally, every B.ᶜA. section (*badana*) and clan was divided between *nabtāb*, the ruling class (the only ones considered "sons of ᶜĀmir b. Kunnu" proper), and *təgre*, or serfs. The *diglāl* of the ᶜAd Ḥamad Bakīt lineage or Dagga (lit. 'camp', Beǧa *daka*) of ᶜAqordät was recognized as the paramount chief.

Lord Kitchener chose the son of the last *diglāl* as the *nāẓir* of the B.ᶜA. and, at the same time, changed the territorial organization. The social division rapidly disintegrated due to the differences in administration after the partition of the ancestral territory between the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Italian Eritrea. The refusal of certain groups within the B.ᶜA. (most of them paying allegiance to the Mīrġanīya family in Kassala) to join the ↗Mahdists also caused the devastation of the ᶜAnsäba and Barka areas (1885–93), which were part of the seasonal grazing lands.

The creation of a cotton-cultivation scheme in Tokar in the 1920s gave an opportunity to many B.ᶜA. serfs to enter the monetary economy. Estimate indicate that there were 12,000 seasonal cotton-pickers from a total of 90,000 B.ᶜA. in 1947. The division also had linguistic consequences. A difference arose between Kasā or al-Ḥaṣṣīya, the traditional Arabic name for the Təgre language, and its synonym Hāsāwī (Munzinger 1864:77; Heuglin 1864:96), which is now used to designate a Təgre-speaker of Tokar, as opposed to a B.ᶜA. of Eritrea.

The use of Təgre is now part of the B.ᶜA. identity, with the loss of the Beǧa language (Ḥədaräb in the B.ᶜA. variant of the Təgre language) in the young generations in Eritrea. With the Kärän variety (also called Mänsaᶜ) as the norm, the three varieties spoken by the B.ᶜA. in the Gaš-Barka (ᶜAqordät), Saḥəl (Tokar) and Sämhar are considered rural and inferior dialects of Təgre.

Lit.: THEODOR VON HEUGLIN, *Reise nach Abessinien, den Gala-Ländern, Ost-Sudan und Chartúm in den*

Jahren 1861 und 1862, Jena 1864; DIDIER MORIN, "Y a-t-il un lexique beni-amer?", *Israel Oriental Studies* 16, 1986, 251–61; FREDERICK C. GAMST, "Beja", in: RICHARD V. WEEKES (ed.), *Muslim Peoples. A World Ethnographic Survey*, London ²1984, vol. 1, 131–37; DEBORAH L. MACK, "Beni Amer", *ibid.* 143–46; PAUL HARTLMAIER, *Quer durch Äthiopien*, Zürich 1956, 20 (ill.); WERNER MUNZINGER, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Schaffhausen 1864; ANDREW PAUL, *A History of the Beja Tribes of the Sudan*, London ²1971; CHARLES GABRIEL SELIGMAN – BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN, "Note on the History and Present Condition of the Beni-Amer (Southern Beja)", *Sudan Notes and Records* 13, 1, 1930, 83–97; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, "Notes on Beni-Amir Society", *ibid.* 26, 1, 1945, 51–94; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London – New York – Toronto 1952; ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI, "Tigre and Bagulin in the 9th and 10th Century Period", *QSE* 5, 1984, 83–94.

Didier Morin

Beni Šangul

B.Š. (**ቤኒ፡ ሻንጉል**) is an important gold-bearing district in western Ethiopia; it was part of the ↗Funǧ kingdom of Fazuġli, a semi-independent state within the Sinnār confederation whose origins go back to the early 16th cent. The region was traditionally a buffer zone between the riverain state of southern Sinnār and the ↗Damot province of Ethiopia, to which it supplied slaves and gold from the 16th cent. onwards. The area was raided by the army of ↗Susənyos in 1617–18 and fell into the hands of the Funǧ in 1685.

B.Š. is an ethnonym, which derives not from the Ethiopian derogatory term ↗*šanqəlla*, but from the ↗Berta *bəle* for 'rock', and *šangur*, a circular-shaped sacred burial stone believed by the Berta to embody the spirit of their ancestry. Hence the proper name should be *Bəla Šangul*. It was termed *aṣ-Ṣaʿīd*, the upper region, by the Arab-Sudanese migrants and traders who started flocking there in the first quarter of the 19th cent.

The growth of B.Š. derived from its value as a strategic meeting place for the trading network of southern Sudan linking with the north-western regions of Ethiopia. The area acted traditionally as a free transit and money exchange zone: Berta gold and Ethiopian rock-salt (*amole*) were exchanged with local products (slaves, cattle, horses, iron, civet, musk, coffee, ivory and honey) in addition to imported luxury goods such as Sudanese cloth and Venetian beads. It was in effect a no-man's land until 1898 when an expedition led by *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel annexed it to *aṣe* Mənilək II's domains. Since then, the area has been strictly dependent on the Ethiopian government which it provided with gold and slaves in great quantities until the mid-1930s. Slaves and gold were equally smuggled to Sudan by the local *Waṭāwīṭ* families whose formal allegiance to Ethiopia did not stop them from straddling over the border (which was demarcated in 1902) whenever it was convenient to them.

The district (first under the name Asosa-Beni Šangul *awraǧǧa*, then Asosa *awraǧǧa*) remained basically unchanged until the mid-1980s when the *Därg* (↗Revolution) resettled in the region some 250,000 hunger-stricken peasants from central Ethiopia, mostly Amhara from Wällo, with the result of changing the basic ethnic, linguistic and religious structure of the border district. In 1992 the B.Š. district was enlarged to include the ↗Gumuz of Mätäkkäl (Goǧǧam) and was transformed into an autonomous Beni Šangul State (Region 6) bordering Təgray in the north and Region 4 (Oromiyaa) in the south.

The 1994 Census gives a total population of some 460,000 inhabitants, among whom the original Berta population (107,000) is now confronted with sizable groups of Gumuz, highland Amhara and Oromo.

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia. Results for Benishangul-Gumuz Region*, vol. 1, Addis Ababa 1996.
Lit.: ATIEB A. DAFALLAH, *Scheik Khojele al-Hassan and Bela Shangul (1825–1938)*, 4th-Year Essay, Department of Education, Ḫaylä Śəllase I University, Addis Ababa 1973; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy: Prelude to the History of a No Man's Land, Bela Shangul, Wallagga, Ethiopia (ca. 1800–1898)*, Napoli 1981.

Alessandro Triulzi

Benjamin of Alexandria

Saint B. (ብንያምን, Bənyamən) commemorated in the *Sənkəssar* on 6 *Ṭərr*, was the anti-Chalcedonian 38th archbishop of Alexandria (ca. 626-65). He was the leading figure in the ↗Coptic Church during her struggle against the Monothelete union, and then during her revival under the Arabic rule. Despite the lack of explicit evidence in his available works, it must be concluded that he followed the doctrine of ↗Damian of Alexandria as the official triadological teaching. He authored numerous works in Greek that have mostly been lost; however, some are partially preserved in Arabic and, even more, in Ethiopic. In the Ethiopian literature, B. is the most widely represented author among the post-Chalcedonian archbishops of Alexandria. A popular work of the Coptic *erotapokriseis* literature which is preserved in Ethiopic, the so-called *Questions of Theodore*, is also attributed to B. (van Lantschoot 1957). B.'s high status within the Ethiopian tradition reflects his position in the Coptic tradition of the first millennium, before the intensive Syrian influence on the Coptic Church.

Src.: CASPAR DETLEF GUSTAV MÜLLER, *Die Homilie über die Hochzeit zu Kana und weitere Schriften des Patriarchen Benjamin I. von Alexandrien*, Heidelberg 1968 (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 1968, 1); [BENJAMIN OF ALEXANDRIA], "De Thoma Apostolo lectio", in: VICTOR ARRAS (ed., tr.), *De Transitu Mariae Apocrypha Aethiopica. II*, Lovanii 1974 (CSCO 351, 352 [SAe 68, 69]), 62–72 (text) = 47–55 (tr.); RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN, *Livre de la consecration du Sanctuaire de Benjamin*, Le Caire 1975 (Bibliothèque d'études coptes 13); [two *apophthegmata* (no. II, IX) on Benjamin known in Ethiopian only:] VICTOR ARRAS (ed., tr.), *Quadraginta historiae monachorum*, Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 505, 506 [SAe 85, 86]), 24–35 (text) = 16–23 (tr.), 87–97 (text) = 57–63 (tr.); CORNELIA RÖMER, "Osterbrief des Patriarchen Benjamin I (?)", in: *Kölner Papyri* (*P. Köln*), vol. 5, Opladen 1985 (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Sonderreihe Papyrologia Coloniensia 7), 77–106; ARNOLD VAN LANTSCHOOT (ed.), *Les "Questions de Théodore". Text sahidique, recensions arabes et éthiopienne,* Città del Vaticano 1957 (Studi e testi 192).

Lit.: GIRGIS DAOUD GIRGIS, "Abba Benjamin. The Coptic Patriarch in the 7th Century", in: PIOTR O. SCHOLZ – REINHARD STEMPEL (eds.), *Nubia et Oriens Christianus. Festschrift für C. Detlef G. Müller zum 60. Geburtstag*, Köln 1987 (Bibliotheca nubica 1), 17–27; CASPAR DETLEF GUSTAV MÜLLER, "Benjamin I., 38. Patriarch von Alexandrien", *Le Muséon* 69, 1956, 313–40; ID., "Neues über Benjamin I., 38., und Agathon, 39. Patriarchen von Alexandrien", *ibid.* 72, 1959, 323–47; HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, "Die Vita Benjamins I", *ibid.* 93, 1980, 299–309.

Basil Lourié

Benjamin of Tudela

B. (Ben Jonah) of Tudela (Spain) was the greatest of all medieval Jewish travellers. His journeys began between 1159 and 1167 and concluded with his return to Spain in 1172/73. His book in Hebrew is an invaluable account of the Mediterranean basin and the Middle East. A small portion of his account may refer to Ethiopia. He refers, for example, to the *sulṭān al-Ḥabaš* ('Sultan of Ḥabaš'). Some scholars believe that his description of "Jews who are not under the yoke of the Gentiles" (Adler 1907:67, 96) is the earliest mention of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel. However, the entire passage is very problematic. The confused reporting of several names which appear in variant readings in different manuscripts adds to the difficulty. Even if B. refers to Ethiopia, his report may be based on hearsay rather than his own experience. We must also consider his propensity to tailor his narrative to suit the Bible.

Src.: MARCUS NATHAN ADLER (ed., tr.), *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London 1907.

Lit.: SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "L'Éthiopie dans l'Itinéraire de Benjamin de Tudèle", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 6, 207–21; ROBERT LEE HESS, "The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: a Twelfth Century Jewish Description of North-East Africa", *JAH* 6, 1965, 15–24; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Piccoli studi etiopici: 1. L'Itinerario di Beniamino da Tudela e l'Etiopia", *ZA* 27, 1912, 358–65.

Steven Kaplan

Bent, James Theodore

B. (b. 1852, d. 1897) was a British traveller and archaeologist who visited Ethiopia in 1893. A graduate of Wadham College at Oxford University and a lawyer called to the bar at London's Lincoln's Inn, he travelled widely, studying local traditions, customs and archaeology in Greece, Turkey, Ethiopia and Arabia. He later described his Ethiopian travels, and archaeological researches in *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*. This his main work contains valuable descriptions of the stelae and other antiquities of ↗Aksum, the ancient ruins at ↗Adulis, the Aksumite dam at ↗Qoḥayto, the monastery of ↗Däbrä Bizän, the churches of ↗ʿAdwa and remarkable tombs in Bogos (Bilin), as well as life in Asmära only three years after its occupation by the Italians. The last chapter, by David Heinrich ↗Müller, reproduced inscriptions at ↗Yəḥa and Aksum, copied by B., with English translations; while an appendix analysed the anthropological data the latter had collected.

Src.: JAMES THEODORE BENT, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians; being a Record of Travel and Research in Abyssinia in 1893. With a Chapter by Prof. D.H. Müller on the Inscriptions from Yeha and Aksum, and an Appendix on the Morphological Character of the Abyssinians, by J. G. Garson*, London – New York 1896; for other publications s. Lockot II, 738, index.
Lit.: ErDizBio 42f.

Richard Pankhurst

Bərbər Maryam

B.M. (**ብርብር፡ ማርያም**) is the name of a church in the territory of the Ezo group of Gamo. It is situated on a foothill of the highland of Gamo (Gamo Gofa), 2,750 m west from Lake Abbayya in the east of Ezo town and the north-east of ↗Č̣enča.

A short history of B.M. is included into a large Amharic historiographical compilation (ms. IES, B–36, "The Book of History"), in the chapter **ታሪክ፡ ዘሀገረ፡ ገሞ** (*Tarik zähagärä Gamo*, 'The History of the Land of Gämo'). The document ascribes the foundation of the church to *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl and mentions names of its functionaries. The B.M. chronicle reports that Ləbnä Dəngəl granted to the church the tithe of "Zala, Šočära, Qučä, Wällamo, Kullo, Ǧəmmä and Qogo". The church seems to have been for a time one of the most important Christian centres in the area.

According to local traditions, B.M. was destroyed by Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's (Grañ's) commander ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid (ca. 1532). The Church books, vessels and other valuable items are said to have been hidden from his troops in caves.

There are no identifiable ruins of the ancient church, but Azaïs and Chambard (1931:267) reported that a mound was shown to them in 1926, which was, according to their informants, the grave of a "*pappas* Matewos", a contemporary of Grañ. The B.M. chronicle states that "*abunä* Marqos" and "*əč̣č̣äge* Täklä Haymanot" are buried at B.M.

In the oral tradition of some ethnic groups B.M. is a place of reference, even concerning non-Christian times. For example, the "nobility" of the ↗Basketo, Dokko and Balta claim to stem from a mythic political and religious leader, the *ənda kati*, who lived at B.M. The place also has significance for more distant groups, e.g., in a legend recorded in Gurage the Maryam *tabot* of the ƎndägäÑ is said to have been brought from the north via B.M.

Rebuilding of Bərbər Maryam, Č̣enča Bərbər 1934/5, © Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (13-KB044-14)

When Gamo was conquered by the army of *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis in 1894, sacral paraphernalia and church books were found at B.M. This trove included a Gospel ascribed to the 16th cent. (Caquot 1955:109f.) and a collection of homilies with some excellent miniatures (e.g., s. Haberland 1976:21). Mənilək II ordered to copy the Gospel and to erect newly a church on the side of the previous one.

The church was again rebuilt in 1934/5 and became a regional place of pilgrimage.

Src.: IES, ms. B-36, *The Book of History*; interview with *azmač* Kasa Mugoro in Sasgita, ƎndägäÑ, January 2001.
Lit.: VSAe I, 197; VSAe II, 685, map 684; VSAe III, 168f.; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Note sur Berber Māryām", *AE* I, 109–16; FRANÇOIS AZAÏS – ROGER CHAMBARD, *Cinq Années de recherches archéologiques en Ethiopie. Province du Harar et Ethiopie méridionale*, Paris 1931, 266–69, here 267; EIKE HABERLAND, *Altes Christentum in Süd-Äthiopien: Eine Vergessene Missionsepoche*, Frankfurt am Main 1976 (Frankfurter Historische Vorträge, Heft 2), 21; ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN, *Im Lande des Gada*, Stuttgart 1936, 248; *Guida* 551; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Major Themes in Ethiopian Painting*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 10), 117, n. 34.

Dirk Bustorf

Berbera

The port of B. is situated at the Gulf of Aden. Controlling simultaneously the entrance to the Red Sea and the shores of the Indian Ocean, it holds an important strategic position. Not favoured by natural conditions (high temperatures, small and irregular rainfall), B., however, profits from its privileged location at the crossroad of inland and maritime routes.

The coastal land called **βαρβαρία** or similar is mentioned in ancient Greek sources (with the port perhaps referred as **Μαλάω ἐρποριον**, cf.

2nd-cent. *Periplus Maris Erythraei*). Probably it had a Persian garrison, sent from Ṣanᶜāʾ, in the late 6th cent. (Paulitschke 1888:97). In Arabic sources it is Berberā (Barbarā), inhabited by the Berbera, or Berābir, the Somali. The name of the settlement, B., first appears in a 13th cent. work by Ibn Saᶜīd, who described it as inhabited by Muslims. B. was part of the sultanate of ↗ᶜAdal, then in the 17th cent. together with Zaylaᶜ went under the control of the *šarīfs* of Muḫā. Several of the most important Somali clans trace their origins to B. or its surrounding regions.

B. marked the end of an ancient caravan route from central Ethiopia via ↗Harär, the famous Muslim and dynamic commercial centre. B. in modern times was no more than a temporary settlement, annually rising back to life when this deserted Somali site became the great market of the Horn of Africa. Here Somali nomads – the caravan merchants dominating transregional exchanges – met with Arab marine merchants from the Red Sea and Indian Ocean.

It was only during the short Egyptian occupation (1874–84) that B. was transformed into a permanent settlement. Then the British transformed this young urban centre into the principal modern port and capital of the ↗British Somaliland Protectorate. B. specialized in the export of cattle (camels, oxen, goats) and cereals for Aden. This commercial focus stayed the same until today, though bovine fever epidemic, which sometimes appears in East Africa, has halted the importation of meat to Saudi Arabia and Yemen.

During the British protectorate period and after independence in 1960 B. assumed port, commercial and (of secondary importance) industrial activities: fuel depôts, production of food and beverages and of cement. Thanks partly to its airport, B. was able to diversify its range of economic activities.

During the Cold War, this port became a focal point of competition between the super powers. Between 1974 and 1977, when President Moḥammad Siyad Barre led Somalia into revolutionary socialism, the Soviets changed B. into an airbase with 2,000 men. Then, in the prelude to the Ogaden war, during spectacular shifts of alliances, the American marine forces landed at B. After 1978, the Americans had replaced the Soviets. Both the economic infrastructures and the people themselves, estimated at about 37,000 inhabitants in 1984, have suffered greately during

Somali in Berbera, from Paulitschke 1888:97

the last years of Siyad Barre's regime and the following disintegration of Somalia.

Lit.: LIONEL CASSON (ed., tr.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton, NJ 1989; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Anthropologie der Somâl, Galla und Harari*, Leipzig 1888, 4ff., 97, plate 15 (ill.); IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *A Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*, Boulder, CO 1988; ID., "Berbera", in: *EI²*, vol. 1, 1172f.; ENRICO CERULLI – GREVILLE STUART PARKER FREEMAN-GRENVILLE, "Somali, History, to 1880", in: *EI²*, vol. 9, 715f.; JACQUES MASSEY – LOUIS PEREZ, "Berbera: base à louer", in: *La Corne de l'Afrique: les rouyaumes disparus*, Paris 1987 (Autrement 21), 162–67; *A Multi-purpose Statistical Survey of the Berbera Town, November–December 1962*, Mogadiscio 1964.

Colette Dubois

Bərhan: Mäṣḥafä bərhan

M.b. (**መጽሐፈ ብርሃን**, 'The Book of Light') is a voluminous work by *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, composed to reform the Ethiopian Church in the 15th cent. The author called his collection of treatises M.b., 'Book of Light, whose meaning is Book of Christ, because Christ is called light, because he guides the Christians to the Orthodox faith' (Conti Rossini — Ricci 1964:15f.).

In this collection of treatises, or homiliary, the Emperor, probably in co-operation with the group of clergymen serving at the royal camp, treats 121 subjects that concern both church and state. The book is divided into 15 parts (*dərsanat*), with the last one for Passion Week subdivided into six for the six passion days: Monday to Saturday. The treatises are lessons as well as lesson-plans for biblical and apocryphal readings, carefully selected to fit the subject of the reform. The ↗*Didəsqəlya*, the ↗*Senodos*, the ↗*Kidan zäᵓəgziᵓənä Iyäsus Krəstos*, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha are given equal canonical status with the Scriptures. The clergy were ordered to read the scriptures, the prophetic books by night and the Psalms of David by day.

Through this reform, the Emperor was obviously attempting to bring uniformity of service to all the churches of his dominion. He must have feared a schism in the Church, with a proliferation of churches having their own liturgy. The Emperor's plan was to model the religious practices strictly according to the precepts enshrined in the *Senodos*. He complains: "Many priests have abandoned this order of the Apostles and have established on their own (service books composed of) different homilies and have called (them) the horologium" (Conti Rossini — Ricci 1965:31).

Every able-bodied Christian was required by law, promulgated by the Emperor, to attend the lessons, which were to be conducted at noon, at a designated place. Repeated absence without an acceptable excuse would lead to the confiscation of one's property. "If you refuse to carry out the orders in this book and if they tell me that you do refuse, you will be severely punished, as Moses, the priest, prophet and king, punished those who worshipped the image of the calf" (Conti Rossini — Ricci 1965:34). The Emperor "also ordered the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit to be inscribed on the forehead of the Christians as a sign of their Christianity". Modelling his rule after that of Emperor Constantine the Great, as preserved in local tradition, he ordered his Christian subjects that the sign of the cross be painted on the clothes they wear, the sticks they carry, and on their weapons and ploughs (Conti Rossini — Ricci 1965:29f.). Interestingly, the Emperor considered the Ethiopians' practice of wearing a thread around the neck as a sign of Christianity, not to have been ordered by the holy books.

Nowhere else is the relationship between, or rather the unity of, Church and state made as abundantly clear as in the M.B. and the other works of the author, e.g., *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*milad*, *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*śəllase* and ↗*Ṭomarä təsbᵓət* (PerrZarY 76ff.). In these works Ethiopia is depicted as a theocracy ruled by a king elected by God from the royal (Solomonic) family of

the Orthodox Christian faith: "And you, Christians, do as We have ordered you, for God has appointed Us, me, Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, whose regnal name is Qʷästänṭinos, shepherd over you because you are the flock of the sheep of Christ" (Conti Rossini — Ricci 1965:33f.).

The M.b. is a unique source on political and social life in Ethiopia in the 15th cent. Each treatise brings a wealth of new historical facts and social phenomena worth knowing. What the Emperor adduces as supportive evidence for his order to observe Saturday as the Lord's day is just one of them. His ferocious attack against the Jews, or followers of Judaism, ↗Ayhud and Ayhudawi, remains a riddle. No persuasive explanation has been given about the identity of this people and their power, which as this book and other sources of the time witness, shook the kingdom so severely.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI — LANFRANCO RICCI (eds., tr.), *Il Libro della Luce del negus Zarʾa Yāʿqob* (*Maṣḥafa Berhān*), part I, Louvain 1964 (CSCO 250, 251 [SAe 47, 48]), 15f. (text), part II, Louvain 1965 (CSCO 261, 262 [SAe 51, 52]), 29f., 31, 33f. (text); PerrZarY 76ff.
Lit.: AUGUST DILLMANN, *Über die Regierung und insbesondere die Kirchenordnung des Königs Zarʾa Jacob*, Berlin 1884; EPHRAIM ISAAC, *A New Text-Critical Introduction to Mashafa Berhan*: *with a Translation of Book 1*, Leiden 1973; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Stellung und Bedeutung des Sabbats in Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1963; TadTChurch 206–47.

Getatchew Haile

Bərhan Mogäsa

B.M. (**ብርሃን፡ ሞገሳ**) was born in ↗Qʷara, probably in the early years of the 18th cent., to *wäyzäro* Ǝnkoyye and *däğğazmač* Mänbär. Christened Wälättä Giyorgis ('daughter of St. George'), she is universally known as Məntəwwab (**ምንትዋብ**, 'Oh, what beauty!'). Descended through her mother from Fiqṭor, eldest son of *aṣe* ↗Minas, she served as regent at the royal court throughout the mid-18th cent.

The Scottish traveller James ↗Bruce reports that the young B.M. was "exceedingly beautiful, gentle, mild, and affable, of great understanding and prudence beyond her age" (BruNile II, 599). According to popular legend, these qualities endeared her to *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa, who brought her to his court in Gondär in the early 1720s. In 1723 she bore a son, the future *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II. She used her charm and influence at court to secure appointments for her relatives, positioning them to contend for control of the kingdom.

Upon Bäkaffa's death in September 1730, the Qʷarans enthroned Iyasu. The following November they crowned B.M. ↗*ətege* to rule for the seven-year-old boy-king, instituting a regency that endured throughout the reigns of Iyasu II and of his son and successor, *aṣe* ↗Iyoʾas. For four decades, Məntəwwab, her brother ↗Wäldä Ləʿul, and their close relatives governed the kingdom, never permitting either Iyasu or Iyoʾas to rule in his own right. In a real sense, the Qʷarans set the stage for the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* that immediately followed the regency. Məntəwwab was also an active partisan in the clerical struggle over doctrine that raged in the 17th and 18th cent. A ↗*Qəbat* adherent, Məntəwwab certainly helped persuade Bäkaffa to abandon his ↗*Täwaḥədo* convictions and allies in favour of *Qəbat*, thereby contributing to the political and religious turmoil that enveloped his reign. Once the regency was established, *Qəbat* became the official dogma at court and in the church.

The regency lasted until May 1769, when ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul of Təgray murdered Iyoʾas and installed his own candidate on the throne. Məntəwwab eventually withdrew from Gondär, but she returned following Mikaʾel's defeat in mid-1771, receiving a joyous welcome and retiring to her residence at Qʷəsqʷam. In December 1771, as Bruce prepared to leave Ethiopia, he bade her farewell; this was the last time she appears in the historical record. She died an aged matriarch in the early to mid-1770s and was buried at ↗Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam.

Aside from politics, B.M. patronized the arts, particularly architecture and painting. Under her auspices, the castle of Iyasu II, the churches of Däbrä Ṣäḥay and ↗Narga Śəllase, and her residence and audience hall at Qʷəsqʷam were constructed, all in Gondär-style architecture. The surviving structures possess charm and refinement in their decoration, for which Məntəwwab is surely responsible. Her influence on icon-painting and manuscript illumination, while doubtless substantial, is more difficult to assess, but the wall-paintings in Narga Śəllase most probably reflect her tastes.

Src.: BassÉt; BégCron; BruNile II, 599–611, 658–61, 665–70; GuiIohan; GuiIyas; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed.), "Il **ዜና፡ ናርጋ** («Il Racconto di Nârgâ»)", *RRALm* ser. 5, 14, 1905, 233–67; interview with Täsfu Gäbrä Ḥəywät, Gondär, 14 July 1972.
Lit.: STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "Mentewwab", in: *EncAfr*, vol. 1: *Ethiopia-Ghana*, New York 1977, 110f.;

ALESSANDRO AUGUSTO MONTI DELLA CORTE, *I castelli di Gondar*, Roma 1938; ALBERTO POLLERA, *Storie, leggende e favole del pæse dei Negus*, Firenze 1936.

LaVerle B. Berry

Bərhan Sägäd ↗ Iyasu II

Bərhan yəḳun

B.y. (**ብርሃን፡ ይኹን**, Tgn. 'Let there be Light!', cp. Gen 1:3) was an early Təgrəñña publication of 1912. Its title was borrowed from an annual ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission periodical *Varde Ljus*! (Swedish for 'Let there be Light!'), which was distributed for almost 70 years, beginning in 1893. Its subtitle was given as **ስብከት፡ ዛንታ፡ ምዕዶ፡ ንሕዝቢ፡ ኢትዮጵያ** – *Prediche, racconti e spegazioni edificanti per il popolo etiopico.*

Unlike its Swedish-language namesake, B.y. appeared only once. It was edited in 1912 by Olof (Ole) Eriksson at the Swedish Mission Printing Press in Asmära, included 360 pages of text and photos/sketches and contained almost 100 entries of various lengths. The main language used was Təgrəñña, with few Amharic articles. The vast majority of entries are translations, primarily from Swedish, but also from English and Italian, into Təgrəñña. Most entries are sermons by leaders of the Mission in Sweden and by leading missionaries in Eritrea, both living and dead.

Among the topics presented are: "On the Benefits of Holy Communion", "Unity and Harmony among the Faithful", "Humility, the Care of the Elderly", "On Conquering Sin" and "On Christ's Second Coming". There are also varia, dealing with the Bible and different aspects of spiritual life, as well as accounts of missionary outreach, primarily Lutheran but also Anglican in Kunama and Ḥamasen, Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda, Madagascar, India and parts of Asia, including surveys of non-Christian religious practices. Of particular historical interest is the entry "How the Light of the Gospel Entered and was Revealed in Hamasien", a joint-narrative by the two pioneer "fathers" of Evangelical Christianity in Eritrea, Pastors Sälomon Aṣqu, and Zär'a Ṣəyon Muse, covering the vicissitudes, persecutions, flight to ↗Əmkullu and other trials of the earliest adherents of evangelical Christianity in the Eritrean highlands, induding interesting glimpses into debates with monks of ↗Däbrä Bizän. Also of great interest is an Amharic article by *näggadras* ↗Gäbrä Ḥəywät Baykädañ, once Mənilək's interpreter, **አጤ፡ ምኒልክና፡ ኢትዮጵያ** (*Aṭe Mənilək*ənna *Ityopya*, '*Aṣe* Mənilək and Ethiopia', pages 336–55). It is an incisive and constructive critique with proposals, in ten points, for the reform of finances, taxes, education, traditional law and military training.

B.y. contributed very much to the development of the Təgrəñña language.

Lit.: OLOF ERIKSSON (ed.), *Bərhan Yəkun*! (*Sia la Luce*!), Asmara 1912; GUSTAV ARÉN, *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia. Origins of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus*, Stockholm 1978 (Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia 32), 13–19; ID., *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia: in the Steps of Evangelical Pioneers 1898–1936*, Stockholm 1999 (Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia 75), 188; BAHRU ZEWDE, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855–1974*, Addis Ababa 1991, 106f.

Ezra Gebremedhin

Bərhan Zämäda ↗ Zär'a Yaᶜəqob

Bərhanä Mäsqäl Rädda

B. (**ብርሃነ፡ መስቀል፡ ረዳ**, b. 1943, d. 1979) was a student activist of the 1960s and founding member and first Secretary General of what later became the ↗Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP). He was born in ᶜAdwa, but had his schooling in Däse. He then joined the University College of Addis Ababa. In 1963–64, he served as Press and Information Officer of the University College Union and Secretary General of the National Union of Ethiopian University Students. He was famous for his fiery oratory and organizational skills. He was also interested in cultural affairs, featuring in a widely acclaimed play, *Comedy of Love*, which was first staged at the University College in 1962 and then toured the high schools. He also served as the first editor of the literary magazine, **እንዲህ፡ ነው** (*Əndih näw*, the Amharic equivalent of its English language predecessor, *Something*).

However, it is largely as a political activist that B. has left his mark. With a group of like-minded students, he founded in 1964 "The Crocodile Society", the nucleus of the Marxist-Leninist movement that swept across the student population in the second half of the 1960s. Following the historic demonstration of 1965, when students came onto the streets with the slogan **መሬት፡ ለአራሹ** (*Märet läᵓarrašu*, 'Land to the Tiller!'), B. and eight other activists were expelled from the University for a year. In August 1969 he hijacked, with six other students, an Ethiopian Airlines DC-3 aircraft on a do-

mestic flight. After some months in the Sudan, the group was subsequently given asylum in Algeria, where they composed, under the pseudonym of Ṭəlahun Täkle, an essay entitled *The National Question in Ethiopia* that became the standard piece on an issue that had come to assume central importance in the student and leftist movement. In April 1972, he was elected Secretary-General of the Ethiopian People's Organization, precursor of the EPRP. In 1974, he led the organization's armed unit and established its base at Asimba in north-eastern Təgray. At the founding conference of the EPRP in August 1975, the post of Secretary-General was abolished and B. was reduced to secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee. At the same time he lost his seat in the party's political bureau. Unhappy with his argument that the party should not rule out entirely the *Därg*'s call for a united front and with his opposition to the policy of assassinating opponents, the EPRP leadership was about to arrest him. But he escaped and set up his own force and started operating in northern Šäwa. Caught by the *Därg*, he was executed in July 1979 after a lengthy interrogation.

↗ Student movements

Src.: interview with Taddäläčč Ḫaylä Mikaʾel; *News and Views*, various issues.

Lit.: RANDI RØNNING BALSVIK, *Haile Selassie's Students: the Intellectual and Social Background to Revolution 1952–1977*, East Lansing, MI 1985 (Committee on NEAS, Monograph 16); KIFLU TADESSE, *The Generation*, part I: *the History of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party*, Silver Spring 1993; part II: *Ethiopia, Transformation and Conflict: the History of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party*, Lanham – New York – Oxford 1998; *Maläda*, 1st year, 1 *Ḫədar* 1985 A.M. [1992 A.D.]; TÄSFAYE MÄKʷÄNNƎN, **ይድረስ፡ ለባለታሪኩ** (*Yədräs läbalätariku*, 'Let it Reach the Hero'), Addis Abäba 1985 A.M. [1992/93 A.D.].

Bahru Zewde

Bərhanənna sälam

B.s. (**ብርሃንና፡ ሰላም**, 'Light and Peace', with French sub-title *Lumière et paix*) is an Amharic weekly founded in 1917 A.M. [1924/25 A.D.]. It continued until 1928 A.M. [1935/36 A.D.], and resumed publication after the liberation from the Italian occupation in 1941 A.D. Though the newspaper reported on local and international news, it was supposed to focus on essays and articles on education, modernization, health and agriculture. B.s. contributed to the further development of the Amharic language since such issues as modernizing the language, systematizing the grammar and orthography, preparing dictionaries, improving the alphabet, and translating books from foreign languages were also widely discussed in the newspaper.

B.s. has also served as a forum for introducing newly imported goods and as an advertising instrument for the shops, as well as for the then newly established services such as hotels, taxis and clinics. Subtle public debates on the pages of B.s. explored the extent to which the country should undergo the so-called "process of modernization". The essays appearing in B.s. discussed concepts of **ስልጣኔ** (*səlәṭṭane*, 'civilization'), **የአውሮጳ፡ መንገድ** (*yäʾawropa mängäd*, 'the ways of Europe') and others, as they were perceived and understood by the writers of the time. There is ample material available in this newspaper for the study of the emergence and development of Amharic prose, narratives, poetry, literary opinion and drama which still have to be explored extensively by researchers. The transition that Amharic underwent from spoken to written form and its various features developed as a result thereof, are better observed in the issues of B.s. than in other newspapers or earlier texts and manuscripts.

There is a strong discrepancy between the issues of the newspaper published before and after 1930, the year *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən was crowned as Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I. The issues published before this year were more liberal than those which appeared after the coronation; thereafter the newspaper begins to focus on Ḫaylä Śəllase's daily routine, his family and the court.

The articles have a characteristic style and begin with a sentence which makes some broad generalization about the topic under consideration; this is followed by at least one or two proverbs or a short tale intended to explain things more clearly; then an allusion is made to biblical stories or some Hellenic source; finally the article concludes with a summary and direct advice on the topic. In most of these writings it is repeatedly stated that God is always guarding Ethiopia from its enemies; that the ruler (Ḫaylä Śəllase) is generous, wise and an ardent promoter of change; that the importance of unity, love of one's country and love among citizens cannot be underestimated. Major contributors to B.s. (among whom there were some prominent authors) include: *blatta* Därressa, Mälaku Bäyyan, Bäqqälä Zälläqä, Kidanä Maryam

Abärra, Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase, Yoftahe Nəguśe, *ḥakim* Wärqənäh, Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus, Mikaʾel Täsämma, Tämanu Romha ʿÄdwa, Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs and Täʾammərat Amanuʾel. Since 1935, new names have begun to appear recurrently as well: Nəgatu Wäldä Giyorgis, Asfaw Andarge, Ǝšäte Kənfe and Temotewos.

Src.: *Bərhanənna sälam*, issues 1925–99 A.D.

Lit.: AMSALU AKLILU, **አጭር፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥነ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ ታሪክ** (*Aṭṭər yäʾityopya śənä ṣəḥuf tarik*, 'A Short History of Ethiopian Literature'), ms., Addis Ababa University 1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.]; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Foundations of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 3, 1962, 247–90; FEKADE AZEZE, "The Possible Role of Newspapers in the Study of Ethiopian Literature and Literary 'Criticism': the Case of Berhanena Sälam and Aemero", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 163–74; ID., *The Intellectual in the Ethiopian Novel, 1930–74*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Sheffield 1988; MINISTRY OF INFORMATION OF ETHIOPIA (ed.), *Mass Communications in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1966 (Patterns of Progress 5).

Fekade Azeze

Bərhanənna Sälam

B.S. (**ብርሃንና፡ ሰላም**, 'Light and Peace') is both a printing press and a publishing house. It was founded in 1921 by *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) in Addis Abäba with the aim of publishing Amharic-language books and tracts. First known as **የኢትዮጵያ፡ መንግሥት፡ አልጋ፡ ወራሽ፡ የልዑል፡ ራስ፡ ተፈሪ፡ መኰንን፡ ማተሚያ፡ ቤት** (*Yäʾityopya mängəśt alga wäraš yäləʿul ras Täfäri Mäkʷännən mattämiya bet*, 'The Printing Press of the Heir to the Throne of Ethiopia His Highness *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən'), the press later changed its name to "B.S., the printing press of Ḫaylä Śəllase I". After 1932 the name was extended by the phrase "given [by the Emperor] to the Bethsaida Hospital", an institution which was henceforward partly financed by the profits of the press (Wright 1967:21; cp. Strelcyn 1978–79:103ff.). The publishing house was equipped with German machines and in the beginning employed 30 people, including some Europeans under Gäbrä Krəstos Täklä Haymanot's management.

The activities of the publishing house were interrupted by the Italian war of 1935–36 and the occupation, to be resumed again after the Liberation. It seems that the name B.S. was adopted after the Italian occupation, following the newspaper ↗*Bərhanənna sälam*. After the liberation, apart from newspapers and books, B.S. also printed numerous postcards, tax stamps, tickets, cheque-books and shares. In the 1960s and 1970s it became the biggest and the best equipped publishing firm in Ethiopia. In 1964 new machines were acquired and there were 300 printers employed, with the need for even more (*L'Éthiopie d'aujourd'hui* 1965, 33). B.S. was closely affiliated to the Emperor. To estimate the spectrum of B.S.'s book production in this period, one can recall just some works printed there: e.g., the Amharic translation of the Bible, the so-called Emperor Bible (1960/61), prepared on the occasion of Ḫaylä Śəllase's silver jubilee of his ascension to the throne; the Amharic text of *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase's Chronicle of Mənilək II (1959 A.M.); a book in commemoration of *ətege* ↗Mänän (1965 A.M.); and both volumes of Ḫaylä Śəllase's personal biography (1965 A.M., 1966 A.M.) etc.

B.S. was still active after the Revolution of 1974, publishing books, pamphlets, educational materials, municipal legal and commercial orders.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Foundations of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 3, 1962, 247–90, here 269; JUSTYNA JANAS, *History of the Mass Media in Ethiopia*, M.A. thesis, Department of African Languages and Cultures, University of Warsaw 1991, 12ff.; "La Nouvelle Imprimerie Berhanena Selam", **የዛሬይቱ፡ ኢትዮጵያ** – *L'Ethiopie d'aujourd'hui*, Janvier–Février 13–14, 1965, 31–35; ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Historia Etiopii*, Wroclaw ²1987, 364 [German translation: *Geschichte Äthiopiens*, 2 vols., Berlin 1978]; STEFAN STRELCYN, "'Incunables' éthiopiens de la collection Faitlovitch (Université de Tel-Aviv) et de l'Istituto Orientale di Napoli", *RSE* 27, 1979, 63–121, here 67, 69, 103ff.; STEPHEN WRIGHT, *Ethiopian Incunabula*, Addis Ababa 1967, 21; MINISTRY OF INFORMATION OF ETHIOPIA (ed.), **የብርሃንና ፡ ሰላም፡ ቀዳማዊ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ማተሚያ፡ ቤት፡ የ50ኛው፡ ዓመት፡ የወርቅ፡ ዩቤልዩ** 1914–1964 A.M. (*Yäbərhanənna Sälam qädamawi Ḫaylä Śəllase mattämiya bet yäʾamsaññaw ʿamät yäwärq yubeləyu*, 'Bərhanənna Sälam Ḫaylä Śəllase I Printing Press. 50th Anniversary – Golden Jubilee 1921–71 A.D.'), Addis Abäba 1971.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Bərhanu Dənqe

B.D. (**ብርሃኑ፡ ድንቄ**, b. 1918, d. June 1992, Jefferson City, USA) was a 20th cent. Ethiopian writer and diplomat. He was a son of *aläqa* Dənqe, the then head of the ↗Ǝntoṭṭo Raguʾel and Wəčäča Maryam churches. The exact birthplace and schooling of B.D. are unknown, but his writings reveal that he enjoyed both traditional church and western education. Among his books are **የኢትዮጵያ፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾityopya aṭṭər tarik*,

'A Short History of Ethiopia') which was used as a school textbook in the 1940s, and a play about the Queen of Sheba, **ንግሥተ፡ ዓዜብ** (*Nəgəśtä ʿAzeb*). B.D.'s sister, Waka Dənqe, married *ṣäḥafe taʾəzaz* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs.

B.D. held various minor offices in the ministries of education and foreign affairs in the 1940s and 50s before he was appointed counsellor to the Ethiopian embassy in Washington D.C., in July 1955. In 1961, he was appointed ambassador in the same place, where he represented Ethiopia for about five years. In 1965 he resigned his post for some obscure reason and went in exile. He lived in Jefferson City, Missouri, where he wrote several political protest booklets. Among them are: *Can't We Stand Together to Resist Oppression?* (1967); *Hope and Faith: I Stand Alone* (1971); and *A Model for World Government* (1973).

Src.: *Nägarit gazeṭa* 14/11, 1955, 104; BƎRHANU DƎNQE, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾityopya aṭṭər tarik*, 'A Short History of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1943 A.M. [1950/51 A.D.]; ID., **የሕፃናት፡ ምሳሌ** (*Yäḥəṣanat məssale*, 'A Parable of Childhood'), Addis Abäba 1938 A.M. [1945/46 A.D.]; ID., **ከወልወል፡ እስከ፡ ማይጨው** (*Käwälwäl əskä Mayčäw*, 'From Wälwäl to Mayčäw'), Addis Abäba 1942 A.M. [1949/50 A.D.]; ID., **ንግሥተ፡ ዓዜብ** (*Nəgəśtä ʿAzeb*, 'The Queen of the South'), Addis Abäba 1943 A.M. [1950/51 A.D.]; ID., **እውነትን፡ ፍለጋ** (*Ǝwnätən fəlläga*, 'Search of Truth'), n.p. 1968.

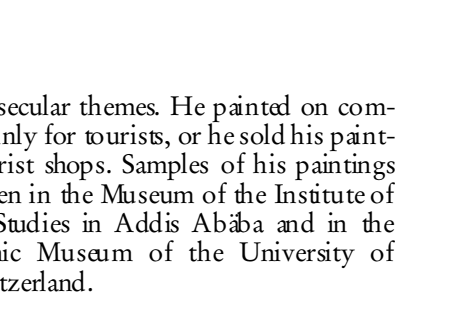
Lit.: *Ethiopian Review*, January 1993, 14; ALBERT GÉRARD, *Four African Literatures. Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1971, 299, 347, 433 (Lit.); REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, *Black Lions: the Creative Lives of Modern Ethiopia's Literary Giants and Pioneers*, Lawrenceville 1997.

Bairu Tafla

Bərhanu Yəmänu

B.Y. (**ብርሃኑ፡ ይመኑ**, b. 1908/09, d. 1989), a painter, was born in Gännät Holäta near Addis Abäba. As a child he was already observing church painters. In 1930/31 B.Y. went to Addis Abäba, became acquainted with painters of secular themes and started himself to paint. He was then employed by the Ministry of Education as a teacher of traditional art and was also sent to Illubabor to teach children. When he returned to Addis Abäba, he quit the government service and lived in Gulläle as a freelance painter.

B.Y. was an autodidact, but he was very gifted. From 1968–73 he painted the walls of the Church of St. Peter near Paul's Hospital in Addis Abäba. In addition he produced pictures with usual secular themes. He painted on commission mainly for tourists, or he sold his paintings to tourist shops. Samples of his paintings are to be seen in the Museum of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Abäba and in the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zürich, Switzerland.



Bərhanu Yəmänu, 1986, photo by Doro Röthlisberger, courtesy of the Ethnographic Museum of Zurich University

Lit.: GIRMA KIDANE, "Four Traditional Ethiopian Painters and their Life Histories", in: *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art, sponsored by the Royal Asiatic Society; held at the Warburg Institute of the University of London, October 21–22, 1986*, London 1989, 72–77, here 76f.

Elisabeth Biasio

Bərhanu Zäryəhun

B.Z. (**ብርሃኑ፡ ዘርይሁን**, b. 1926 A.M. [1933/34 A.D.], Gondär, d. 24. April 1987 A.D., Addis Abäba) was a prominent Amharic writer. He received his elementary education in Gondär, then graduated from Addis Abäba Technical School (1956/57), specializing in radio mechanics. For a while B.Z. taught as a shop-assistant at the Technical School, then worked as a draftsman in the Mapping and Geography Institute. After a few months, however, he turned to journalism, made swift progress from a cub reporter up to the editor-in-chief of the newspapers **የዛሬይቱ፡ ኢትዮጵያ** – *L'Ethiopie d'aujourd'hui*, *The Voice of Ethiopia* and ↗*Addis Zämän* (from 1960/61 up to 1966/67).

His first novel, **ሁለት፡ የዕንባ፡ ደብዳቤዎች** (*Hulätt yäʿənba däbdabbewočč*, 'Two Letters of Tears'), was published in 1959/60. At its centre is the tragic story of a wife and mother who has left her

family because of a strong love for a rich man from Addis Abäba. This dandy lover soon tires of her and she becomes a lowly paid prostitute, who dies in great misery. This novel is of particular interest because it views a prostitute mostly as a victim of the social circumstances, but not as an image of evil (↗Prostitution).

In 1962/63 B.Z. published another novel, **ድል፡ ከሞት፡ በኋላ** (*Dəl kämot bäḫʷala*, 'Victory after Death'), dedicated to the struggle of the Africans in South Africa for their rights.

His next novel, **የበደል፡ ፍጻሜ** (*Yäbädäl fəṣṣame*, 'The Fulfilment of Crime'), came out in 1964/65 and was connected again with the problem of the increasing prostitution in Ethiopia. The same theme is reflected in the novel **አማኑኤል፡ ደርሶ፡ መልስ** (*Amanuʾel därso mäls*, 'Amanuel's Return', 1964/65).

The historical novel **የቴዎድሮስ፡ ዕንባ** (*Yätewodros ʿənba*, 'Tewodros's Tears', 1965/66) was written by B.Z. in defiance of the previously established image of *aṣe* Tewodros II. The author tried to present him as more soft and humane in spite of depicting him, as before, as a person with a cruel, bad-tempered character. In these years he also published the novel **ጨረቃ፡ ስትወጣ** (*Č̣äräqa sətwäṭa*, 'When the Moon Comes out') and his only collection of short stories **ብር፡ አምባር፡ ሰበረልዎ** (*Bərr ambar säbbärälwo*, lit. 'He Broke the Silver Bracelet for your Benefit', figuratively 'He Married a Virgin'), based on a study of social customs among different nationalities in Ethiopia.

The trilogy **ማእበል** (*Maʾəbäl*, 'The Flood', 1979/80) was dedicated to the problems of the Ethiopian ↗Revolution of 1974. At the centre of the trilogy is the story of two families within the context of the Wällo famine and drought.

B.Z. also wrote three plays: **ሞረሽ** (*Moräš*, 'Codename, Password'), **ጣጠኛው፡ ተዋናይ** (*Ṭaṭäññaw täwanay*, 'The Troublesome Actor'), and the popular play **አባ፡ ነፍሶ** (*Abba Näfso*), last one being dedicated to the famous patriot *däğğazmač* ↗Balča Safo. The last novel of B.Z., **የታንጉት፡ ምስጢር** (*Yätangut məsṭir*, 'Tangut's Secret'), came out in 1986/87.

B.Z. introduced into the Ethiopian manner of writing quite a new literary style, using short, clear, simple sentences instead of the long-winded, complicated and rhetorical periods that were the traditional characteristic of good writing. He was buried in the graveyard of the Trinity Cathedral in Addis Abäba. Already in his lifetime B.Z. was one of the most popular authors in Ethiopia.

Bərhanu Zäryəhun in front of the Pushkin Monument in Moscow, photo courtesy of the author

↗Amharic literature; ↗Ləbb wälläd

Src.: BƎRHANU ZÄRYƎHUN, **ሁለት፡ የዕንባ፡ ደብዳቤዎች** (*Hulätt yäʿənba däbdabbewočč*, 'Two Letters of Tears'), Addis Abäba 1952 A.M. [1959/60 A.D.], ²1961 A.M. [1968/69 A. D.]; ID., **ድል፡ ከሞት፡ በኋላ** (*Dəl kämot bäḫʷala*, 'Victory after Death'), 1955 A. M. [1962/63 A. D.]; ID., **የበደል፡ ፍጻሜ** (*Yäbädäl fəṣṣame*, 'The Fulfilment of Crime'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.]; ID., **አማኑኤል፡ ደርሶ፡ መልስ** (*Amanuʾel därso mäls*, 'Amanuel's Return'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.]; ID., **የቴዎድሮስ፡ ዕንባ** (*Yätewodros ʿənba*, 'Tewodros's Tears'), 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.]); ID., **ጨረቃ፡ ስትወጣ** (*Č̣äräqa sətwäṭa*, 'When the Moon Comes out'), Addis Abäba 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.]; ID., **ብር፡ አምባር፡ ሰበረልዎ** (*Bərr ambar säbbärälwo*, 'He Married a Virgin [lit.: 'he broke the silver bracelet for your benefit', refrain of a song, s. KaneDic 876]'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; **ማእበል** (*Maʾəbäl*, 'The Flood'), Addis Abäba 1972–74 A.M. [1980–82 A.D.]; ID., **የታንጉት፡ ምስጢር** (*Yätangut məsṭir*, 'Tangut's Secret'), Addis Abäba 1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.]; ID., **ሞረሽ** (*Moräš*, 'Codename, Password'), Addis Abäba 1972 A.M. [1979/80 A.D.]; **ጣጠኛው፡ ተዋናይ** (*Ṭaṭäññaw täwanay*, 'The Troublesome Actor'), Addis Abäba 1975 A.M. [1982/83 A.D.]; ID., **አባ፡ ነፍሶ** (*Abba Näfso* [*däğğazmač* Balča Safo's "horse name"]), Addis Abäba 1975 A.M. [1982/83 A.D.].

Lit.: ALBERT GÉRARD, *Four African Literatures: Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1971, 359f.; THOMAS LEIPER KANE, *Ethiopian Literature in Amharic*, Wiesbaden 1975, 104ff., 160, 164ff., 185ff.; REIDULFF KNUT MOLVAER, *Black Lions: the Creative Lives of Modern Ethiopia's Literary Giants and Pioneers*, Lawrenceville 1997, 325–39.

Galina Balashova

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Bermudez, João

B. (also Bermudes; b. ca. 1491, Porto [?], d. 1570, Lisbon) daimed to be the first Catholic Patriarch of Ethiopia, but there always existed doubts about the validity of his patriarchal titles.

Of the first days of B.'s life little is known. He started his "Ethiopian" career in 1520 as a simple surgeon in the Portuguese embassy to *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl headed by Dom Rodrigo de ↗Lima (s. references to a "Mestre João" in Alvares 1889:4, 8, 45 et passim). When the Portuguese left in 1526, B. and the painter Lázaro de ↗Andrade remained in the country (ibid. 132). They were requested to stay by the Emperor to protect the current Ethiopian embassy lead by ↗Ṣägga Zä°ab to Portugal (Bermudez 1875:126f.). For the next ten years that B. seems to have spent in Ethiopia, the only source available is B.'s own *Relação*. There B. describes how Ləbnä Dəngəl asked – around 1535 (for problems with the date s. Bermudez 1875:1, n. 1; Rodriguez 1919:122, n. 1) – *abunä* ↗Marqos, just before his death, to name B. as his successor to the Patriarchate of Ethiopia (Bermudez 1875:1). Furthermore, B. claims to have been asked to go to Portugal "to conclude the embassy headed by Ṣägga Zä°ab" (ibid. 3) in search of military help. This statement is perhaps the only one that can be validated, since at the Portuguese court he was, indeed, treated as the ambassador of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl (Beccari 1911:17). On his arrival in Rome ca. 1536, as the *Relação* informs us, Pope Paul III apparently ratified his Patriarchal title and even increased his powers by offering him the Patriarchate of Alexandria (ibid. 4). However, neither his "Ethiopian Patriarchate" (a title that did not really exist) nor the Alexandrian title have so far been confirmed by any further document.

Back in Portugal, in 1537 B. was received by king Dom ↗João III, who agreed to include B. in the forthcoming royal expedition to help the Ethiopian ruler. In 1539 B. sailed off to Goa and reached Ethiopia in 1541, with the army lead by the governor of India, Dom Estevão da ↗Gama.

In this context B. offers in the *Relação* a colourful picture of himself: this time he becomes the leader of a small Portuguese expedition sent to help the Ethiopian ruler against Aḥmad Grañ's army (Beccari 1911:17, 43). However, in ↗Castanhoso's narrative (1988 [1564]), B. is hardly ever mentioned. And even though Castanhoso designates him as the "patriarca Dom João Bermudez" (ibid 41), he never portrays B. as the leader of the Portuguese soldiers, nor as an influential figure before the *nəguś*.

B.'s own text, though extremely self-indulgent, reveals a constant tension between what he claims to be and what the people believe of him. Thus, we hear of him clashing with almost every important figure he meets during his trips: Ṣägga Zä°ab (Bermudez 1875:5 et passim), Dom João III, Castanhoso and *aṣe* Gälawdewos (Bermudez 1875:8, 27, 80 et passim). The arrival of the new Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Yosäb around 1547 left no room for B. in the country and, refusing to become a simple "Patriarca dos Portugueses" (he would have been offered such a position by the Emperor; s. ibid. 92), he left Ethiopia. However, B.'s text still remains an invaluable source for the years following Ləbnä Dəngəl's death and before the ↗Jesuits' arrival.

On his arrival in Goa, in May 1556, B. faced a new setback: at the Jesuit college of São Paulo he met the officially invested Catholic Patriarch of Ethiopia, the Jesuit Dom João Nunes ↗Barreto, who had just arrived from Lisbon. After about two years spent there and in the island of Santa Helena, B. made his last trip to Lisbon in August 1559. He would spend his last years composing his *Relação*, with a generous funding from king D. Sebastião (Gonçalves 1960:139), but nonetheless was completely ignored in the new plans that the Portuguese king and the Jesuit Order prepared for Ethiopia.

It was only after his death that B.'s Patriarchal claims found widespread acceptance. A long list of Jesuit missionaries, such as Pedro Paez, Manoel Barradas, Antonio Fernandes, Manoel de Almeida (with a certain contempt) and Afonso Mendez (s. Beccari 1903:79, n. 2 and index), and Portuguese chroniders, like Gaspar Corrêa (1976:1999) and Balthasar Tellez (1660:114, 147), gave credence to his title of Patriarch of Ethiopia and wrote about him with the respect that his contemporaries had denied him.

B. was buried in the old hermit of São Sebastião da Pedreira (later to become Parroquial Church) in the centre of Lisbon, where a grave bearing witness to the "Patriarca d'Alexandria" can still be seen today.

Src.: JOÃO BERMUDEZ, *Breve relação da embaixada que o patriarcha d. João Bermudez trouxe do imperador da Ethiopia …*, Lisboa 1875 [Lisboa ¹1565]; FRANCISCO

ALVARES, *Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste João …*, Lisboa 1889 [repr. of 1540]; French tr.: Anvers 1558; English tr: BeckHuntAlvar); CAMILLO BECCARI (ed.), *Rerum aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales, inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, vol. 10, Roma 1911, 17; MIGUEL DE CASTANHOSO, *História das cousas que o mui esforçado capitão Dom Cristovão da Gama fêz nos reinos do Preste João …*, 1988 [Coimbra ¹1564]; GASPAR CORRÊA, *Lendas da India*, vol. 4, Nendeln 1976 [repr. of: Lisboa ¹1864]; SEBASTIÃO GONÇALVES, *Primeira parte da historia dos religioisos da Companhia de Jesus …*, vol. 2, ed. by JOSEF WICKI, Coimbra 1960, 139; BALTHAZAR TELLEZ, *Historia geral de Ethiopia a Alta …*, Coimbra 1660 [English tr.: London 1710].

Lit.: CAMILLO BECCARI, *Notizia e saggi di opere e documenti inediti riguardanti la Storia di Etiopia durante i secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII*, Roma 1903; FRANCISCO RODRIGUES, "Mestre João Bermudes", *Revista de História* 3, 1919, 119–37; GEORG SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver: Sein Leben und seine Zeit*, 2 vols., Freiburg 1955–71, vol. 1, 665f., vol. 2, 2, 34f., 461f.

Andreu Martínez

Bərr

B. (ብር), the word for 'silver' in Amharic and most Ethiopian languages, and by extension that of money, or dollar, is derived from the Gəʿəz *bärrä*, to 'purify or make white' (LesCDic 106f.). The term, in its sense of 'argentum', or 'silver', is found in Ludolf's *Lexicon Amharico-Latinum* (1698). The word seems to have soon been applied to silver, and later colloquially to all forms of money, most notably the Austrian ↗Maria Theresia thaler, which gained circulation in Ethiopia and parts of the Middle East from the 18th to early 20th cent. (Isenberg 1841:86). The term was later popularly used, in the late 19th cent., for the silver ↗*Tallero eritreo*, first minted by the Italians in Eritrea in 1890, and soon afterwards for *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's silver thaler, minted in Paris in 1894 (Pankhurst 1968:478–94). The term was later also used in the Amharic wording on the country's pre- and post-World War II bank notes, though not on the their respective French and English versions (which used "thaler" and "Ethiopian dollar"). The word B., however, became the official designation of Ethiopia's currency after the ↗Revolution of 1974, and has continued so to the present.

The word *bərru*, i.e. 'His [God's] *bərr* [silver]', or silver, also subsequently gained popularity in the 19th cent. when it came to be used as a personal name (cf., e.g., Bərru Goššu; Bərru Wäldä Gäbrəʾel; Bərru Ṗetros).

↗Coinage; ↗Currency

Lit.: LesCDic 106f.; HIOB LUDOLF, *Lexicon Amharico-Latinum*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1698, 39; CHARLES WILLIAM ISENBERG, *Dictionary of the Amharic Language*, London 1841, 86; RICHARD PANKHURST, *Economic History of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1968, 478–94; SVEN RUBENSON, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, London 1976, 249, s. index; BAHRU ZEWDE, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855–1974*, Athens – London – Addis Ababa 1991, 237, s. index; DENNIS GILL, *The Coinage of Ethiopia, Eritrea and Italian Somalia*, New York 1991.

Richard Pankhurst

Bərru Aligaz ↗ Yäğğu

Bərru Gäbrä Mädḫən

Wag šum B. (ዋግ፡ ንብረ፡ ማርያም; d. 1905, r. 1858–63 and 1882–95) was the son of *wag šum* ↗Gäbrä Mädḫən. After *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II executed Gäbrä Mädḫən in May 1858 for his support of the Emperor's enemies, he subsequently appointed B. over Wag. B. held the office until in 1863 he was detained at Mäqdäla because of the rebellion of his brother *wag šum* Gobäze (later *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis) against Tewodros II and remained in prison until the fall of Mäqdäla to the British Expeditionary Force in 1868.

On the accession of Täklä Giyorgis to power in 1868, B. was appointed *wag šum* and later, in 1870, declared governor of Tägray in the Emperor's attempt to control the region. On the defeat of Täklä Giyorgis at the Battle of ↗ʿAssäm in 1871, B. was captured and remained in prison for some time. Later, in 1882, *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV again appointed B. to his hereditary region. He accompanied the Emperor and participated in the battles of Säʿati and Mätämma in 1888 and 1889, respectively. Following the battle of Mätämma, he submitted to *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and was confirmed over his region.

Relations between B. and Mənilək started to deteriorate from the early 1890s because of the strained diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and Italy following the Wəčale treaty (↗Italo-Ethiopian Convention of 1889) and Italian attempts to alienate the northern nobility from Mənilək. It seems that B. was attracted by Italian propaganda against Mənilək. B. had received an Italian agent at his provincial seat at Säqoṭa in 1892. He also transferred his seat from Säqoṭa to Koräm, where the Italians had installed a telegraph line. At Mənilək's court, this was interpreted as a move to correspond with the Italians. In 1894 the court feared that he would join the rebellion of *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs because of his marriage-ties with the family of Yoḥannəs IV. He was strongly suspected of

having ambitions for the throne, and thus Mənilək closely followed his activity.

Mənilək summoned B. to Addis Abäba in 1894, probably to ascertain his loyalty. At court, he was given all the traditional courtesy due to a *wag šum*. As he was followed by four of his powerful sons and their large army, the court was able to assess his military strength. It seems that Mənilək was trying to resolve his differences with this influential *wag šum* family wisely to avoid B.'s defection to the Italians.

After the Italians crossed the Märäb river at the end of 1894, disturbing reports started to emerge about B.'s activity. He was suspected of passing information to the Italians about army movements into the north. However, it is difficult to assess how much reliable information he could have supplied to the Italians while he was far away from the court. He was again called to the court in 1895 and it is not clear why he went given the circumstances of his suspicion. In June 1895 he was removed from office by a proclamation and replaced by his son, *wag šum* ↗Gʷangul.

On several occasions, his brothers confronted Gʷangul for his collaboration with Mənilək while their father was in detention. Gʷangul himself was disappointed that Mənilək had not freed his father as promised in the proclamation of 1895. Gʷangul was closely watched so that he would not rebel and then called to the court in 1905, where he was put under house arrest. Soon afterwards he died under mysterious circumstances and his father B. also died suddenly on hearing of his son's death.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, *A Chronicle of Emperor Yoḥannes IV (1872–89)*, Wiesbaden 1977 (AeF 1); GEORGE FITZ – HARDINGE BERKELEY, *The Campaign of Adwa and the Rise of Menelik*, London 1935, New York ²1969; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Italia ed Etiopia dal trattato d'Uccialli alla Battaglia di Adua*, Roma 1935; *śäḫafe tə'əzaz* GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE, **ታሪክ፡ ዘመን፡ ዘዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ** (*Tarikä zämän zädagmawi Mənilək nəguśä nägäšt zä'ityopya*, 'Chronicle of Mənilək II, King of Kings of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.]; TREVENEN JAMES HOLLAND – HENRY MONTAGUE HOZIER, *Records of the Expedition to Abyssinia Compiled by the Order of the Secretary of State for War*, London 1870; HORMUZD RASSAM, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia*, London 1869; TÄKLÄ ṢADƎQ MÄKʷƎRIYA, **ዐፄ፡ ምኒልክና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ አንድነት** (*'Aṣe Mənilәkənna yä'ityopya andənnät*, 'Emperor Mənilək and Ethiopia's Unity'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.]; WUDU TAFETE KASSU, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, c. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995; ID., "The Two Wagšums and the Battle", in: ABDUSSAMAD H. AHMAD – RICHARD PANKHURST (eds.), *Adwa Victory Centenary Conference, 26 February – 2 March 1996*, Addis Ababa 1998, 221–35; ZEWDE GABRE-SELLASSIE, *Yohannes IV of Ethiopia: a Political Biography*, Oxford 1975.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Bərru Goššu

Däğğazmač B. (**ብሩ፡ ጎሹ**) was the illegitimate son of *ras* Goššu Zäwde of the ruling family of ↗Goğğam.

Independent and ambitious, he played a leading role in the politics of the Ṭana region during the closing decades of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. Together with his father, he was at one time allied with *ras* ↗Ali Alula of the Yäğğu family and received Ali's daughter as his wife. In the struggles of the following years B. at one point turned against and defeated his own father in battle. In 1842 he allied himself with ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam of Təgray to overthrow Ali. The attempt failed, but B. managed to retire to Goğğam and hold his own against Ali throughout the 1840s. Eventually his career ended when Kaśa Ḫaylu of Qʷara (the future Emperor ↗Tewodros II) appeared on the scene in the early fifties. He spent many years as Tewodros's prisoner in Mäqdäla, but survived and was released in 1868. His role in the political life of Ethiopia, however, was over.

B. established contacts of his own with Europe through the Belgian consul ↗Blondeel van Ceulebrock and the d'↗Abbadie brothers, who visited Goğğam in the 1840s. In a preserved letter in Amharic to the Superior of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, B. asks for an artisan to be sent to him and signs himself "the king of Goğğam, *däğğazmač* Bərru".

Lit.: SVEN RUBENSON, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, London 1976, s. index; ID. (ed.), *Correspondence and Treaties 1800–1854*, Evanston – Addis Abeba 1987 (Acta Aethiopica 1), s. index.

Sven Rubenson

Bərru Ḫaylä Maryam ↗ Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾəl

Bərru Lubo

B.L. (**ብሩ፡ ሉቦ**, also *Tallaq* Bərru ['Bərru the Elder'] or Birroo Lubo; d. 5 *Rabīʿ aṯ-ṯānī* 1271 H. [26 December 1854 A.D.]) was a hereditary Muslim ruler of ↗Qallu, east Wällo, and grandson of Amiṭṭo, the Wällo Oromo chief, who was the father-in-law of *aṣe* Iyasu II (r. 1730-55) and a maternal uncle of Iyoʾas I (r. 1755-69).

Isenberg and Krapf (1968:330) and Harris claim that B.L.'s father was a weaver who married the "daughter of Endries [Idrīs?], governor of Gôf" (Harris 1844, vol. 2, 353). There is also a tradition, according to which Lubo, a weaver from Qaroda or Kämkäm, married Ašwa, the daughter of Amiṭṭo, the grandfather of B.L. (Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq 2000:413). As a young boy, B.L. grew up in the court of *abbaa ğirru* Libän (Liiban, d. 1815), a member of the ↗Mammädočč dynasty of Wärrä Himäno, where he presumably acquired both political and military skills that he later put to good use. He married Bərritu, the daughter of Libän. When Libän died, his son and successor Amäde Libän (d. 1838) confirmed B.L. as governor of Qallu in succession to his father, thus implying that the Wärrä Himäno dynasts were the nominal overlords of the Qallu rulers.

B.L. ruled over a long stretch of territory that extended from ↗Täkʷələdäre in the north to the border between ↗Šäwa and Wällo in the south. Harris (ibid. 355) noted that B.L. defeated Ali Marəyye, the chief of Täkʷələdäre, and subjugated its Oromo inhabitants. As a nominal vassal of Amäde, B.L. contributed contingents of troops whenever the former mobilized his army for a campaign. B.L.'s main administrative centre and residence was at ᶜAyn Amba, near the market of Ančarro, southeast of present-day Kombolča. According to Isenberg and Krapf (1968:329), B. also held his court at Gof, from where B.L. expelled Ali, the son of Endres and governor of the area.

Although described by the two French travellers, Combes and Tamisier, as a man with a "ferocious character" (1838, vol. 2, 296), B.L. is better remembered for his generous patronage of the Muslim scholars of Qallu to whom he granted *waqf*-lands. He especially had intimate relations with the famous scholar-saint, *al-ḥāğğ* ↗Bušra Ay Muḥammad of Gäta, who often acted as a mediator between B.L. and other Muslim scholars who questioned the former's personal commitment to Islamic principles. *Al-ḥāğğ* Bušra, an ardent defender of orthodoxy, achieved this by using his influence with B.L. to persuade him to conform to Islamic precepts. The *šayḫ* also frequently approached B.L. on behalf of those who sought a grant of *waqf*-lands.

B.L. encouraged trade through the markets in Däwway, which was under his direct control, and the settlement in Qallu of merchant families from Wärrä Himäno, who originally came from Gondär. Isenberg and Krapf (1968:364f.) also speak of other markets, such as Ṭotola, which were an important source of revenue for B.L.

Apparently, the southern frontier of B.L.'s realm was a bone of contention. On the one hand, there was much tension between B.L. and the Šäwan *nəguś*, ↗Šahlä Šəllase, on the other hand, the local chiefs, who aspired to throw off Qallu's dominance over them, also caused B.L. problems. According to Isenberg and Krapf (1968:320, 329) and Harris (1844, vol. 2, 353), the cause for the conflict between B.L. and Šahlä Šəllase was the killing of Ali, the eldest son of B.L., by Sämmu Nəguś, the Šäwan *nəguś's* governor of ↗Gəšše, during a frontier skirmish. However, Combes and Tamisier (1838:296), asserted that B.L. was actually an ally of Šahlä Səllase. According to a local Arabic fragment, B.L. ravaged Rəqqe in the 1830's and expelled its governor, Abbā Manṣūr, who fled to Arṭumma which B.L. later sacked (s. Harris 1844, vol. 2, 351; Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq gives a more precise date for B.L.'s campaign to Rəqqe: middle of *Šaᶜbān* 1248 H. [23 May 1833]).

Sometimes B.L. adopted a more peaceful strategy to secure the loyalty of his allies and neutralize the threat from his rivals. On one occasion he offered his daughter, Fāṭima, in marriage to ↗Adära Bille, the contemporary ruler of Ləga Gora, in order to prevent the latter from allying himself with Šahlä Šəllase, suggesting that there had been a rivalry between them over the control of the trade routes across southeast Wällo that led to the port of Tağūra, the main commercial outlet of both Šäwa and Wällo at that time. B.L. also married off a second daughter to an ↗ᶜAfar chief to facilitate trade and communication with the coast (Harris 1844, vol. 2, 353).

After his death in December 1854 (or, according to Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq, in 1269 H. [1852/53 A.D.]), B.L. was buried at Gäta. He was survived by his son and successor, Amäde, who formed an alliance with Adära Bille's son Ali Adära against *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II.

Src.: EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, Paris 1838, vol. 2, 296; WILLIAM CORNWALLIS HARRIS, *The Highlands of Æthiopia*, 3 vols., London 1844, here vol. 2, 351–55; CHARLES WILHELM ISENBERG – JOHANNES LUDWIG KRAPF, *The Journals of C. W. Isenberg and J. L. Krapf Detailing their Proceedings in the Kingdom of Shoa and Journeys in other Parts of Abyssinia in the Years 1839, 1840, 1841 and 1842*, London 1968, 329f., 364f.; MUḤAMMAD TĀĞADDĪN AḤMAD, *Iᶜlām al-aǧbiyāʾ bi-ḥayāt ᶜuẓamāʾ Iṯyūbiyā min al-ᶜulamāʾ wal-awliyāʾ wal-salāṭīn al-islām wal-asfiyāʾ*

('Information for the Ignorant through the Lives of the Great Men of Ethiopia from among the Scholars, Saints and Rulers of Islam, and Sincere Friends'), in print; SAYYID MUḤAMMAD ṢĀDIQ, *Manhal al-ᶜaṭšān fī taᵓrīḫ al-Ḥubšān* ('The Spring-Water of the Thirsty in the History of the Abyssinians'), Ṣanᶜāᵓ 2000.

Lit.: FEKADU BEGNA, *A Tentative History of Wallo 1855–1908,* B.A. thesis, Haile Sellassie I University 1973; HUSSEIN AHMED, *Islam in Nineteenth-Century Wallo, Ethiopia: Revival, Reform and Reaction,* Leiden 2001 (Lit.).

Hussein Ahmed

Bərru Ṗeṭros

Born about 1830 into a family of clerics in Wälqayt, B.Ṗ. (ብሩ፡ ጴጥሮስ; better known as Bərru Wälqayte) was one of the most remarkable members of Ethiopia's early European-educated élite.

In 1848 B.Ṗ. accompanied his uncle *däbtära* Täwäldä Mädḫən on a diplomatic mission to ↗Jerusalem to solve Ethiopian property rights there. He decided to stay in Jerusalem and educate himself. After two or three years, Bishop Samuel ↗Gobat arranged for B.Ṗ. to join the Church Missionary Society College in Malta, where he studied Arabic, Latin, English and French, as well as Mathematics, History and Geography. Letters which he wrote to Antoine d'↗Abbadie while in Malta reveal a gifted and inquisitive student, thankful for the care received, but also increasingly critical about the way the school was run, and anxious to return to his home country. Finally he asked and received financial help from d'Abbadie and left Malta in early 1858. On his way back to Ethiopia he learned telegraphy in Cairo.

He was employed for some years as interpreter and translator at the court of Emperor ↗Tewodros II, but then moved north and engaged in trade. In the early 1870s he returned to government service as the commercial agent of Emperor ↗Yoḥannəs IV at Massawa. He accompanied many of the foreign travellers heading for the interior, for instance, the Egyptian officer Saᶜd *effendi* Rifᶜat, who was assigned to relieve the Egyptian garrison at ↗Gallabat, "as interpreter and liaison officer with the Ethiopian authorities". They proceeded from Massawa through Asmära and ᶜAdwa to Mätämma and back to Massawa in December-February 1884–85. He also served *aṣe* Yoḥannəs as a liaison officer in his dealings with foreign envoys. According to Zewde Gabre-Sellassie (1975:275), he was "a great patriot and as a result he sustained much harsh treatment at the hands of Munzinger Pasha on the eve of the Ethiopian-Egyptian conflicts".

His descendants remained likewise patriotic and avoided the Italian colonial rule by leaving Massawa for Ethiopia. His son, Mängäša Bərru, served as a teacher and schoolmaster in Däse for 40 years, while his grandson, Iyasu Mängäša, rose to the rank of general and ambassador in the Ethiopian military and diplomatic services.

Src.: SVEN RUBENSON (ed.), *Correspondence and Treaties 1800–1854*, Evanston – Addis Ababa 1987 (Acta Aethiopica 1), 177, 190, 228f., 232f., 238f., 244–47, 254f.; ID. (ed.), *Tewodros and his Contemporaries 1855–1868*, Lund – Addis Ababa 1994 (Acta Aethiopica 2), 4f., 14–17, 20f., 24f., 30–35, 41, 44f., 61ff.; ID. (ed.), *Internal Rivalries and Foreign Threats*, Addis Ababa 2000 (Acta Aethiopica 3), 79, 129.

Lit.: ZEWDE GABRE-SELLASSIE, *Yohannes IV of Ethiopia: a Political Biography,* Oxford 1975, 170f., 275; SVEN RUBENSON, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, London 1976, 233, 284.

Sven Rubenson – Bairu Tafla

Bərru Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel

Ras B. (ብሩ፡ ወልደ፡ ገብርኤል; b. ca. 1890, d. 1945, sometimes referred to as Bərru Mənilək),

Bərru Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel, photo courtesy of the IES, Addis Abäba (Box 35, Acc. no. 253)

formerly *däğğazmač* and *fitawrari*, grew up in the court of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, as a companion of *ləğ* ↗Iyasu and Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I).

B. was successively appointed Governor of Konta, Wälläga and Sidamo, as well as Minister of War. Following the Italian invasion, he accompanied Ḫaylä Śəllase into exile and returned with him via the Sudan. Sent on a mission to link up with the patriots of Gondär, he participated in the battle that ended with the surrender of General Guglielmo ↗Nasi. After the liberation in 1941, he served as a governor of Käfa.

B. was famous for his excessive wealth in both rural and urban property, and lavish feasts. The banquet (*gəbər*) that he gave on the occasion of his appointment as Minister of War is reported to have cost around 100,000 Maria Theresia thalers. His imposing house in Addis Abäba, overlooking Mäsqäl Square, has now been converted into Addis Abäba City Museum.

Lit.: KÄBBÄDÄ TÄSÄMMA, የታሪክ፡ ማስታወሻ (*Yätarik mastawäša*, 'Historical Memoirs'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], ²1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.; MahHorse 233; *blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, ዝክረ፡ ነገር (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba ²1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 236, 240, 302, s. index; BAHRU ZEWDE, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855–1974*, London – Addis Abeba 1991, s. index.

Bahru Zewde

believe that he held a position in the Ethiopian Government, which would correspond to a Prime Minister.

While he was in Egypt, B. was instrumental in recruiting a group of French artisans headed by Godineau. One of the French recruits, Pierre Arnoux, declared that B. had accepted money from the Egyptians to make the mission fail in September 1872.

When his intrigue was discovered by Yoḥannəs, B. shifted his allegiance to *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II). In Mənilək's letter to *khedive* Ismāᶜīl dated 1 April 1875, he refers to B. with a title of *ras* and that he had sent him to negotiate on his behalf with ↗Munzinger *paša*, the Egyptian governor at Massawa. B. proceeded from Massawa to Egypt and, during the Egyptian invasion of Ethiopia, joined Munzinger in his fatal expedition with his 400 soldiers through Awsa on the way to Šäwa. There they both perished with their followers when they were attacked by the ᶜAfar army in November 1875.

Src.: GueCopMen 399; BAIRU TAFLA (ed., tr.), *A Chronicle of Emperor Yoḥannes IV (1872-89)*, Stuttgart 1977 (AeF 1), 45 n. 51, 97.
Lit.: BTafA 894; ZEWDE GABRE-SELLASSIE, *Yohannes IV of Ethiopia: a Political Biography*, Oxford 1975, 274f.; SVEN RUBENSON, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, London 1976, 277, 280f., 320, 369-72.

Zewde Gabre-Sellassie

Bərru Wäldä Giyorgis

Aläqa B. (ብሩ፡ ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ, d. 1875) was a native of Ǝste in Bägemdər. He was the senior administrator of ecclesiastical affairs and confidant of the ruler of Təgray *däğğazmač* Kaśa Mərča (later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV) and during the early part of Yoḥannəs's reign after his succession to the throne.

In 1869 B. was sent to Egypt as head of a mission to the Coptic Patriarch and to *khedive* ↗Ismāᶜīl to bring a bishop, with 20,000 Maria Theresia thalers. He brought *abunä* ↗Atənatewos as Metropolitan for Ethiopia to replace the deceased *abunä* Sälama. In 1870 B. was sent as chief envoy to Britain together with ↗Mərča Wärqe to bring back artisans and craftsmen. But his mission proceeded no further than Egypt, on instructions from the British Foreign Office to Edward ↗Stanton, the British Consul General in Egypt. In his correspondence B. styled himself as "Giyorgis, Chief of the Councilors" (↗*Rəᵓəsä mämakərt*), which led some people to

Bərru Wəbe

B.W. (ብሩ፡ ወኒ, b. ca. 1837/38, d. 1890) was the first major convert agent working with the ↗London Society for the Promotion of Christianity amongst the Jews to convert his fellow ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel. B.W. was born in Sandəba village in the Dagussa region west of Lake Ṭana, but his family soon moved to Ganda in Dämbəya. He early displayed a thirst for knowledge and became literate in Amharic and Gəᶜəz.

In 1860 B.W. came into contact with the Protestant missionaries, Henry ↗Stern, Stephen Bronkhorst, and especially Johann Martin ↗Flad. Through a process of textual disputation, B.W. became convinced of the Christian message and announced his conversion during the rainy season of 1861. On 21 July 1862 he was among the first 22 converts to be formally baptized by Flad. In October that year, B.W. was one of the major participants in the religious disputation heard before *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II.

The missionaries became embroiled in the dispute between Tewodros and the British government, 1863–68, and after Tewodros's suicide, all foreign missionaries were withdrawn from northwest Ethiopia until 1926. Flad continued to support the converts through meetings with them at the borders, by some monetary support and through the distribution of Bibles and tracts. B.W. had appointed Scripture Reader and Superintendent of all the converts, a position he held until his death in 1890. A testimonial was given to B.W. by ↗Mikaʾel Arägawi, the other main convert agent from this early period. Mikaʾel Arägawi said that B.W. was "such a memory that one got the impression that he was a living concordance […] It was owing to his efforts that the Falaša Mission became what it was afterwards" (*Jewish Intelligence* … October 1893:156).

Src.: LONDON SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIANITY AMONGST THE JEWS, *Reports*, London 1860–1906; ID., *The Jewish Records*, London 1861–84; ID., *Jewish Intelligence and Monthly Account of the Proceedings* [also called *Jewish Missionary Intelligence*], London 1838–93; JOHANN MARTIN FLAD, *60 Jahre in der Mission unter den Falaschas in Abessinien*, Giessen – Basel 1922.

Lit.: JAMES QUIRIN, "Ethiopian Beta Israel (Falasha) Convert Biographies, 1837–1931", in: *PICES* 14, forthcoming; ID., *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia, 1992; STEVEN KAPLAN, "The Beta Israel (Falasha) Encounter with Protestant Missionaries, 1860–1905", *Jewish Social Studies* 49, 1987, 27–42; ID., *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia: from Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York 1992; DONALD CRUMMEY, *Priests and Politicians: Protestant and Catholic Missions in Orthodox Ethiopia, 1830–1868*, Oxford 1972; ERIC PAYNE, *Ethiopian Jews: the Story of a Mission*, London 1972.

James Quirin

Berta

Berta language

The B. language belongs to the ↗Nilo-Saharan phylum, and in Greenberg's (1966) classification it constitutes a separate branch of the Chari-Nile family. The most common variants of this language's name are Bärta, Burta, Waṭāwīṭ, Beni Šangul (for a clarification of alternative and earlier names of B. s. Triulzi et al. 1976).

B. is spoken in the western part of Beni Šangul–Gumuz Regional State and in adjacent areas in the Sudan. According to the 1996 census, the number of B. speakers in Ethiopia is 115,602. B. is not yet a written language, but the Beni Šangul–Gumuz Regional State is currently planning to use it in primary education.

In its vocabulary, B. has been highly influenced by Arabic. For instance, all numerals except "one" and "two" are Arabic loanwords (s. also Bender 1989).

There is some dialectal variation at the phonological level, especially in the consonant system. In the grammatical sketch given below, the dialectal variant spoken in the ↗Asosa area is described. For descriptions of some aspects of Sudanese B. s. Andersen 1993a, 1993b, 1995.

Phonologically, B. has a five-vowel system, */i, e, a, o, u/*, and there is a contrast between short and long vowels. The inventory of 21 consonant phonemes consists of the plain stops */p, t, k, ʾ/* the implosive stops */ɓ, ɗ/*, the ejective stops */ṭ, ḳ/*, the nasals */m, n, ŋ/*, the plain fricatives */f, θ, s, š, h/*, the ejective fricative */ṣ/*, the liquids */l, r/*, and the glides */w, y/*. The velar nasal */ŋ/* is realised as a palatal [*ñ*] before front vowels. There is no voice contrast in the consonants, but after nasals and often intervocalically the stops and fricative */p, t, k, s/* are realised phonetically as [*b, d, g, z*]. B. is a tone language with three contrastive tones: high */ˊ/*, low */ˋ/* and falling */ˆ/*.

There are two major word classes, nouns and verbs, while adjectival concepts are expressed by verbs. Nouns are inflected for number and case. The number category consists of singular and plural, and the singular is always unmarked, while the plural is expressed by a suffix */-ii/*, cf. sg. *màapà*, pl. *màap-íi* 'man', sg. *kàlì*, pl. *kèel-íi* 'dog'. However, the use of plural forms is mostly restricted to nouns denoting human beings. The case category consists of four cases: absolutive, nominative, genetive and "casus constructus". In addition, there is a dative-allative-beneficiary enclitic.

In noun phrases, modifiers follow the head, and the latter takes a special case form (a kind of casus constructus) when modified by a demonstrative, a possessor or a relative clause, cf. *θàŋ* 'cow', *θàaŋ-á lé* 'this cow', *θàaŋ-á-ŋḳò* 'my cow', *θàaŋ-á màap-úu* 'the man's cow', *θàaŋ-á ɗáaŋú* 'big cow'. A modified noun whose stem ends in a consonant is marked by a high-toned suffix *-á*. A nominal possessor takes the genitive case, which is mostly expressed by the suffix *-uu* and a low-high tone pattern.

The most common order of clausal constituents is Subject–Verb–Object, as in *màapà ḳùr-à sîŋír* ('The man hit the donkey'). A preverbal subject and an object have the unmarked case form, the absolutive, which is also the citation

form of a noun. However, the subject may also come after the verb, in which case it takes another case form, the nominative, which differs tonally from the absolutive, as in *sɨ̂ŋír ḳùr-à máapà* ('The man hit the donkey', lit. 'donkey hit–Perfect man:Nominative').

Verbs are inflected for tense-aspect-mood. In addition to the non-past form, which is unmarked or has a suffix *-i*, there is a past tense with the suffix *-óo*, a perfect tense-aspect with the suffix *-a*, and a subjunctive mood with the suffix *-a*.

There are several verbal derivational categories, which are expressed by affixes. Examples are the benefactive suffix *-kà*, as in *sɨ̂ŋír tàa-kà néŋè ŋèerà* ('The woman gives the donkey grass', lit. 'donkey give–Benefactive woman:Nominative grass'), the causative prefix *á-*, as in *màapà á-bùn-tɨŋ sɨ̂ŋír* ('The man is loading the donkey', lit. 'man Causative–carry–Suffix donkey'), the centripetal suffix *-òo*, which indicates direction towards the speaker, as in *hàsúl-òo* 'Bring it!', and the reciprocal suffix *-ùu*, as in *màrée pòoš-ùu-ʾí* ('They are insulting each other', lit. 'they insult–Reciprocal–Intransitive').

B. has a multifunctional preposition *θá*, which has instrumental meaning when followed by a noun phrase with the absolutive case, as in *θá pèlè* ('with a stone'), but locative meaning when followed by a noun phrase with the genitive case, as in *θá θòŋòr-úu* ('on the road'). An alternative to the genitive case in a locative expression is a postposed body part noun, for instance *kùntì* ('back') as in *θá kúupì kùntì* ('behind the hut').

A ten-word list follows: 'one' *dûḳúnúŋ*; 'two' *hòlòŋòníŋ*; 'three' *tàláatà* (from Arabic); 'fire' *mûu*; 'water' *fɨ̀ɨ̀*; 'moon' *sìkè*; 'sun' *mùnsú*; 'blood' *ḳáfàa*; 'tongue' *hàlàa*; 'tooth' *ìntú fùutíi* (lit. 'white mouth'). Personal pronouns in their citation form: *àlì* 'I', *ŋ̀kó* 'you' (sg.), *ŋìnè* 'he, she', *hàθâŋ* 'we', *hàθú* 'you' (pl.), *màrée* 'they'. Demonstrative modifiers (neutral with respect to number): *lé* 'this' (near speaker), *lò* 'that' (near hearer), *θí* 'that' (far from both speaker and hearer).

B. is still a poorly-described language, and a systematic dialect survey is desirable.

Lit.: TORBEN ANDERSEN, "Aspects of Berta Phonology", *AuÜ* 76, 1993a, 41–80; ID., "Verbal Roots and Verbal Inflection in Berta", *African Languages and Cultures* 6, 1993b, 97–119; ID., "Absolutive and Nominative in Berta", in: ROBERT NICOLAÏ – FRANZ ROTTLAND (ed.), *Actes du Cinquième Colloque de Linguistique Nilo-Saharienne. Proceedings of the Fifth Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Colloquium, Nice, 24–29 août 1992*, Köln 1995 (Nilo-Saharan Linguistic Analyses and Documentation 10), 39–69; MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, "Berta Lexicon", in: ID. (ed.), *Topics in Nilo-Saharan Linguistics*, Hamburg 1989 (Nilo-Saharan Linguistic Analyses and Documentation 3), 271–304; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI – ATIEB ASFAW DAFALLAH – MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, "Berta", in: *BendNonSLang* 513–32; JOSEPH HAROLD GREENBERG, *Languages of Africa*, Bloomington – The Hague ²1966.

Torben Andersen

Berta ethnography

B. (or Bertha) is the name of an indigenous group of people living in the western Ethiopian-Sudanese border area south of the Blue Nile, between the towns of Fadasi and Yabus, who are also scattered in many other communities beyond. Their number in 2003 is estimated at some 140,000. The area is marked by complex inter-ethnic relations between many groups. The B. speak their own Nilo-Saharan language, and often also, among the élite, Arabic. They are also known as Bela Šangul – a territorial name referring to their ancient sacred stone – or *Ğäbälawi*, the Sudanese Arabic name under which they are listed in the Ethiopian census of 1994, although this is not a name they themselves prefer. In recent decades the Sudanese-Arabic name of their region, ↗Beni Šangul, became identified with the people and was included in the name of a new ethno-regional state in post-1991 federal Ethiopia: "Beni Šangul–Gumuz".

The B. are an old indigenous group, still identifying with their historical and cultural heritage. Their oral historical tradition dates back well before the introduction of Islam. Until the early 19th cent., the B. had their own kingdom

Berta wedding in Abramo, with local music instruments, February 2001, photo courtesy of Christof Herrmann

(*agurindu*) and defended their domain against outside interference. They came under Islamic and Arabic influences in the early 19th century from Sudanese immigrants, who then became the local elite, the *wäṭawiṭ* (↗*Waṭāwīṭ*), and tended to look down on the common B. people. This elite traced a connection to the old kingdom of ↗Funǧ (which fell in 1821).

In the late 19th cent., the most important local leader was *šayḫ* ↗Ḫʷağalī al-Ḥasan, originally from ↗Dongola in Sudan, who made his career as a slave trader. He survived *aṣe* Mənilək II's conquest in 1898 and started paying tribute to him in the form of alluvial gold, which was – next to slaves – the main resource of Bela Šangul. In the time of the ↗Mahdist revolt in Sudan in the 1880s, the B. suffered greatly under Sudanese slave raiders. The word "Berta" became virtually synonymous with "slave". In imperial times, the B. were dominated by Ethiopian highlanders.

The economic base of the B. today is subsistence agriculture, with millet, sorghum, maize, cotton, and peas as main crops. They also practise animal husbandry (cattle, goats), apiculture, and some hunting and craftwork, while gold panning also continues. Regional trade has increased in recent decades, with ↗Asosa as the main market town in B. country. Despite this, the region is poor and underdeveloped. Although Christianity is also present, the dominant religion among the B. is Islam, combined with old ceremonies and rituals concerned with rain-making, divination, certain sacrifices and life-cycle events, although all these have declined markedly in significance. Over the past century-and-a-half until this day, their social organization and cultural life has been deeply affected through their conquest and domination by outsiders. However, little information is available on contemporary B. society. The new, multi-ethnic Regional State of Beni Šangul-Gumuz (since 1992) provided nominal autonomy to the local people, but has not been a political or economic success. It remains one of the weakest states in federal Ethiopia.

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY, *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia, Results at the Country Level*, vol. 1, Addis Ababa 1998, 66.

Lit.: TESFAYE GABRE-MARIAM, *A Study of the Major Themes in Jablawi Folktales*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1990; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, "Myths and Rituals of the Ethiopian Bertha", in: MARVIN LIONEL BENDER (ed.), *Peoples and Cultures of the Ethio-Sudan Borderland*, East Lansing 1981, 179–214; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy. Prelude to the History of a No-Man's Land: Bela Shangul, Wallaga, Ethiopia* (*ca. 1800–1898*), Napoli 1981; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI – ATIEB AHMED DAFALLAH – MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, "Some Notes on the Ethiopian Bertha and their Language", *Annali IUO* 36, 1976, 1–23; JOHN YOUNG, "Along Ethiopia's Western Frontier: Gambella and Benishangul in Transition", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 37, 2, 1999, 321–46.

Jon Abbink

Bəṣəʿət anti

B. (**ብፅዕት፡ አንቲ**, 'Blessed you are') is a Marian hymn forming part of the ↗*Səbḥatä fəqur*. It is made up of around 70 stanzas, composed using biblical quotations, mainly from the Psalms. Tradition attributes it to *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, but the existence of manuscripts from the 15th cent. lets one suggest that the *Səbḥatä fəqur* may have been written by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob himself, or under his orders (Raineri 1986:422).

The use of B. in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is not uniform. While some stanzas give the impression that it is intended for times of calamity, some churches use it throughout the liturgical calendar. Within the *Səbḥatä fəqur* there are even places where, at certain liturgical times (Holy Week, the fast of *Fəlsäta*), it is sung twice a day: in the morning, using the ↗*gaʿəz* mode, and at the beginning of the afternoon, before the mass of fast days, using the ↗*araray* mode. On the other hand, it is omitted at certain times, because the office of the day has priority.

↗Hymns; ↗Mary

Src.: *liqä mäzämmərən* MOGÄS ʿƎQUBÄ GIYORGIS (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዓታት** (*Mäṣḥafä säʿatat*, 'The Book of the Hours [Horologium]'), Asmära 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.], 208–23; OSVALDO RAINERI, "L'inno mariano etiopico 'Beṣeʿet anti' (Beata sei) del 'Səbḥatä fəqur' (Celebrazione del diletto)", *OrChrP* 52, 1986, 421–31.

Habtemichael Kidane

Bəsṭawros

B. (**ብስጣውሮስ**), the son of Fəttä Dəngəl and Ṣəyon Mogäsa, lived in the 17th/18th cent. He became the *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, a position which he occupied during the reign of *aṣe* Iyasu I (r. 1682–1706).

A native of Mäqdäla, he entered Däbrä Ǝsṭifanos after his wife and father were killed during the religious persecutions. During this time, the monastery was in turmoil because of the dogmatic controversies concerning "the Union" (↗*Täwaḥədo*) and "the Unction" (↗*Qəbat*) of Christ. As a result, B. was summoned by the court at Gondär to respond to the accusation that he had persecuted those who accepted the doctrine favoured by the Emperor. Though the saint was imprisoned, Iyasu realized that he was righteous and orthodox and put him in charge of the court at Gondär, where B. died on 19 *Gənbot*. His Acts record that the Emperor refused to hand over B.'s corpse to *abba* Alaniqos, who wished to inter it at Ḥayq. An image of the Mother of God in the church Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam revealed the location of B.'s tomb to Alaniqos, so that the relics of the saint could be secretly brought to Däbrä Ḥayq. Among many other wonders, he is credited with having saved his monastery from the depredations wrought by the Muslims Mənam and Gundagʷəndi.

Src.: EMML vol. 7, 159, no. 2812; KinBibl 67, no. 33.
Lit.: OSVALDO RAINERI, "Besṭawros", in: *EncSan* vol. 1, 432–33.

Osvaldo Raineri

Bəṣuᶜa Amlak

Abba B.A. (**ብፁዕ፡ አምላክ**, or Bəṣuᶜə Amlak), a 15th-cent. monk and saint, is considered to be the founder of Ǝnda Śəllase monastery. The main source on his life is his hagiography, studied by Carlo Conti Rossini (1902). According to the ↗*Gädl*, B.A.'s father was Yäfqərännä Ǝgziʾə from Mäkada (↗Gulo Makada, ᶜAgamä), and his mother was Zämädä Maryam. B.A. was probably born between 1430–35 in Ṭatya (not far from Dəbarwa) and was baptized as Bəṣuᶜə Mänfäs Qəddus. After some local inhabitants accused Yäfqərännä Ǝgziʾə of murder, he decided to leave secular life together with his wife and children. They all entered the monastery of ↗Däbrä Bizän, in Ḥamasen. When the child was accepted by the abbot Säräqa Bərhan, his name was changed to B.A. After he completed his church education, he received the monastic garb from a certain *abba* Ṗeṭros. Later, in Särawe, he was ordained deacon and priest by the Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Yəsḥaq (Conti Rossini 1912:407, 409).

Afterwards B.A. left Däbrä Bizän and went to ↗Däbrä Damo for further education. Upon its completion, B.A. moved back to Eritrea and established himself at Kodadu, Ṣälləma (near Dəbarwa; cp. Conti Rossini 1912:392, n. 1), propagating the cult of the Trinity. He then left the area and reached Tänfe in Robra, where he founded Ǝnda Śəllase (on a mountain near the May Wušate river; Conti Rossini 1912:393, n. 4). He died on 9 *Gənbot*, at the age of 75, after appointing Bäkʷərä Dəngəl as the new abbot. B.A.'s hagiography was written by a certain Yəsḥaq ca. 1510, perhaps very soon after the saint's death. Another document (a "register" of monastic land properties) narrates of the encounter with *aṣe* Naᶜod (r. 1494–1508), who granted the area to the new community.

Ǝnda Səllase's importance obviously increased considerately after B.A.'s death, and at present it is a prominent Eritrean monastery of Däbrä Məᶜəwan (mentioned in the "register"; s. Conti Rossini 1912:428) located in Ǝggäla Ḥamus, Akkälä Guzay, near Däqqämḥare, which claims to have been founded by B.A. (Bərhanä Mäsqäl Täsfamaryam 1996:70). Another monastery connected to the saint is Däbrä (Abunä) Buṣuᶜ Amlak, known also as Kodadu, in Ṣälləma (s. Bausi – Lusini 1992:17).

Further to the identity of the saint, one should mention the recently found *Miracles of the Trinity*, a large collection of miraculous stories (↗*Taʾammər*) compiled on the basis of biblical subjects (cp. mss. Berlin Staatsbibliothek, orient. quart. 993; EMML 4769). The author of the work is a certain B.A., who is thought to be identical with the founder of Ǝnda Śəllase.

Src.: EMML vol. 10, 302ff., no. 4769; HamSixBerl 211–15 [orient. quart. 993]; KinBibl 67f., no. 34; **ገድለ፡ ብፁዕ፡ አምላክ** (*Gädlä Bəṣuᶜə Amlak*, 'Acts of Bəsuᶜə Amlak'), Asmära 1986 A.M. [1993/94 A.D.]; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Besu'a Amlāk e il convento della Trinità", *RRALm* ser. 5, 11, 1902, 389–429.
Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 34, 1992 [1995], 5–36; BƎRHANÄ MÄSQÄL TÄSFAMARYAM, **ታሪክ፡ ገዳማት፡ ዘምድረ፡ አግአዚት፡ ኤርትራ፡ ወስርዓተ፡ ብሕትውና፡ ንኡም፡ ወወልድባ፡ ካብ፡ ዋንቲ፡ ክሳብ፡ ሕጇ** (*Tarik gädamat zämədrä Agʾazit Ertəra wäsəᶜatä bəḥtəwənna nənum wäwäldəbba kab ṭənti kəsab ḥəgĝi*, 'The History of the Cloisters of the Country of *Agʾazit* of Eritrea [Təgrəñña-speaking highland part of Eritrea] and

the Customs of the Asceticism of the 'Nənum' [lit. 'let us sleep'] and Wäldəbba, from their Origins the Present'), [no place] ²1996, 69f.; GuiSLett 61.

Tsegay Berhe G. Libanos – Denis Nosnitsin

Bet Abrəhe ↗ Mänsaᶜ

Bet Asgäde

B.A. (**ቤት፡ አስገዴ**) is the collective name for the three Təgre-speaking groups ↗Ḥabab, ↗ᶜAd Täkles and ↗ᶜAd Təmaryam, who trace their descent to a common legendary ancestor Asgäde (also Asgädä), who lived, most probably, in the 16th cent. Although historical evidence based on recorded oral traditions is inconclusive, Ḥabab traditions put Asgäde's origins in the Ṣänᶜadäggle clan in ↗Akkälä Guzay. It is believed that, following family disputes over succession and leadership, Asgäde and his family gradually migrated from this region northwards, first towards ↗Ḥamasen, where they settled in the village of ᶜAddi Näfas. From there, traditions relate, Asgäde and members of his family trekked further north and settled in the Rora Baqla ('the Mule's Highland') in the ↗Saḥəl region. But the personification of this migratory process in Asgäde does not reveal other political or economic reasons for explaining it historically.

After their arrival in the area, the B.A. subjected the indigenous Təgre-speaking nomadic pastoralist groups (e.g., Asfäda, Almäda, Haffära) to their overlordship by imposing a socio-economic structure dividing society into a "ruling/master caste" (Tgr.: *šəmagälle*; s. ↗Šəmagəlle) and a "serf caste" (*təgre*). Over time, the descendants of Asgäde's successors Ḥabib, Təmaryam and Täkles split into three autonomous groups, each headed by its own *käntibay*.

By the middle of the 19th cent. the B.A. had converted from Christianity to Islam, especially through the influence of the potent ↗ᶜAd Šek and ↗Nāʾib families, who were active in the region. While they previously practised mostly farming, the Ḥabab, ᶜAd Täkles and ᶜAd Təmaryam became nomadic pastoralists. In the early 1950s, the B.A. numbered ca. 42,000.

Src.: ENNO LITTMANN, *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*, 4 vols., Leyden 1910–15; ANTHONY D'AVRAY (ed.), *The Nakfa Documents: the Despatches, Memoranda, Reports, and Correspondence …*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 53), s. index.

Lit.: KilHDic 118f.; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London – New York – Toronto 1952, 158f.; ALBERTO POLLERA, *Le popolazioni indigene dell'Eritrea*, Bologna 1935, 192–95; ANTHONY D'AVRAY (ed.), *Lords of the Red Sea*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 45), s. index (Lit.); MUḤAMMAD ṢĀLIḤ ḌIRĀR, *Taʾrīḫ qabāʾil al-Ḥabab wal-Ḥamāsin bil-Sūdān wa-Īrūtriyā* ('History of the Habab and Hamasen Tribes in the Sudan and Eritrea'), Khartum 1991; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia, III: Note sul Sahel Eritreo", *RSO* 6, 1914, 365–407, here 365ff.; OSBERT GUY STANHOPE CRAWFORD, "The Habab Tribe", *Sudan Notes and Records* 36, 1955, 183–87; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, *The Raœs and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1944, 40f.

Jonathan Miran

Bet Ǝšḥaqan ↗ Mänsaᶜ

Bet Gäbre Tärqe ↗ Bilin

Bet Ǧuk

B.Ǧ. (**ቤት፡ ጁክ**, also Bet Ǧok, Bet Ǧoq) is a small ↗Təgre-speaking group inhabiting the ↗ᶜAnsäba valley to the north of Kärän in Eritrea. The group, mainly farmers, dwells in several settlements centred around the village of Wazəntät.

The B.Ǧ. trace their descent from Gebibu Ruk (or Ǧäribruk, Zärʾi Bəruk), who is believed to have accompanied the legendary Asgäde (↗Bet Asgäde) when they migrated to the region from ↗Ḥamasen, but separated from the main group and settled in the middle ᶜAnsäba valley.

Their social organization and customs resemble those of the ↗Mänsaᶜ and are based on a ruling class, the *šəmagälle*, and the *säb mədr* ('people of the land'), the indigenous inhabitants of the region.

The B.Ǧ. converted to Islam from Christianity during the Egyptian occupation ca. 1870s. They founded two renowned Islamic religious

schools in Wazəntät and Kärän. During the Eritrean liberation struggle, the group suffered greatly from the destruction of their villages and many sought refuge in the Sudan.

Src.: ENNO LITTMANN, *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*, 4 vols., Leyden 1910–15, esp. vol. 1, 281 (text) = vol. 2, 339 (tr.) ["The Bēt-Gūk, or Bēt-Ġärībrūk"]; vol. 3, 219–30 (text) = vol. 4a, 461–84 (tr.) ["Lieder der Bēt-Gūk"]; ANTHONY D'AVRAY (ed., tr.), *The Nakfa Documents: the Despatches, Memoranda, Reports, and Correspondence …*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 53), s. index.

Lit.: KilHDic 119; MUḤAMMAD ʿUṮMĀN ABŪ BAKR, *Taʾrīḫ Īrītrīyā al-muʿāṣir: arḍan wa-šaʿban* ('The Modern History of Eritrea: the Land and the People'), Cairo 1994, 277; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia: III: Note sul Sahel Eritreo", *RSO* 6, 1914, 365–425, here 382, n. 1; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, *Races and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1944, 40; ALBERTO POLLERA, *Le popolazioni indigene dell'Eritrea*, Bologna 1935, 203f.; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London – New York – Toronto 1952, 164.

Jonathan Miran

Bet Mäʿala

The B.M. (**ቤት፡ መዐላ**, also Bet Malä, Beyt Māla, Beyt Maʿāla, Bayt Maʿla) exists today as an autonomous subgroup of the ↗Beni ʿAmər. The B.M. live as agro-pastoralists in the ↗Saḥal, in the foothills north-west of the ↗Ḥabab (Təgre) region, as well as in the Eastern Province of the Sudan in the area of Garora near Port Sudan, under its own chief, known as *nāzir*.

Formerly, the B.M. was a branch of the Beni ʿAmər federation, which underwent many changes due to the colonial administration and the border demarcation between the eastern Sudan and western Eritrea (western lowlands).

The B.M. joined the Beni ʿAmər because of internal feuds and also to resist the strong Beğa ↗Haḍándowa groups of the eastern Sudan, during the invasion of the ↗Mahdists to western Eritrea. However, the B.M. later became so wealthy and powerful that they gained independent political status and were recognized as a separate ethnic entity. Both the B.M. and the Beni ʿAmər traditions view B.M. as an independent group, albeit affiliated with the Beni ʿAmər federation.

A small sub-tribe of the B.M. in the Barka region still belongs to the Beni ʿAmər federation (Nadel 1944:43). They can be defined as a segmentary society, quite different from the more stratified society of the Beni ʿAmər.

A common feature of the agro-pastoralist B.M. community, similar to that of the Beni ʿAmər society, is the split household and the split herd. The household head remains in the home area where the farms lie, sometimes keeping a small herd of milk-cows. His married or unmarried sons deploy the herd away from the home area in the wet or dry seasons, returning to the locality in time to help with farm clearing or the harvest.

At one time the B.M. spoke only tu-Beḍáwiɛ (↗Beğa, the language of the Beni ʿAmər), but today they are bilingual speakers of both Təgre and tu-Beḍáwiɛ because of their social and political affiliation with Təgre-speaking Ḥabab groups of the Saḥəl.

Src.: ENNO LITTMANN, *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*, 4 vols., Leyden 1910–15, here vol. 1, 285 (text) = vol. 2, 342 (tr.) ["The Bēt-Maʿala, Ganīfra and Bēt-Baʿaššō"]; vol. 3, 443–59 (text) = vol. 4b, 919–51 (tr.) ["Lieder der Bēt-Maʿala und Bēt-Baʿaššō"].

Lit.: SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, *Races and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1944, 43; MUḤAMMAD ʿUṮMĀN ABŪ BAKR, *Taʾrīḫ Īrītrīyā al-muʿāṣir: arḍan wa-šaʿban* ('The Modern History of Eritrea: the Land and the People'), Cairo 1994; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London – New York – Toronto 1952, 141, 157, 168.

Abdulkader Saleh Mohammad

Bet Ṭaqʷe ↗ Bilin

Betä Abba Libanos ↗ Lalibäla

Betä Abrəham

B.A. (**ቤተ፡ አብርሃም**) are handicraft people living for the most part in isolated monasteries of monks and nuns, in northern Šäwa and southern Wällo. Each monastery has its own **አዛጅ** (*azağ*, 'head'), as well as a **ሴት፡ አዛጅ** (*set azağ*, 'woman-head') for the nuns. Members of these communities, who today number several thousand and live communally, are also referred to as **ጠቢብ** (*täbib*, 'artisan'), **ባለ፡ እጅ** (*balä əğğ*, 'master of hand'), and **ሞራቴ** (*moräte*, 'person from Morät', a locality where many craftsmen live). They consist of male blacksmiths and weavers, and female potters. Like other Ethiopian handicraft-workers they were landless, looked down upon, and sometimes victimised. They resemble the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, both in occupational pattern, and in some beliefs and customs. Tradition suggests that they, like the Betä Ǝsraʾel, once lived in Bägemdər and Dämbəya, and probably formed part of the same community, but were introduced to Christianity by

one ↗Zäkrəstos, during the reign of *aṣe* Susanyos (r. 1607–32). They nevertheless retain several Betä Ǝsraʾel-like institutions, including Saturday Sabbath and segregation of women during menstruation and childbirth. Members of the community travelled south to Šäwa, in the early 18th cent., and reportedly cleared the land for peasant cultivation.

Most B.A. live today in some 20 monastic communities, but others migrated, in the 20th cent., to ↗Addis Abäba. Many, in the city's Qäčäne area, pursue handicraft activities, but others have moved into taxi-driving and other modern occupations.

↗Handicrafts

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Craftsmen's Monasteries of Shawa and their Judaeo-Christian Customs: a Review of Literature", in: MICHAEL KOHLBACHER – MARCUS LESINSKI (eds.), *Horizonte der Christenheit. Festschrift für Friedrich Heyer zu seinem 85. Geburtstag*, Erlangen 1994, 49–60; ID., "The Bala Ejj Community of Shawa", in: STEVEN KAPLAN – TUDOR PARFITT – EMANUELA TREVISAN SEMI (eds.), *Between Africa and Zion*, Jerusalem 1995, 131–52; ID., "A Visit to the Craftsmen's Gädam, or Monastery, of Mänteq, near Ankobär, Shäwa", *Africa. Rivista trimestiale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente* 53, 4, 1998, 587–96; ID., "Two Visits to Mugä Gädam, Šäwa", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 169–78.

Richard Pankhurst

Betä Amanuʾel ↗ Lalibäla

Betä Dänagəl ↗ Lalibäla

Betä Ǝsraʾel

I. Betä Ǝsraʾel history

The B.Ǝ. (**ቤተ፡ እስራኤል**), or Fälaša (**ፈላሻ**) were a group of 35,000–40,000 people living in northern and north-western Ethiopia. They lived in more than 500 villages scattered throughout the Səmen, Dämbəya, and Wälqayt regions in Gondär (↗Bägemdər) province. Smaller groups resided in Təgray, Lasta and Qʷara as well as in the towns of Gondär and Addis Abäba. Between 1977 and 1991, the vast majority of B.Ǝ. emigrated from Ethiopia to ↗Israel. Small groups remained, particularly in the Qʷara region. In addition, there are between 50,000 to 100,000 descendants and alleged descendants of B.Ǝ. claiming the right to emigrate from Ethiopia.

1. Origins

Until recently, virtually all attempts to explain the origins of the B.Ǝ. had two characteristics in common. First, they were essentially diffusionist. In other words, the presence of Jews in Ethiopia was explained as the result of migrations of members of one or another ancient Jewish community: it was hypothesized that the B.Ǝ. were descendants of: 1. the "Ten Lost Tribes", particularly the tribe of Dan; 2. immigrants from South Arabia; 3. Jews from Egypt, particularly from the 7th- to 5th-cent. B.C. military garrison on the island of Elephantine, near present-day Aswan; 4. a combination of different immigrant groups. Secondly, and on this authorities were nearly unanimous until the 1970s: the history of Jews and Judaism in Ethiopia was seen as a small-scale recapitulation of the history of those two religions elsewhere in the world. According to this view a small ancient Jewish population was supplanted by a later Christian community, leaving behind only a small residual Jewish population. The B.Ǝ., it was claimed, were an archaic group, religious and cultural survivors from pre-Christian ↗Aksum.

Since the mid-1970s, a new scholarly consensus has emerged which, although conceding the existence of early Jewish influences on Ethiopian culture and civilization, questions the survival of a distinct Jewish group culturally and socially separate from the surrounding population. Rather it suggests the existence of a spectrum of groups which differed with regard to the emphasis they put on Christian and Judaic elements. According to this perspective, the B.Ǝ. must be understood first and foremost as an Ethiopian ethnic group and their ethnogenesis should be dated to the 14th to 16th cent. During this period a combination of political, economic, religious and social factors led to the emergence of a group known to others as Fälaša and calling themselves the B.Ǝ. or Ǝsraʾelawi ('Israelite').

2. Legendary figures

Whatever the origins of the B.Ǝ., there is little evidence for their presence in Ethiopia prior to the 14th cent. There is a number of references to Jews in the works of travellers such as ↗Eldad Ha-Dani and ↗Benjamin of Tudela or accounts of legendary figures such as ↗Prester John or Queen Judith (↗Ǝsato). However, scholars are divided as to whether any of these sources can be considered definitive evidence for a distinctly defined Jewish group in Ethiopia.

3. War and adaptation

The first reliable reference to the people later known as the Fälaša appears to be in the chronicle of the wars of *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I. According to this source, the Emperor sent troops against people "like Jews" (**ከመ፡ አይሁድ**, *kämä ayhud*) in the regions of Səmen, Wägära, Ṣällämt and Ṣägäde. Indeed, the reign of ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I appears to mark the beginning of almost 300 years of intermittent conflict between the B.Ǝ. and the Christian rulers of Ethiopia. Despite the intensity of these battles and their vital role in the emergence of the B.Ǝ., it is important that they be viewed against the general background of events in Ethiopia during this period.

As the Solomonic rulers extended the borders of their kingdom and expanded the area under their control, they fought and subjugated previously independent groups. Even when the forces that confronted each other across the battlefield professed different faiths, religion played only a minor role in such conflicts. The Ethiopian emperors valued political loyalty more than religious conformity. For their part, the B.Ǝ. frequently crossed confessional lines to form alliances with other opponents of the emperor. In the late 14th cent., ↗Qozmos, a renegade monk whose ascetic tendencies led him to break with the Christian clergy in the Lake Ṭana region, joined those who believed in the "religion of the Jews" and copied the *Oŕit* (the Old Testament) for them. He also led them against the local Christians until *aṣe* ↗Dawit II sent troops to subdue the rebels. The 15th-cent. ruler of Ṣällämt led both Jews and Christians against imperial troops and an unidentified "Fälaša" saved the life of the Stephanite monk ↗Gäbrä Mäśiḥ in the early 16th cent.

Although neither the Church nor the Christian emperors of this period appear to have organized attempts to convert the B.Ǝ., individual monks were active missionaries. ↗Gäbrä Iyäsus was active among the "sons of the Jews" in Ǝnfraz in the 14th cent. and ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat sought to evangelize them in the 15th cent.

Aṣe ↗Yəsḥaq was the first Solomonic ruler who personally waged war against the B.Ǝ. Aided by B.Ǝ. allies, he inflicted a devastating defeat on the governor of Səmen and Dämbəya. He then pressured them to convert or lose their right to own land as ↗*rəst*. He decreed, "He who is baptized in the Christian religion may inherit the land of his father, otherwise let him be a *Fälasī*" (TadTChurch 201). Whether this decree is the source for the term Fälaša ('wanderer' or 'landless person'), there is little question that Yəsḥaq's reign marked the beginning of the disenfranchisement of the B.Ǝ. and the deterioration of their social-economic position.

In response to their deteriorating political and economic situation, the B.Ǝ. began to undergo a number of transformations which eventually redefined their character as a people. Perhaps the most fascinating of these was the adoption and adaptation of elements from the dominant Christian culture in order to develop and strengthen their specifically Israelite religious identity. An excellent example of this phenomenon is the emergence of monasticism among the B.Ǝ. in the 15th cent. Monasticism served to define and underpin the moral and ideological foundations of the B.Ǝ. as they became increasingly distinct from the surrounding Christian peoples. Precisely at the time when the B.Ǝ. were coming under severe social and political pressure, a method was found to allow certain members of the community to devote themselves to the articulation of a unique religious system. Nowhere are the consequences of this "monastic revolution" more clearly evidenced than in the development of a corpus of religious literature and a system of liturgical chants which were almost entirely adopted and adapted from Christian sources.

Another innovation which B.Ǝ. oral traditions attribute to this period is the development of a code of distinctive laws of ritual purity, which required any member of the B.Ǝ. community who had been in contact with outsiders to purify himself before rejoining the community. In this way, the "contagion" of outside influences could be easily isolated and controlled.

As the B.Ǝ. came under increasing pressure to convert and conform, those who chose to resist had several options. If they lost the right to possess *rəst*, they could remain as tenants for their Christian landlords. Alternatively, they could migrate to less-valued inhospitable regions where the competition for land was reduced and royal control minimized. In either of these cases, means would need to be found for supplementing their income from agriculture and over the course of time the B.Ǝ. became increasingly involved as craftsmen such as weavers, smiths, and in the case of women, potters. While such professions provided an additional form of income, they carried a heavy social burden and B.Ǝ.

craftsmen became increasingly stigmatized as magician-like *ṭäbibän* and hyena-like ↗*buda*.

Finally, during the period of the 14th and 15th cent., the B.Ǝ. appear to have become increasingly well-defined politically. Although they do not appear ever to have formed a single unified political unit, over the course of time ethnicity and religion played an ever-increasing role in political culture. If in earlier periods B.Ǝ. political rulers appeared as regional officials governing a province or small area, by the late 16th and early 17th cent. the leader of the Fälaša (Halévy 1906:393) was the political and military leader of an ethnic-religious community.

The 15th and 16th cent. constituted a period of adaptation during which the B.Ǝ. emerged as a distinctive ethnic group by acquiring new skills and developing new institutions. Although the Muslim invasion of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī was welcomed by the B.Ǝ., they later suffered considerably at the hands of the conquerors. One reflection of their ill fortune throughout the 15th and 16th cent. is the frequent mention by Hebrew authors of Ethiopian Jews sold into slavery and redeemed by Jews in Egypt (Waldman 1989:35–91).

Although a variety of political, economic and religious factors lay behind the deterioration of relations between the B.Ǝ. and the Christian kingdom during the 16th and 17th cent., the most important would appear to be the gradual shift of the empire's political centre towards the Gondär region. *Aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl and *aṣe* Susanyos, both of whom waged major campaigns against the B.Ǝ., built castles in the Lake Ṭana region. While the B.Ǝ. were among the major military opponents they faced, members of the group were also incorporated into the royal entourage as builders and craftsmen. As the emperors spent longer periods in this area, the demands they made on the local inhabitants became increasingly unbearable. Following a bitter struggle (↗Gedewon), *aṣe* Susanyos put an end to B.Ǝ. autonomy by confiscating their land, selling many as slaves and forcibly converting many others. However, his abdication several years after this victory probably limited the long term impact of his policies in this area.

Perhaps the clearest expression of the B.Ǝ.'s military decline was the decision of *aṣe* Fasilädäs to situate his capital at Gondär. The site could scarcely have been chosen if the local people had not been completely pacified.

Had the B.Ǝ. depended solely on their military prowess and political autonomy for their survival, it is doubtful that they would have survived beyond the first half of the 17th cent. However, deprived of their independence, they were able to exploit their distinctive religious, economic and social patterns to ensure their survival as a people. As early as the 16th cent. they began to serve the Ethiopian kings as soldiers, craftsmen, masons and carpenters. The skills came to the fore during the massive building campaign that marked the Gondärine period. In exchange for their services, some B.Ǝ. were granted titles and even grants of land.

B.Ǝ. traditions are divided as to the extent of conversion and assimilation during the Gondärine period. While some tend to emphasize the fluidity of social relations, others claim that ritual separation was strictly observed. Such contradictions probably reflect regional, class and chronological differences. Within Gondär city itself, contact with outsiders was inevitable. In 1668 ↗Yoḥannəs I decreed "the separation of the Francs, Muslims, Turks and also of the Fälaša, called Kayla, who are of the Jewish religion, so that they do not live with the Christians" (GuiIohan 36). This decree was clearly not immediately effective because it had to be renewed in 1678.

During the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* the B.Ǝ. lost almost all the economic advantages they had acquired under the Gondärine kings. In the absence of a strong central government capable of and interested in protecting them, it was relatively easy for local rulers to exploit the B.Ǝ. The absence of imperial patronage also led to a dramatic reduction in the kind of building which called for skilled B.Ǝ. workmen. As the demand for expert craftsmen declined, the B.Ǝ. concentrated more on low-status professions such as smithing, pottery making and weaving.

The *Zämänä mäsafənt* was also a period of religious crises, in which their "religion was lost for forty years". As in the past, the monastic clergy played a major role in preserving communal life. *Abba* Wəddaye, the chief monk of Qʷara, is especially credited for his restoration of the faith in the 1840s.

4. From Fälaša to Ethiopian Jews

For the B.Ǝ. the encounter with the modern Western world began with the arrival of Protestant missionaries under the auspices of the

↗London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. If we analyse the impact of the mission in terms of the number of Jews who converted to Christianity, their influence was minimal. The conversion of several hundred B.Ǝ. during a period of close to 50 years can hardly be considered a major transformation of their society. Rather, the impact of the mission must be measured not by the relatively small number of converts who left their traditional community, but by other changes only indirectly related to the mission's purpose. The B.Ǝ.'s religious system, in particular the existence of monasticism, sacrifices and laws of purity, became the subject of unprecedented criticism. In particular, the missionaries stressed that such practices were foreign to "normative" Judaism and in some cases even biblical tradition. The missionaries of the London Society were the first people to treat the B.Ǝ. as Jews in the universal sense of this term. It was without doubt the presence of the mission, more than any other factor prior to the 20th cent., which brought the B.Ǝ. to an understanding of a wider Jewish identity and brought their existence to the attention of the outside Jewish world.

In response to the missionary "threat", several well-known Jewish figures called for assistance to the B.Ǝ. In 1867 Joseph ↗Halévy travelled to Ethiopia as a representative of L'Alliance Israélite Universelle. Halévy's report (1877) remains one of the most important sources for the situation of the B.Ǝ. He returned to Europe full of enthusiasm and strongly recommended that initiatives be pursued to improve their condition and assist them in their resistance to the missionaries. Despite his unequivocal recommendations, no action was taken for 40 years.

In the meantime, events in Ethiopia, most notably the Great Famine of 1888–92 (↗*Kəfu qän*), devastated the community and severely cut its numbers. Not only were members lost to starvation and disease, but as society disintegrated, others converted, at least nominally, to Christianity. As livestock perished, sacrificial ritual was abandoned and demographic realities made the monastic clergy an unsustainable luxury.

When Halévy's student Jacques ↗Faitlovitch visited the B.Ǝ. in 1904–05, they had still not completely recovered from the ravages of the famine. Faitlovitch dedicated his life to the B.Ǝ. and was responsible more than any other person for their entry into the consciousness of Jews elsewhere in the world. Through a series of "pro-Fälaša" committees, he sought to raise the level of their education, publicize conditions in Ethiopia and reform their religious practice. Like the missionaries, he criticized the existence of purity laws, monasticism and sacrificial ritual. Unlike them, however, he couched his demands, not in terms of conversion, but in terms of reform and return. He sought to develop an educated elite and to this end he established a school in Addis Abäba in 1923. He also sent young men, including ↗Yonas Bogale and ↗Täʾammarat Amanuʾel, to Europe and Palestine to study.

Faitlovitch's programs must be viewed in the context of the prevailing colonialist ideologies of his time. He had no doubt as to the superiority of Western civilization, nor of his right to challenge the traditional leadership and practices of the B.Ǝ. Although he vehemently opposed the missionaries, his policies were also disruptive and undermined many of the pillars of B.Ǝ. life.

Faitlovitch's efforts were cut short by the ↗Italian war, 1935–36. Initially the B.Ǝ. were cultivated by the Fascist authorities, who claimed to have liberated them from the Amhara. While some of them collaborated with the conquerors, others were prominent in the resistance.

Following the restoration of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1941, both Christian and Jewish missionaries renewed their activities among the B.Ǝ. After the establishment of the State of ↗Israel, successive Israeli governments pursued a cautious policy towards the B.Ǝ. Although representatives were sent to Ethiopia and small numbers of B.Ǝ. were educated in Israel, no attempt was made to promote *Aliyah* (emigration to Israel). The traditional leadership was increasingly challenged by a small Westernized elite better versed in the ways of the outside world.

The Revolution of 1974 further disrupted existing patterns of communal organization. Although the B.Ǝ. welcomed land reform, they found themselves caught between fearful landlords and government representatives. The official policy of religious freedom also augured well for them, but their contacts with outside Jewish groups were viewed with suspicion. Religious ceremonies were disrupted, young men conscripted and emigration strictly prohibited.

The Ethiopian immigration to Israel was not a single event, but a series of waves each with its own characteristics. Prior to 1980, only about 250 Ethiopian immigrants had come to Israel.

Starting in 1980, B.Ǝ. from Təgray and Wälqayt began to migrate to refugee camps in the Sudan. Although some were to wait there for as long as two or three years, by the end of 1983 over 4,000 people had been taken to Israel.

As word spread of this Sudanese route, B.Ǝ. from the Gondär region began to emigrate as well. As conditions in the Sudan deteriorated, the Israeli government abandoned its policy of airlifting out small groups. Between mid-November 1984 and early January 1985, 6,700 Ethiopians were taken to Israel in what came to be known as "Operation Moses".

Following an Israeli press conference confirming the airlift, the Sudanese suspended the operation, stranding hundreds of people. A few months later, the CIA-sponsored "Operation Joshua/Sheba" brought a further 648 people to Israel.

From August 1985 until the end of 1989 only about 2,500 additional immigrants reached Israel. The restoration of diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and Israel in the autumn of 1989, however, cleared the way for a renewal of emigration in a manner agreeable to both countries. It also raised expectations among the B.Ǝ., who were encouraged by non-governmental groups to leave their villages. By the summer of 1990, over 20,000 B.Ǝ. had migrated to Addis Abäba. When the Ethiopian leader Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Mariam fled the country in May 1991, a dramatic airlift was put into action. During a period of 36 hours between 24–25 May, over 14,000 B.Ǝ. were taken to Israel in "Operation Solomon".

Even after the completion of "Operation Solomon", small groups of B.Ǝ. remained in Ethiopia. 1,600 were brought from Qʷara in 1999. More problematic is the issue of Christian Ethiopians of B.Ǝ. descent. Several thousands of these had migrated to Addis Abäba in 1990. They were not taken to Israel in May of 1991. After more than seven years of waiting, they were brought to Israel. However, an estimated 20,000 or more additional candidates (known in Israel as *Fälaś mura*, 'Fälaša converts') still remain in Ethiopia.

By the middle of 1999, over 55,000 Ethiopians had emigrated to Israel; together with their children born in Israel, they bring the total number of Ethiopian Israelis to about 75,000. During the 1980s and 1990s the Israeli authorities dealt with a variety of challenges brought about by the arrival of tens of thousands of immigrants. Health and housing problems were resolved, Hebrew lessons and school placements offered. While many of the most pressing problems were at least partially resolved, others remain. School results continue to be disappointing and the Ethiopians' economic situation in Israel is nothing less than dire. Although generally healthy, Ethiopians who arrived in Israel after 1991 are reported to have a high rate of HIV infection. Although partial solutions have been found to bridge the gap between the B.Ǝ. and Israeli Orthodox Jewry, bitter tensions remain.

II. Social structure

Prior to their resettlement in Israel, the B.Ǝ. lived in over 500 villages throughout northwestern Ethiopia. In the 1970s they were estimated to number between 25,000 and 30,000, but over 55,000 people identifying themselves as B.Ǝ. have emigrated to Israel. B.Ǝ. lived both in their own villages and in mixed villages alongside other ethnic groups. They usually resided near rivers and streams, which were necessary not only for their daily needs, but also for purposes of ritual purification.

In many ways, the life of the B.Ǝ. resembled that of their Christian neighbours. There were, however, also aspects which distinguished the B.Ǝ. and served to mark the border between them and their neighbours. They consumed the same foods and beverages as other Ethiopians, although the B.Ǝ. refused to eat raw meat. Like their Muslim and Christian neighbours, the B.Ǝ. did not eat pork or food, especially meat, prepared by outsiders. At shared celebrations, separate food was consumed by each group. The B.Ǝ. and their neighbours lived in similar dwellings, wore the same clothes and, at least in modern times, spoke the same languages.

The B.Ǝ., like Ethiopian Christians, practised ↗circumcision of male children on the eighth day after birth and naming-ceremonies on the fortieth day for boys and eightieth day for girls. ↗Burials were marked by a seven-day mourning period and a series of memorials called ↗*täzkar*. Although both groups observed menstrual taboos (↗Menstruation), the B.Ǝ. were far stricter. Their women separated themselves and lived in separate huts during menstruation and after giving birth. Menstrual huts and birth huts were among the distinctive markers of B.Ǝ. villages. In the past, the B.Ǝ. also observed strict social segregation which required them to purify themselves following contact with outsiders.

↗Marriages tended to take place in the early teens for girls and in the later teens for boys. Betrothals were often arranged many years before this. First marriages were arrangements between families, who avoided intermarrying within an "extended family" (*zämädoč̌*) of seven generations. Divorce was common. As a rule, the B.Ǝ. refrained from marrying outside their ethnic group, although this occurred with some frequency among urban dwellers and in cases of second or later marriages. Families were usually comparatively large, with many children and an infant-mortality rate typical of rural Ethiopia.

A Betä Ǝsraʾel religious procession: the priests follow a boy with the *Orit*, photo taken by the "mission Dakar-Djibouti", Gondär, 1 November 1932, © Marcel Griaule

III. Economic life

Economically, the B.Ǝ. can be seen to have exploited a special niche within Ethiopian economic life, although most B.Ǝ. practised subsistence agriculture, they did not own land, but worked as tenants for Christians landlords. From the 15th cent. onward, they had been generally denied the right to own *rəst*. As a result, they began to supplement their income as smiths, weavers and carpenters, and in the case of women, as potters. These activities not only marked them out as ethnically distinct craftsmen, but also resulted in the development of relations of social exchange with their neighbours.

Both smithing and pottery work were despised professions, which led to the B.Ǝ. being viewed with suspicion by their neighbours. They were believed to be *buda*, capable of transforming themselves into hyenas at night and attacking innocent victims.

IV. Religious life

At the heart of B.Ǝ. identity is a system of religious beliefs and practices which combine Hebraic-biblical, Christian and pan-Ethiopian elements. They express particular devotion to the *Orit*. From the 15th to the 20th cent. the supreme religious leaders were monastic clergy, but with their demise, priests (*qesočč*, *kahənat*) came to the fore. They presided over the liturgy, officiated at sacrifices and served as spiritual counsellors. They were assisted by lesser clergy, including *däbtära* and deacons.

Traditionally, the B.Ǝ. practised their cult in a prayer-house known as a **መስጊድ** (*mäsgid*) or **ጸሎት፡ ቤት** (*ṣälot bet*), which consisted of three sections replicating the structure of King Solomon's temple. Prayers, which were almost entirely sung, were accompanied by a drum and metal gong. Prayers draw heavily on the Psalter and other biblical works. Sacrifices, which declined in the 20th cent., were performed outside the prayer house.

Their annual cycle consisted of festivals and fasts observed according to a lunar calendar (↗Calendar). Some of the most important holidays are celebrated at the same time and share religious associations with biblical festivals observed by Jews elsewhere in the world. These include: the New Year (**ብርሃን፡ ሠረቀ**, *Bərhan śäräqä*, lit. 'the light has appeared'), the Day of Atonement (**አስተስርዮ**, *Astäsrəyo*), Tabernacles (**በዓለ፡ መጸለት**, *Bäʿalä mäṣällät*) and Passover (**ፋሲካ**, *Fasika*). Other festivals are more closely linked to Christian observances such as the monthly observance of St. Michael's day. They also celebrate an annual pilgrimage and fast-day called **ስግድ** (*Səgd*). Traditions describe this holiday as a commemoration of the giving of the *Orit* on Mount Sinai or a renewal of the Covenant in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. Members of the community would ascend a local mountain carrying stones on their heads, pray and read from their holy books.

The B.Ǝ. observed the ↗Sabbath with particular strictness as a day of rest. In addition, every seventh Sabbath was observed with an all-night vigil.

Prior to the 20th cent., the B.Ǝ. religious system reflected their unique identity in the context of Christian Ethiopian society. Over the course of time, their contacts with outside Jews produced a system much closer to that of "normative" Judaism. Holidays were modified to stress those elements found elsewhere in the Jewish world. Deviant customs such as monthly observances, sacrifices, monasticism and certain

purity laws declined or were eliminated. Hebrew came to be used alongside Gəʿəz and Torah scrolls were held alongside *Orit* manuscripts.

V. Languages and literature

Prior to their arrival in Israel, most B.Ǝ. spoke ↗Amharic. Those who lived in Təgray province spoke ↗Təgrəñña. In the past, the B.Ǝ. appear to have spoken different ↗Agäw languages. Despite testimonies that the B.Ǝ. once knew Hebrew and possessed Hebrew manuscripts, no evidence in support of this claim has been produced.

B.Ǝ. religious texts, including the *Orit*, are in ↗Gəʿəz. Today only a few of the priests understand this language. B.Ǝ. prayers include phrases in Agäw, which today even the priests do not usually understand.

B.Ǝ. literature, like many other aspects of their culture, reveals close links to the surrounding Christian culture. Their *Orit* manuscripts are identical to those of the Christians and their canonical books indude works such as the Books of Tobit, Judith, Henok, Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, and perhaps most important the Book of ↗Jubilees. They were not familiar with later Jewish works such as the Talmud and other rabbinical works.

Between the 14th and the 18th cent. the B.Ǝ. adopted and adapted a number of works of Christian origin. As a rule these works focus on three themes:

1) The sacred nature of the Sabbath: ↗*Taʾəzazä sänbät*, *Nägärä sänbät* and the Apocalypse of Eliahu;

2) The lives, and particularly the deaths, of biblical figures: ↗*Motä Muse*, ↗*Motä Aron*, *Gädlä* ↗*Abrəham*, *Gädlä* ↗*Yəṣḥaq*, *Gädlä* ↗*Yaʿəqob*, ↗*Nägärä Muse* and ↗*Ardəʾat*;

3) The fate of the soul after death: ↗*Nägärä Muse*, Apocalypse of ↗Baruch, Apocalypse of ↗Gorgoryos and *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*mäläʾəkt*.

B.Ǝ. manuscripts usually replace the Christian Trinitarian invocation of "The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit" with the words "Blessed be God, the Lord of Israel, the Lord of spirit and flesh".

VI. Research

The B.Ǝ. have been the subject of research interest far out of proportion to their numbers. Travellers, explorers and missionaries, induding Johann Martin Flad, Joseph Halévy, Antoine d'Abbadie, James Bruce and Henry Stern were among the early observers in Ethiopia. Joseph Halévy, Jacques Faitlovitch, Carlo Conti Rossini, Edward Ullendorff, Wolf Leslau, Aaron Ze'ev Aešcoly, Max Wurmbrand and Stefan Strelcyn were among the scholars who contributed to the study of B.Ǝ. literature.

During the last quarter of the 20th cent. and particularly in the wake of their *Aliyah* to Israel, the B.Ǝ. have been the subject of an unprecedented amount of publicity and research. While a number of works have been produced, much of the recent research has been characterized by a lack of familiarity with the Ethiopian milieu in which the B.Ǝ. emerged and lived.

Although history, religion, and literature have not been neglected, processes and questions associated with integration in Israel have been the primary focus of recent studies. Hebrew has also emerged as a major research language, with more than 400 dissertations, books and articles being published in that language in the past decade. As of this writing, the B.Ǝ. community itself has not produced academic researchers.

Given the migration of most B.Ǝ. to Israel, attempts to understand their position in Ethiopian society must rely on re-constructions. There is much work to be done in this area. Although several scholars have collected oral documentation, much of this material remains in private hands and unavailable to either community members or other scholars. In a similar manner, numerous manuscripts of B.Ǝ. literature remain in private hands and have not been documented, much less copied. The situation is only marginally better with regard to manuscripts in libraries. Despite the vast amount of research conducted on the B.Ǝ. experience in Israel, much remains to be done, particularly by scholars familiar with Ethiopian languages and culture.

↗Ayhud; ↗Judaism

Src.: JOSEPH HALÉVY, "La guerre de Sarsa-Dengel contre les Falashas", *Revue Sémitique* 14, 1906, 392–427; *ibid.* 15, 1907, 119–63, 263–87 [repr. Paris 1907]; ID., *Travels in Abyssinia*, tr. by JOHN POCCIOTTO, London 1877; JOHANN MARTIN FLAD, *The Falashas (Jews) of Abyssinia*, London 1869; HENRY AARON STERN, *Wanderings among the Falashas in Abyssinia*, London 1862, ²1968; JACQUES FAITLOVITCH, *Notes d'un voyage chez les Falachas (Juifs d'Abyssinie)*, Paris 1905; ID., *Falascha-Briefe*, Berlin 1913; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Appunti di storia e letteratura Falascià", *RSO* 8, 1919–20, 563–610; ID. (ed., tr.), *Vitæ Sanctorum Indigenarum. I. Acta Sancti Abakarazun II. Acta Sancti Takla Hawaryat*, Louvain 1910 (CSCO 56, 57 [SAe 24, 25]), 103–09 (text) = 92–98 (tr.); GuiIohan 9, 36; MENACHEM WALDMEN,

Me-ever le-naharei Kush ('Beyond the Rivers of Kush'), Tel Aviv 1989.
Lit.: STEVEN KAPLAN – HAGAR SALAMON, *Yəhudei Etiyopiya: Bibliografia Muʾeret 1988–1997* ('Ethiopian Jewry: an Annotated Bibliography 1988–1997'), Jerusalem 1998 (Lit.); STEVEN KAPLAN – SHOSHANA BENDOR, *Yəhudei Etiyopiya: Bibliografia Muʾeret* ('Ethiopian Jewry: an Annotated Bibliography'), Jerusalem 1988; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia*, New York 1992; ID., *Les Falashas*, Turnhout 1990; STEVEN KAPLAN – TUDOR PARFITT – EMANUELA TREVISAN SEMI (eds.), *Between Africa and Zion,* Jerusalem 1995; TadTChurch 192–201; AARON ZEʾEV AEŠCOLY, *Sefer Hafalašim*, Jerusalem ²1973; ID. (ed.), *Recueil de textes Falachas*, Paris 1951 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 55); EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, London 1968; TUDOR PARFITT – EMANUELA TREVISAN SEMI (eds.), *Ethiopian Jews in Ethiopia and Israel*, London 1998; MICHAEL ASHKENAZI – ALEX WEINGROD, *Ethiopian Jews and Israel*, New Brunswick 1987; JON G. ABBINK, *The Falashas in Ethiopia and Israel: the Problem of Ethnic Assimilation*, Nijmegen 1984 (Nijmegen Sociaal Anthropologische Cahiers 15); ID., *Mythologendes et histoire: l'énigme de l'ethnogenèse des Beta Esraʾel*, Bruxelles 1991; JAMES ARTHUR QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews*, Philadelphia 1992; DANIEL SUMMERFIELD, *From Falashas to Ethiopian Jews: the External Influences for Change*, London 2001; WOLF LESLAU, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven 1951; ID., *Coutumes et croyances des Falachas*, Paris 1957 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 61); KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, *Music, Ritual and Falasha History*, East Lansing 1989; HAGAR SALAMON, *The Hyena People: Ethiopian Jews in Christian Ethiopia,* Berkeley – Los Angeles 1999; JOSEPH HALÉVY, *Teʾezaza Sanbat* (*Commandements du Sabbat*), Paris 1902; STEVEN KAPLAN – CHAIM ROSEN, "Ethiopian Jews in Israel", *American Jewish Yearbook* 94, 1994, 59–109; STEVEN KAPLAN– HAGAR SALAMON, "Ethiopian Immigrants in Israel: Experience and Prospects", *Jewish Policy Research Report* 1, 1998; TESHOME WAGAW, *For our Soul: Ethiopian Jews in Israel*, Detroit 1993; MICHAEL CORINALDI, *Yahadut Etiyopia: zehut umasoret* ('Ethiopian Jews: Identity and Tradition'), Jerusalem 1988; RUTH WESTHEIMER – STEVEN KAPLAN, *Surviving Salvation: the Ethiopian Jewish Family in Transition*, New York 1992; LISA ANTEBY, *Chronique d'une intégration: les juifs d'Ethiopie en Israël*, Paris 2002.

Steven Kaplan

Betä Giyorgis

B.G. (**ቤተ፡ ጊዮርጊስ**) is a hill dominating the city of ↗Aksum to the north-west. The occurrence of ancient sites on the top of the hill was recorded by the ↗Deutsche Aksum Expedition in 1906, Joseph W. Michels in 1974, Lanfranco Ricci and Rodolfo Fattovich in 1974 and Kathryn Bard and Fattovich in 1993–2000.

Four types of sites were recorded: rock-shelters, open-air sites, stele quarries and sites with rock inscriptions. These sites included an elite residential area (ʿOna Nägäśt) in the south-western sector of the hill, a cemetery with ↗stelae (ʿOna Ǝnda Aboy Zagʷe) in the central sector and a quarry and two Aksumite churches (B.G. Superiore [BGS] and B.G. Inferiore [BGI]) on the southern slope of the hill. Two rock inscriptions were recorded to the north-east of ʿOna Nägäśt and on the south-eastern slope of B.G., respectively.

Three periods of cultural development were distinguished on the basis of the stratigraphic sequence and seriation of the ceramics from Nägäśt and ʿOna Ǝnda Aboy Zagʷe: ↗Proto-Aksumite Period (ca. 300–100 B.C.); ↗Aksumite Period (ca. 100 B.C.–800 A.D.); ↗Post-Aksumite Period (800–1500 A.D.).

The Aksumite Period has been further divided into four phases: "Aksumite 1" or "Early Aksumite Phase" (ca. 100 B.C. – 100/200 A.D.); "Aksumite 2" or "Classic Aksumite Phase" (ca. 100/200–300 A.D.); "Aksumite 3" or "Middle Aksumite Phase" (300–400 A.D.); and "Aksumite 4" or "Late Aksumite Phase" (400–800 A.D.).

Lit.: KATHRYN A. BARD – RODOLFO FATTOVICH – ANDREA MANZO – CINZIA PERLINGIERI, "Archaeological Investigations at Bieta Giyorgis (Aksum), Ethiopia: 1993, 1994 and 1995 Field Seasons", *Journal of Field Archaeology* 24, 1997, 387–403; RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "Archaeology and Historical Dynamics: the Case of Bieta Giyorgis (Aksum), Ethiopia", *Annali IUO* 57, 1–2, 1997, 48–79; RODOLFO FATTOVICH – KATHRYN A. BARD, "The Origins of Aksum: a View from Ona Enda Aboi Zaguè (Tigray)", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 16–25;

RODOLFO FATTOVICH – KATHRYN A. BARD, "The I.U.O./B.U. Excavations at Bieta Giyorgis (Aksum) in Tigray (Northern Ethiopia)", *JES* 30, 1997, 1–29; RODOLFO FATTOVICH – KATHRYN A. BARD – L. PETRASSI – VINCENZO PISANO, *The Aksum Archaelogical Area: a Preliminary Assessment*, Napoli 2000.

Rodolfo Fattovich

Betä Golgota ↗ Lalibäla

Betä Krəstos

B.K. (**ቤተ ክርስቶስ**, d. 13 October 1702) was one of the most prominent theologians of the second half of the 17th cent. He was probably a teacher in a traditional school of exegesis (↗*Mäṣḥaf bet*) at Sufenqära, belonging to the congregation of ↗Däbrä Libanos and, accordingly, was an adherent of the ↗*Täwaḥədo* Christological doctrine. When on 19 October 1684 *aṣe* Iyasu I summoned representatives of both the rival Christological parties, *Täwaḥədo* and *Qəbat*, to solve their differences at a synod, B.K. was one of the Däbrä Libanos delegation. At the council, which took place as late as June 1685, he was an ordinary member of the Däbrä Libanos party, but at the next synod, which took place on 20 May 1699, B.K., who was already a *liq*, i.e. a renowned scholar, acted as the leader of his party. He was buried by his students at Sufenqära.

Src.: GuiIohan 47ff., 50–54, 56; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes sur l'histoire d'Ethiopie, le règne de Iyassu, roi d'Ethiopie de 1682 à 1706", *Revue Sémitique* 9, 1901, 162ff., 167; BassÉt II, 316; BégChron 57, 74, 77; DombrChr 228, 233; AmhChurchD vol. 2, 60f.

Sevir Chernetsov

Betä Ləḥem

Made widely known to scholarship in 1956 by Thomas Pakenham and Wilhelm Staude, the church of B.L. (**ቤተ ልሔም**), devoted to Mary, is located in the Gayənt *əwraǧǧa*, 65 km southeast of ↗Däbrä Tabor. This ancient church of basilical structure offers the peculiarity of having subsequently been surrounded by a rendered wall on which the present conical thatched roof is laid (di Salvo 1999, fig. 56f.). The orientated church is erected on a base of loose stones, white or red, assembled without mortar. It has a number of medieval buildings' features inherited from the Aksumite period such as, for example, the stone imitation of wooden beams framing windows and doors (↗Architecture). The first two bays of the nave are covered by a coffered roof whereas the third one and the altar have domed roofs. The wooden ornaments are of a very fine quality (Gerster 1968:137–40, fig. 191–203).

We have only scattered information or evidence about the history of the church. Carved stones with cable moulding in the same style as the carved stones of Šäwa's medieval churches have been identified (Anfray 1978:164). The church also owns a famous illustrated manuscript, a ↗*Dərsanä Maryam* dated back to the time of *aṣe* Dawit II (end of the 14th – beginning of the 15th cent.) whose style is similar to the manuscripts of ↗Amba Gəšän (Grierson 1993:92; Annequin 1990, vol. 1, fig. 52–69). Inside the sanctuary, a curtain divides the eastern part of the church, which is of Gondärine style, with an inscription dating it to 1686–87 (Staude 1959, plate 94). As for the western external wall, it was covered at a late date by paintings on canvas glued to the wall (19th or, perhaps, early 20th cent.). All these elements show the importance of this church in Ethiopian history.

The church is mentioned among the network of the monastic congregation of ↗Däbrä Libanos during the reign of Iyasu I (1682–1706, Cerulli 1944:177) and among the partisans of the ↗*Śost ləḏät* doctrine at the end of the 18th cent. (Berhanou Abbebe 1994:406). It has been an important centre for the teaching of liturgical music. At present, the most common type of ↗*zema* is the *Betä Ləḥem zema*, named after the church of B.L. (AmhChurchD vol. 4, 210f.).

Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 4, 210f.; FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Enselale, avec d'autres sites du Choa, de l'Arussi et un îlot du Lac Tana", *AE* 11, 1978, 153–69, esp. 164; GUY ANNEQUIN, *Aux sources du Nil bleu, enluminures et peintures chrétiennes du XI^e au XVII^e siècle*, Genève 1990, vol. 1, 52–69; BERHANOU ABBEBE, "Un procès en recherche de paternité au XVIIIe", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 399–410, esp. 406; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libanos, capi del monachismo etiopico. Secondo la lista rimata (sec. XVIII)", *Orientalia* 13, 1944, 137–82, here 177; RODERICK GRIERSON (ed.), *African Zion. The Sacred Art of Ethiopia*, New Haven – London 1993, 92.

Ill.: MARIO DI SALVO, *Churches of Ethiopia. The Monastery of Narga Sellase,* Milano 1999, fig. 56f.; GEORG GERSTER, *L'art éthiopien, églises rupestres*, La-Pierre-qui-Vire 1968, 137–40, fig. 115–203; THOMAS PAKENHAM, "Bethlehem in Ethiopia", *The Illustrated London News*, March 9, 1957, no. 6144, 380–83, 13 fig.; WILHELM STAUDE, "Une peinture éthiopienne datée dans l'église de Betaléhem (region de Gaynt, province de Begemder)", *Revue d'histoire des religions* 156, 1959, 65–110, plate 94; OTTO JAEGER, *Äthiopische Miniaturen*, Berlin 1957, fig. 3, 6, 9, 12, 15; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Major Themes in Ethiopian Painting from the 13th to the 19th Century*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 10), 58f., fig. 5a–6.

Claire Bosc Tiessé

Betä ləḫem ↗ Church buildings

Betä Mädḫane ʿAläm ↗ Lalibäla

Betä Märqorewos ↗ Lalibäla

Betä Maryam ↗ Lalibäla

Betä Mäsqäl ↗ Lalibäla

Betä Qəddus Gäbrəʾel Rufaʾel ↗ Lalibäla

Betä Qəddus Giyorgis ↗ Lalibäla

Betä Qəddus Mikaʾel ↗ Lalibäla

Bəṭul Ḫaylä Maryam

Däğğazmač B. (ብሉጡል፡ ኃይለ፡ ማርያም, b. after 1812, d. 29 June 1853, Ayšal) was a dignitary of Səmen. His father, *däğğazmač* Ḫaylä Maryam Gäbre, was from an old line of governors of Səmen, and his mother, Ḫirut Gugsa, from a Yäğğu Oromo family (a maternal granddaughter of *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis I). The governor of Səmen and Təgray *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam was his older half-brother.

As B. and his older brother Märso (the designated heir, b. ca. 1814) regarded Wəbe's succession as governor of Səmen in 1826 as illegitimate, both left their homeland and went, together with their mother, to the court of Təgray's overlord ↗Säbagadis (the husband of their sister Yäwəbdar). However, when Wəbe conquered Təgray after 1832, both brothers, "magnificently brave warriers" (GueCopMen 204), entered into his service in the campaigns against Säbagadis and later against his sons.

However, both were never satisfied with their dependent position. In 1840 they allied with their mother's nephew, the king-maker *ras* ↗Ali Alula of the Yäğğu, and this was soon followed by a battle with Wəbe at Däbrä Tabor in 1842. Wəbe, first victorious, was then captured during festivities by his brothers and *ras* Ali's authority was restored. However, a quick reversal of alliances brought about the arrest of B. and Märso on their way to Səmen. They were chained briefly and then given governances of small districts in Goğğam under *ras* Ali. Even though in 1844 B. allied briefly with Ali's enemy *däğğazmač* Goššu of Goğğam (Prouty 1986:30), most of the time B. stayed in Ali's service and finally even betrayed his rebellious brother Märso, who died in chains.

B.'s wife, also called Yäwəbdar, from Gondär, probably lived with her children (Wale, Alula, Ṭaytu and Dästa) in ↗Maḫdärä Maryam in Bägemdər and in Wärä Sehin in Yäğğu, while B. served in Ali's army. After B. died in the battle of ↗Ayšal, which ended Ali's rule, they lived in the monastery of Däbrä Mäwi in Goğğam.

Among B.'s children, *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu acquired a key position within the newly unified Ethiopia as the wife of *aṣe* Mənilək II. Through her marriage policy, B.'s descendents were closely related to most of the leading families.

Src.: GueCopMen 193–98 (Lit.), s. index.
Lit.: CHRIS PROUTY, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II. Ethiopia 1883–1910*, London – Trenton NJ 1986, 28–31, 35; TSEGAY BERHE, *A History of ʿAgamä, 1822–1914*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1996, 83, 88, 93.

Wolbert Smidt

Bevin-Sforza plan

The B.-S. plan of April 1949 was one of the first and most important of a series of proposals made at the ↗United Nations for the post-World War II disposal of ↗Eritrea and the other former Italian colonies. The plan was a compromise designed to further the colonialist and other interests of Italy and Britain, as well as to ensure Ethiopia's access to the ↗Red Sea.

First put forward by the Italian Foreign Minister, Carlo Count Sforza, the arrangement obtained the reluctant support of the British Labour Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, a former Trade Unionist. The scheme dealt with all three ex-Italian colonies, Eritrea, Somalia (↗Italian Somaliland) and Libya. Eritrea was to be permanently divided, the east to be united with Ethiopia and the west with the Sudan. Somalia was to be placed under Italian Trusteeship for an indefinite period. Libya was to be put under a ten-year United Nations Trusteeship, but also divided: Tripolitania under that of Italy and Cyrenaica under that of Britain. When the plan was eventually taken to the United Nations General Assembly, the proposal to unite eastern Eritrea with Ethiopia gained a two-thirds majority in May 1949, but those for western Eritrea, Somalia and Libya were voted down. The B.-S. plan having thus failed, the delegate of Argentina called on his fellow South American Roman Catholic countries to reverse their votes on the Eritrean and Cyrenaican issues. This marked the end of the plan.

↗Colonialism

Lit.: ESTELLE SYLVIA PANKHURST – RICHARD PANKHURST, *Ethiopia and Eritrea,* Essex 1952, 176ff.; JORDAN GEBRE-MEDHIN, *Peasants and Nationalism in Eritrea. A Critique of Ethiopian Studies*, Trenton, NJ 1998, 75, 107, 120, 130, 132, 144.

Richard Pankhurst

Bezold, Carl

B. (b. 18 May 1859, Donauwörth, d. 21 November 1922, Heidelberg) was a German semitist. Though B. devoted most of his labours to the study of Ancient Mesopotamia, he also made substantial contributions to Ethiopian Studies on several occasions. His prime achievement in this field lies in his magisterial edition of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (1905). Earlier, in 1899, he had already prepared a revised edition of ↗Dillmann's Gəᶜəz grammar of 1857. B.'s amendments were largely based on Dillmann's notes in his personal copy of the grammar, as well as on some suggestions made by ↗Nöldeke. Enno Littmann, on the other hand, in his "Addenda et Corrigenda" to Dillmann's *Chrestomathia Aethiopica* (included in its reprint Littmann 1941:299), partly built on notes by B.

In 1906 B. further published the Arabic and Gəᶜəz texts of the *Testament of Adam*, which forms part of the ↗*Qälemənṭos*, and a study of *abba* ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus' hagiography and his veneration in Ethiopia.

Src.: AUGUST DILLMANN, *Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache*, zweite Auflage bearbeitet von C. Bezold, Leipzig ²1899; CARL BEZOLD (ed., tr.), *Kebra Nagast: die Herrlichkeit der Könige*, München 1905 (Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 23, 1); ID., "Das arabisch-äthiopische Testamentum Adami", *Orientalistische Studien: Theodor Nöldeke zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, Gießen 1906, 893–912; ID., "Abbâ Gabra Manfas Qeddus", in: *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1916, 58–80.

Lit.: ENNO LITTMANN, "Addenda et corrigenda", in: AUGUST DILLMANN, *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, Leipzig 1899, ²1941, 291–99; ENNO LITTMANN, *Ein Jahrhundert Orientalistik*, Wiesbaden 1955, 31ff. [Obituary on Bezold] (Lit.); ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopistik an deutschen Universitäten*, Wiesbaden 1968, 19, 20, 35f.

Michael Kleiner

Biancheri, Lorenzo

B. (b. 31 November 1804, Borghetto, d. 11 August 1864, Massawa) was a ↗Lazarist priest. He sailed from Italy to Massawa in October 1841. He was appointed coadjutor to Justin de ↗Jacobis on 2 October 1853 at ↗Ḥalay. As the Holy See had granted a dispensation, the customary two co-consecrators were absent and de Jacobis alone performed the episcopal consecration. He resided in Kärän as he was responsible for the administration of the northern territory of the Apostolic Vicariate of Abyssinia.

Both bishops remained committed to the use of the Gəᶜəz rite in their respective zones, within a united Vicariate of Abyssinia. On other matters, however, they differed. B.'s intransigence and intolerance alienated the local clergy, of whom he ordained only two.

B. returned to Massawa from the General Assembly of the Lazarists in December 1863. He brought with him the first printing-press in Eritrea (↗Printing) with Gəᶜəz types. Shortly afterwards, B. died at Massawa, aged 60.

Src.: LORENZO BIANCHERI, *Diario,* ms., Diocesean Archives, ᶜAddigrat.

Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, *Priests and Politicians*, Oxford 1972, 67, 72, 96, 83f., 11ff.; EZECHIA DA ISEO, *Pionieri di fede e di civilta*, Asmara 1937, 54ff.; PAUL GIMALAC, *Le Vicariat Apostolique d'Abyssinie 1839–1931,* Paris 1932, 7f. (Revue d'Histoire des Missions); KEVIN O'MAHONEY, "*The Ebullient Phoenix*". *A History of the Vicariate of Abyssinia,* Asmara 1982–1987, vol. 1, 32, 35, 47, 60, 63, 73, 80, 114f., 117ff., 170–75, 177, 205, 221; vol. 2, 1–31; SALVATORE PANE, *Vita del Beato Giustino de Jacobis*, Napoli 1949, 721–25.

Kevin O'Mahoney

Bianchi, Gustavo

B. (b. 24 August 1845, Ferrara, d. 7 October 1884, Bîḍu Sultanate) was an Italian traveller. He graduated with honours from the military academy at Modena in 1866, but abandoned a successful military career in order to participate in 1878 in the expedition to Ethiopia organized by the Società di Esplorazioni Commerciali in Africa.

In 1879, he reached the court of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV at Däbrä Tabor. Splitting away from his companions, who returned home, B. travelled towards Šäwa, to reach later Oromo territories, where he made numerous and significant observations. Hearing of Antonio ↗Cecchi's imprisonment in ↗Geeraa, B., with the help of *ras* Adal Täsämma (later *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot) of Goǧǧam and Käfa, contributed to his liberation in 1881. Back in Italy he published a report of his journey (1884).

In 1883 he participated in a new mission to Yoḥannəs IV. In April 1884, together with two companions, he moved from Mäqälä in the

direction of ᶜAsâb; they were all massacred by ↗ᶜAfar on the following 7 October in the Sultanate of Bîḍu, near the dry bed of the river Tiᶜo.

B.'s death, and the earlier massacre of the expedition of Giuseppe ↗Giulietti (1881), which also took place in "Dancalia", together with other more important political reasons, induced the Italians to occupy Massawa in February 1885.

Src.: GUSTAVO BIANCHI, *Alla terra dei Galla*, Milano 1884.
Lit.: VINCENZO FERRARI – CESARE NERAZZINI, *Notizie sul massacro Bianchi, Diana a Monari*, Roma 1885; PASQUALE STANISLAO MANCINI, *Discorso intorno all'eccidio di Gustavo Bianchi ed all'invio di un Presidio Militare italiano in Africa: discorso*, Roma 1885; DINO PESCI, *Esplorazioni in Africa di Gustavo Bianchi*, Milano – Napoli [1887]; CARLO ZAGHI, *L'ultima spedizione africana di Gustavo Bianchi: Diari, relazioni, lettere e documenti editi ed inediti*, 2 vols., Milano 1930; ID., *Gustavo Bianchi sulla via dell'Africa (con documenti inediti)*, Roma 1935; ID., *Bianchi alla ricerca di Cecchi (con documenti inediti)*, Roma 1935.

Marco Lenci – Gian Carlo Stella

Bible

Time and context

The Christianization of ↗Aksum in the 1st half of the 4th cent. A.D. led to the immediate creation of the Ethiopic B., without which the service, mission and religious life would have been unthinkable. There is no information as to the beginning of the translation period; it can be assumed, though, that the work on the B. started with the translation of the ↗Gospels before the end of the 4th or beginning of the 5th cent. By the end of the 6th cent. the translation of the most important parts of the B. had been completed.

For all the importance of Greek as a *lingua franca* and the language of the educated in the Mediterranean world, it still would have been impossible for ↗Christianity to become widely spread in Aksum without at least elementary parts of the B. having been translated into the language of the people. Besides, during the earliest translation period, knowledge of Greek was often so insufficient that a word-for-word translation resulted in a "wild" B. text (Dillmann 1877).

The dating of the first (partial) translation to the end of the 4th/early 5th cent. is supported by a number of quotations from various B. parts, including the Psalter, Job, Isaiah and the Gospels of Matthew and John, which appear in some Aksumite inscriptions (Knibb 1999:46–54) dating partially back to the first half of the 6th cent. Some of them, such as those in ↗Kaleb's inscriptions at Aksum and Mārib (RIE 191, 195) or WᶜZB's inscription (RIE 192) provide passages of the biblical text which is very close to that known to us; some others reveal differences or traces of adaptation to the context (cp. the inscription of Ham, RIE 232). As one has to assume a certain time span between the translation and the application of a quotation, the translation of the main B. text must have been completed by the beginning of the 6th cent. at the latest. There is no reason to doubt that the Ethiopic B. version had been completed before the decline of Aksum in the 7th cent.

There exists a lot of indirect evidence for that. At the beginning of the 6th cent. ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes wrote that "Aksum and the whole country" were Christian (III 66). This could hardly have happened if the important parts of the B. had not been translated into ↗Gəᶜəz by that time. Some manuscripts provide as a *terminus ad quem* the information that the O.T. Book of Sirach was available in 678 A.D.; it seems, however, impossible to test the authenticity of this note (cf. Knibb 1999:17f.; Rahlfs 1965:679ff.).

The personalities of ancient translators of the Ethiopic B. remain hypothetical. Ethiopian traditions of later times recall several figures, such as *abba* Sälama (Zuurmond 1989:48f.) or a certain *abunä* Minas, an alleged translator of the ↗Revelation of John (s. Cowley 1983:77f.). Further on discussions on the role of the ↗Nine Saints and possible ↗Syriac influences obtained considerable importance.

The only Vorlage for the Ethiopic B. was the Greek version – as Hiob ↗Ludolf already stated for the O.T. (1681:295f.) – even though the possibilities of Syriac or Hebraic translation bases are sometimes discussed (s. the subartide on Bible Vorlage). It is highly likely that the B. parts were not translated all at once (Ullendorff 1968:38). Some scholars, as, e.g. Praetorius (1897:88), assume a time span of two to three centuries, during which several translation procedures took place.

Lit.: HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, ***TO ΠΑΡΑ TOIC BAPBAPOIC EPΓON ΘEION***. *Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum,* Bonn 1994, 145–57; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Sulla versione e sulla revisione della sacre scritture in etiopico", *Zeitschrift für Assyrologie* 10, 1895, 236–41; ROGER W. COWLEY, *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church,* Cambridge 1983 (University of Cambridge, Oriental publications 33), 77f.; AUGUST DILLMANN, "Äthiopische Bibelübersetzung", in: *Realencyclopaedie für protestantische Theologie und*

Kirche, ²1877, vol. 1, 203–06; FRANZ PRAETORIUS, "Aethiopische Bibelübersetzungen", in: *ibid.* ³1897, vol. 1, 88; MICHAEL ANTHONY KNIBB, *Translating the Bible. The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1999 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1995), 17–54; HIOB LUDOLF, *Historia Aethiopica*, Frankfurt/Main 1681, 295f.; BRUCE M. METZGER, *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, Oxford 1977, 215–56; ALFRED RAHLFS, "Die äthiopische Bibelübersetzung", in: *Septuaginta-Studien* I–III, ²1965, 679–81; RIE 191f., 195, 232; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, London 1968 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1967), here 31–72 (Lit.); ID., "Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek: the Versions Underlying Ethiopic Translations of Bible and Intertestamental Literature", in: ID., *Studia Aethiopica et Semitica*, Wiesbaden 1987 (AeF 24), 43–51; ROCHUS ZUURMOND, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: the Synoptic Gospels*, part 1: *General Introduction*, part 2: *Edition of the Gospel of Mark*, Stuttgart 1989 (AeF 27), 48f.

Siegbert Uhlig

Bible Vorlage: Greek

Translating the Scriptures into ↗ Gəʿəz must have been a process that took decades or even centuries. Consequently, a decision about the Vorlage of the Gəʿəz translation must be made for each book, or at least for each category of books, separately.

The Gəʿəz B. has been revised many times. Evident Syriac influence in some manuscripts of the Gəʿəz B. as well as traces of Coptic influence were probably the product of the usage in the Middle Ages of Arabic B. based on Syriac and Coptic Versions, rather than of direct translation from either of these languages (for O.T. s. Knibb 1999, for N.T. s. Zuurmond 2001).

A consensus has been growing that the text found in the earliest manuscripts of the Gəʿəz Bible (*Versio Antiqua* or "Old Ethiopic") is based on a translation from the Greek. Regarding the O.T., Conti Rossini (1899), rejecting other possibilities, was already very outspoken. Schäfers (1912) in his detailed analysis of the *Book of Jeremiah*, Ullendorff (1968) and Knibb (1999) reach the same conclusion. Zuurmond (1989) argued in favour of a Greek Vorlage of the Gospel.

The arguments are compelling. Historically, one could hardly expect anything but a Greek background. Textually, one finds that, where the Hebrew O.T. text differs from the Septuagint, the Gəʿəz usually follows the latter. Both in the Old and the New Testaments one finds instances where the Gəʿəz text can only be understood as a misinterpretation of the Greek. Orthographically, one cannot escape the fact that many proper names are transcribed from the Greek, sometimes rendered with their Greek case endings.

There is no overall answer to the question, which type of Greek text underlies the Old Ethiopic version (*Versio Antiqua*). An earlier hypothesis claiming in the O.T. a connection with the "Lucianic recension" or the Hexapla does not withstand scrutiny. Various suggestions have been made regarding a connection between particular books of the Old Ethiopic and a particular Greek codex or group of codices. Schäfers (1912) saw in the *Book of Jeremiah* a relation with the Sinaiticus (original hand). Löfgren (*Daniel*: 1927) and Fuhs (*Hosea*: 1971) noticed a link between the Old Ethiopic with minuscules. The Greek text underlying the Old Ethiopic of the N.T. cannot be connected with one particular Greek manuscript either. Zuurmond (1989 and 2001) described the Gospel as early Byzantine. Hoffmann (1993) and Uhlig (1993) suggest for their edition an Alexandrian Vorlage.

The characteristics of the Old Ethiopic version are by and large the same in the Old and the New Testaments. Avoiding difficult expressions, it aims primarily at a smooth Gəʿəz text. It is a very liberal translation, sometimes tending towards paraphrase, freely changing the order of words, omitting what seems superfluous, but adding subjects and objects to verbs, as well as small emphasizing words. Occasionally local cultural influence becomes apparent. Reliable retroversion into the Greek of the supposed Vorlage is often impossible.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* ser. 5, 8, 1899, 197–220, 263–85; ID., *Storia d'Etiopia*, Milano 1929 [s. also EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "Index of C. Conti Rossini's 'Storia d'Etiopia'", *RSE* 18, 1962, 97–141]; HANS FERDINAND FUHS, *Äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Hosea*, Bonn 1971; JOSEPH HOFMANN – SIEGBERT UHLIG, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: Die Katholischen Briefe*, Stuttgart 1993 (AeF 29); MICHAEL ANTHONY KNIBB, *Translating the Bible. The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1999 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1995); OSCAR LÖFGREN, *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Daniel*, Paris 1927; ID., *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Jeremias*, Freiburg 1912; ID., *Jona, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanija, Haggai, Sacharija und Maleachi Äthiopisch*, Uppsala 1930; SIEGBERT UHLIG – HELGE MAEHLUM, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe*, Stuttgart 1993 (AeF 33); EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, London 1968 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1967) [Lit.]; ROCHUS ZUURMOND, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: the*

Synoptic Gospels, part 1: *General Introduction*, part 2: *Edition of the Gospel of Mark*, Stuttgart 1989 (AeF 27) [Lit.]; ID., *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: the Gospel of Matthew*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 55); ID., "The Textual Background of the Gospel of Matthew in Gəʿəz", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 32–41.

Rochus Zuurmond

Bible Vorlage: Syriac, Hebrew, Coptic, Arabic

The view that the Vorlage of the Gəʿəz translation of the Old and New Testaments was Greek is very well established, but other suggestions have been made, both by way of a modification of this view or by way of a complete alternative.

The suggestion of the use of a Syriac Vorlage deserves most consideration. This view was linked to the view that Syrian missionaries, as represented, above all, by the Nine Saints, were responsible for the translation of the scriptures into Gəʿəz in the 5th and 6th cent. As the most extreme representative of this view, Arthur Vööbus (1951, 1954) argued that the Gospels were translated from an Old Syriac text and only revised against the Greek. More cautiously, Ullendorff (1968) argued for the use of Syriac (and Hebrew) texts in conjunction with Greek texts at the time of the original translation. However, the linguistic and historical arguments used in support of the view that Syrians translated the scriptures into Gəʿəz have been subject to extensive criticism (Marrassini 1990, 1999), and it has been recognized that the textual evidence that might support the use of Syriac is best explained in terms of Syriac influence on the text at a later stage, whether directly on the basis of a Syriac text or indirectly on the basis of Arabic versions of the Syriac translation of the Old and New Testament. It is likely that Syriac influence of this kind was exercised particularly in the 14th cent., at the time when the existing translation was revised to produce the "Vulgar Recension" (Knibb 1999).

The existence of some remarkable similarities between the Ethiopic and the Hebrew text of the O.T. has been observed by a number of scholars and led Ullendorff to posit the use of a Hebrew text in addition to Greek and Syriac texts in the translation of the O.T. There can be no doubt that many manuscripts of the O.T. in Gəʿəz have been influenced by the Hebrew both in their vocabulary and in syntactical structures; but such manuscripts all date from after about 1500 and are the product of the "Academic Recension", while there is no evidence that Hebrew was used for the original translation.

In the light of the long association of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church with the ↗Coptic Church, it would not have been surprising if a Coptic text had served as the Vorlage for the translation. However, only very occasional influence from the Coptic can be detected in the Gəʿəz text and it is likely that such influence was exercised during the transmission of the text, not at the time of the original translation.

Paul de Lagarde (1867) argued in the 19th cent. that the Gəʿəz version was translated from the Arabic as late as the 14th cent., but there is no evidence in the Gəʿəz text to support such a view; rather, all the evidence points to the view that the Ethiopic translation was made from the Greek. The Arabic did play a role in the revision of the Gəʿəz version in the 14th cent., but only, as noted above, as one of the means by which the Syriac version exercised an influence on the Gəʿəz text.

Lit.: MICHAEL ANTHONY KNIBB, *Translating the Bible: the Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1999 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1995) [Lit.]; PAUL DE LAGARDE, *Materialen zur Kritik und Geschichte des Pentateuchs*, Osnabrück 1867, ²1967; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, London 1968 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1967) [Lit.]; HANS JAKOB POLOTSKY, "Aramaic, Syriac, and Ge'ez", *JSS* 9, 1964, 1–10; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Some Considerations on the Problem of the 'Syriac Influences' on Aksumite Ethiopia", *JES* 23, 1990, 35–46; ID., "Ancora sul problema degli influssi siriaci in età aksumita, in Biblica et Semitica", in: LUIGI CAGNI (ed.), *Studi in onore di Francesco Vattioni*, Napoli 1999, 325–37; ROCHUS ZUURMOND, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: the Synoptic Gospels*, part 1: *General Introduction*, part 2: *Edition of the Gospel of Mark*, Stuttgart 1989 (AeF 27) [Lit.]; ARTHUR VÖÖBUS, *Die Spuren eines älteren aethiopischen Evangelientextes im Lichte der literarischen Monumente*, Stockholm 1951 (Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 2); ID., "Teʾāmera Iyasus. Zeuge eines älteren äthiopischen Evangelientypus", *OrChrP* 17, 1951, 462–67; ID., *Early Versions of the New Testament*, Stockholm 1954.

Michael A. Knibb

Biblical text criticism

The text criticism of the Ethiopic B. is based on the premise stated above, that the early Gəʿəz versions of both the N.T. and the O.T. have the Greek B. as their immediate Vorlage.

I. Stages of the transmission of the Gəʿəz B. text

One can only speculate about the form of the Ethiopic B. in the period between the alleged time of its translation (from the end of the 4th till the 6th cent.) and the 10th–11th cent. For some

A page from the pre-14th cent. Bible manuscript Abba Gärima I, Mk 3:7–19

parts of the Bible a possible "multiple origin" with the contribution of two or more translators cannot be ruled out (Zuurmond 1989, part 1, 38, with an example from Mt). The most ancient Gəᶜəz biblical text we can reconstruct is the so-called *Versio Antiqua*, or *Altäthiope* ('Old Ethiopic'). Its *terminus ante quem* is established as the 12th cent. (s. Hackspill 1896:122ff., 159ff.; Fuhs 1968:35–38; Fuhs 1971:114–17; Zuurmond 1989, part 1, 40–43; Uhlig – Maehlum 1993:32f.; for the

A page from a Gəʿəz Bible edition, published in the year of the 30th anniversary of Ḫaylä Śəllase's coronation, Mk 2:26–3:23 (from *Wängel qəddus zäʾəgziʾənä wäʾamlakənä wämädḫaninä Iyäsus Krəstos gäbrä ḫawaryat wämälʾəktatihomu läḫawaryatihu qəddusan*, 'Holy Gospels of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of His Holy Apostles', Aśmära 1953 A.M. [1960 A.D.])

first attempt to reconstruct the Ethiopian B.-text history s. Heider 1902:5), the time to which the oldest Ethiopian B. manuscripts seems to belong (Abba Gärima I–III, s. Zuurmond 1989, part 1,

242). This *Versio Antiqua* is characterized by a tendency towards paraphrasing and simplification.

The revision of the Gəᶜəz B. started with the intensification of contacts between the Ethiopian and Egyptian (Arabic-speaking) clerics (12th–13th cent.). The basis for this revision was the Arabic B. version. Being closer to the Greek text than the Ethiopic *Versio Antiqua*, it was influenced by the Syriac *Peshitta*. The resulting Gəᶜəz version, attested predominantly for the 13th–15th cent., is generally referred to as the "Syriac-Arabic Recension" or the "First Arabic Recension" (Hofmann 1959:38; for the bibliography s. Löfgren 1927:XLIIIff.; Fuhs 1968:32f.). The most prominent distinctive feature of the Ethiopic B. of this period is that the variants exhibited by the Arabic manuscripts were simply added to the former text of Greek origin, so that the distinct parallel readings begin to conflate into new variants. As a result, the number of such readings greatly increased at the end of the 15th and in the 16th cent. This development is well attested through the alternative readings, documented by the existing B. manuscripts. However, it did not have a lasting influence upon the text of the Gəᶜəz B. (Hofmann 1959:51f.).

The "Second Arabic Recension" (Hofmann 1960, 25; or "Academic Recension", cp. Heider 1902:5) is dated to the 15th–17th cent., coinciding with the attempt of religious and liturgical reforms of the Ethiopian Church promoted by the emperors of the ↗Solomonic dynasty. It is sometimes also called the "Hebrew Recension" because of the alleged Hebrew influence (s. Löfgren 1927:XLVff., mentioning Hiob ↗Ludolf and August ↗Dillmann among the supporters of this view). This profound revision left deep traces in the text. It was thoroughly corrected according to the Arabic version (by eliminating the inconsistencies and the parallel readings of the "First Arabic Recension") and was thus brought even closer to the Greek basic version.

The manuscript tradition bears witness that the text history of the Ethiopian B. was mainly completed in the 18th cent. From that time on, the Gəᶜəz B. exists in the form of a relatively recent eclectically structured *Textus receptus* (Zuurmond 1989, part 1, 89).

II. The form of the text

The translators and scribes of the *Versio Antiqua* pursued creative exegesis. They interpreted the Vorlage according to their understanding of the Biblical Canon, which was, in comparison with other churches, less static. Thus, occasionally new passages appeared.

Sometimes the translator's knowledge of the Greek appeared to be insufficient to cope with the difficult passages in the Vorlage. Longer passages are sometimes expressed through short sentences or paraphrased (Hofmann – Uhlig 1993:50; e.g. 1 Pet 4:4 [125], 2 Pet 1:8 [139], 2 Pet 3:18 [164], Jud 6 [251]; s. also Uhlig – Maehlum 1993 [58]: Eph 6:15; Phil 4:11).

Some passages were translated into Gəᶜəz so literally that sometimes the sense was nearly lost (for examples s. Hofmann – Uhlig 1993:51f.; e.g. 2 Pet 1:3 [138]). Nevertheless, on the whole the Gəᶜəz translation is considered to be of a high-quality, smooth and expressive at the same time.

The translators and scribes tended to employ a variety of stylistic devices, which, though present in other Oriental versions of the B., are more prominent in the Ethiopic text. Most typical are:

1. statements are reinforced by the extension of the phrase, the (alleged) clarification or "improvement" of the traditional text (Uhlig – Maehlum 1993:42–45);
2. especially in recent manuscripts the central terms obtain additional attributes (Uhlig – Maehlum 1993:34);
3. theological interpretation sometimes produces significant revisions of the text (e.g., after Jas 5:12 "… swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath …", a reminiscence on Mt 5:34 has been added, "swear not at all" [**ኢትምሐሉ፡ ግሙራ**]; Hofmann – Uhlig 1993:246).

The substantial number of glosses, which found their way into the text of the B., indicates the extent to which scribes were engaged in the work on the biblical text. Because of their "open" understanding of the biblical canon, they saw themselves in a position to give the text in a more "appropriate" form in the process of translating or reproducing it. This led to a considerable diversity of variants and to the growth of the text (Uhlig – Maehlum 1993:41f.). The conflated text of the 15th–16th cent. is especially characterized by long chains of inserted terms, which make the text hard to follow. As an example Mt 1:19 can be cited, where, instead of "[Joseph] was minded to put her [Mary] away secretly" (**አብደረ፡** [in other texts: **መከረ** 'determined/devised'] **ይኅድጋ፡ ጽምሚት**, 'Pre-

ferred to leave her secretly'), the manuscript Berlin Or. oct. 1298 reads **ሐለየ፡ ወመከረ፡ ወኀረየ፡ ወአብደረ፡ ወፈቀደ፡ ወሠምረ** ('thought and devised and chose and preferred and wanted and had a liking [to leave her]'), i.e. six synonymous verbal forms one after another building just one expression (cp. Zuurmond 2001:36f.).

In addition, there are some passages which are not known in any other oriental B. tradition. E.g., the Acts of the ↗Apostles (in both the manuscript and printed versions, also in Amharic translation) contain a unique conclusion of several sentences, reporting about Paul's travel to Spain, his return to Rome and his missionary activity at the court of the Emperor (s. Uhlig in PICES 10, 319–22).

Lit.: ROCHUS ZUURMOND, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice*: *the Synoptic Gospels*, part 1: *General Introduction*, part 2: *Edition of the Gospel of Mark*, Stuttgart 1989 (AeF 27) [Lit.]; ID., *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice*: *the Gospel of Matthew*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 55) [Lit.]; JOSEF HOFMANN – SIEGBERT UHLIG, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice*: *Die Katholischen Briefe*, Stuttgart 1993 (AeF 29) [Lit.]; SIEGBERT UHLIG – HELGE MAEHLUM, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice*: *Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe*, Stuttgart 1993 (AeF 33) [Lit.]; JOSEF HOFMANN, "Der arabische Einfluß in der äthiopischen Übersetzung der Johannes-Apokalypse", *OrChr* 43, 1959, 24–53; *ibid*., 44, 1960, 25–39; L. HACKSPILL, "Die äthiopische Evangelienübersetzung <Matth. I–X>", *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 11, 1896, 117–96, 367–88; AUGUST HEIDER, *Die äthiopische Bibelübersetzung. Ihre Herkunft, Art, Geschichte und ihr Wert für die alt- und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Halle 1902; OSCAR LÖFGREN (ed., tr.), *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Daniel, nach Handschriften in Berlin, Cambridge, Frankfurt am Main, London, Oxford, Paris und Wien*, Paris 1927, XV–L; HANS FERDINAND FUHS (ed., tr.), *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Micha*, Bonn 1968 (Bonner Biblische Beiträge 28), 31–38; ID. (ed., tr.), *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Hosea*, Bonn 1971 (Bonner Biblische Beiträge 38), 31–38; SIEGBERT UHLIG, "The Last Chapter of Acts in the Ethiopic Version", in: *PICES* 10, 319–22; UhPal 146.

Siegbert Uhlig

Gəᶜəz Bible editions

The editing of Gəᶜəz biblical texts was one of the starting points of Ethiopian studies and accompanied its whole history. The principal editions, roughly in chronological order, follow:

The earliest book of the Gəᶜəz B. that was ever printed was the Psalter with Johannes ↗Potken's edition in Rome (1513; cf. Knibb 2000:112), together with Song of Songs and several biblical canticles. Potken soon re-edited the text in his *Psalterium in quattuor linguis* (1518; cf. Bobzin 1994:82–86). Due to the zeal of ↗Täsfa Ṣəyon and two other monks from Däbrä Libanos, an editio princeps of the ↗New Testament was printed in Rome (1548). The text of this edition is based on three manuscripts, and, although it leaves a lot to be desired (Hofmann 1977:228ff.), it dominated European studies in the Gəᶜəz translation for a long time. It was the basis for the Gəᶜəz N.T. text of Brian Walton's polyglott Bible (1657), which also combined a Latin translation of the Gəᶜəz text. Both the text and the translation are rather inaccurate (Hofmann 1977:230).

In the ↗Old Testament volumes Walton provides a Gəᶜəz translation only for the Psalms (vol. 3 89–319) and Song of Songs (vol. 3, 419–47), following Potken. Johann Georg ↗Nissel and Theodor ↗Petraeus edited some of the smaller books, sometimes together with the Arabic versions, and provided Latin translations: Jonah, Joel, Mal, Song, Ruth, Zeph, 1–3 Jn, Jude, Jas (s. Rahlfs 1917:271–84; Lockot I 279f.). Still important as the only critical edition of Psalter is Hiob ↗Ludolf's edition (1701a) that is based on Potken's two editions and three manuscripts, together with a Latin translation and a critical apparatus, accompanied by the usual canticles. A second edition of the same text (Ludolf 1701b) was made without translation and apparatus for distribution in Ethiopia through the ↗United East Indies Company (cf. Horn 1995).

A complete N.T. edition with an uncritical eclectic text intended for missionary use was prepared by Thomas Platt (1830) for the ↗British and Foreign Bible Society. With various emendations, this text was reissued several times in Europe and Ethiopia (Hofmann 1977:230f.). William Wright's edition of Jonah (1857:75–80) is based on Petraeus' text, collated with two manuscripts.

An edition of the complete O.T. was planned by August ↗Dillmann, but this enormous task could not be completed even by this scholar. At the time of his death, the following books had been printed: ↗Octateuch (i.e. Gen, Ex, Lev, Num, Deut, Josh, Judg and Ruth, 1853), four Books of Kings (i.e. 1–2 Sam and 1–2 Kings, 1861–71), and the deuterocanonical books (↗Baruch, Jeremiah's letters, Tobith, Judith, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom of Salomo, Apocalypse of ↗Ezra and Ezra 1; posthumously 1904). Apart from this, Dillmann edited Joel on the basis of five manuscripts (1879).

Johannes ↗Bachmann intended to edit the twelve minor prophets on the basis of three manuscripts, but his untimely death prevented him from proceeding further than Obadiah and Malachi, which he edited from three manuscripts and for which he gave a reconstruction of the underlying Greek Vorlage (1892). Another project he could not finish was his edition of Isaiah on the basis of five manuscripts (1893a), the second part of which would have comprised the chapters on textual criticism. Only his edition of Lamentations on the basis of four manuscripts (1893b) was finished in time. In the framework of his study of the history of the Ethiopic Gospel, Hackspill provided an edition of Mt 1–10 according to the ms. Paris, BN, Cod. aeth. 32 (1896:369–88; now superseded by Zuurmond 2001). Oscar Boyd's attempt to replace Dillmann's Octateuch with an edition based on older and better manuscripts succeeded only for Genesis (1909) and Exodus and Leviticus (1911). Francisco Maria ↗Esteves Pereira edited the Books of Job (1907), Esther (1912), Amos (1917) and Ezra and Neh (1919), all on the basis of a few manuscripts.

The complete Bible was edited by the Franciscan Mission at Asmära under the supervision of Francesco da ↗Bassano, intended for practical, missionary purposes. The N.T. edition (1920) is largely based on Platt's text (cf. Hofmann 1977:231) with corrections and revisions. The O.T. (1922–26) gives an "eclectic or conflated" (Ullendorff 1968:60) text with all difficulties removed (Löfgren 1929). As the first complete edition of the Gəᶜəz Bible, the Asmära Bible also proved successful for scholarly purposes. An edition of Daniel was produced by Oscar ↗Löfgren (1927) on the basis of twelve manuscripts. Löfgren (1930) also edited seven of the twelve minor prophets (Jon, Nah, Hab, Zeph, Hag, Zech, Mal) that are extant in a 14th-cent. manuscript (Oxford, Bodleiana, Huntington 625), taking account of other manuscripts and printed texts. In 1932 Sylvain Grébaut edited 1–2 Chron on the basis of only two manuscripts (cf. Clear [1972; 1974] for corrections to this edition). Another attempt to fill the gaps left by Dillmann was Samuel Mercer's edition of Ecclesiastes (1931) on the basis of 24 manuscripts, but this edition is rather poor and unreliable (cf. Littmann 1933:374–77, Löfgren 1932–33). An edition of Song of Songs on the basis of many manuscripts (biblical manuscripts as well as service books) and the various printings was made by Hugh Gleave (1951). The edition of the twelve Minor Prophets was completed by Hans Ferdinand Fuhs with Micah on the basis of 18 manuscripts (1968) and Hosea on the basis of 20 manuscripts (1971).

Modern textual criticism of the Gəᶜəz N.T. started with the edition of Revelation by Hofmann (1967) on the basis of 25 manuscripts. Nevertheless, Hofmann omitted some important manuscripts (cf. Zuurmond 1989, introduction 2). Unfortunately, Pilkington's edition of Proverbs, prepared as a dissertation (1978), was never published. Most important are Zuurmond's editions of Mark (1989) and Matthew (2001), which could use, among many others, the mss. Abba Gärima I and III, which belong to the oldest Ethiopic manuscripts (pre-14th cent.) and have a very archaic text. The edition of the epistles started with the Catholic Epistles by Hofmann and Uhlig (1993) and the Letters of Captivity (i.e. Eph, Phil, Col and Phlm) by Uhlig and Maehlum (1993; cf. Weninger 1995 and Knibb 1996). The edition of Romans by Tedros Abraha (2001) is a novelty, because the text is edited alongside its traditional ↗*andəmta* commentary. He used 14 manuscripts for establishing the text.

For editions of the Apocrypha cf. Ascension of Isaiah, Book of ↗Jubilees, ↗Enoch, ↗Baruch, ↗Hermas, ↗Pseudoepigrapha and Apocrypha.

Src.: JOHANNES POTKEN (ed.), [*Psalterium et anticum canticorum et alia antica biblica aethiopice et syllabarum seu de legendi ratione*], Romae 1513; ID. (ed.), *Psalterium in quattuor linguis. Hebraea graeca chaldaea latina*, Colonia 1518; PETRUS AETHIOPS [TÄSFA ṢƎYON] (ed.), *Testamentum Novum cum Epistola Pauli ad Hebraeos*, Roma 1548; BRIAN WALTON (ed.), *Biblia polyglotta complectentia textus originales Hebraicos cum Pentat. Samarit., Chaldaicos, Graecos versionumque antiquarum Samarit., Graec. Sept., Chaldaic., Syriacae, Lat. Vulg., Arabicae, Aethiopic., Persicae*, Londini 1653–57 [repr. Graz 1963–65]; IOB LUDOLF (ed.), **በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ አሐዱ፡ አምላክ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ መዝሙራት፡ ዘዳዊት** – *Hoc est*: *Psalterium Davidis aethiopice et latine …*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1701a; ID. (ed.), **ዳዊት፡ ዝውእቱ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ መዝሙራት፡ ዘዳዊት** (*Dawit zəwəʾətu mäṣḥafä mäzmurat zädawit*, 'David, which is the Psalter of David'), Frankfurt 1693 A.M. [1701 A.D.]; THOMAS PELL PLATT (ed.), **ወንጌል፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘእግዚእነ፡ መመድኀኒነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወመጸ ሕፍቲሆሙ፡ ለሐዋርያቲሁ፡ ቅዱሳን** – *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri et Servatoris Jesu Christi aethiopice*, London 1830; L. HACKSPILL, "Die äthiopische Evangelienübersetzung (Math. I-X)", *ZA* 11, 1896, 117–96, 367–88; J. OSCAR BOYD (ed.), *The Octateuch in Ethiopic according to the text of the Paris codex, with the variants of five other manuscrips*. I.: *Genesis*, II.: *Exodus and Leviticus*,

Leyden – Princeton 1909, 1911 (Bibliotheca abessinica 3, 4); FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA (ed.), *Le livre de Job*: *version éthiopienne*, Paris 1907 (PO 2, 5) [repr. Turnhout 1971]; ID. (ed.), *Le livre d'Esther*: *version éthiopienne*, Paris 1912 (PO 9, 1) [repr. Turnhout 1982]; ID. (ed.), *O livro do profeta Amós*, Coimbra 1917 (Academia das Sciências de Lisboa, Boletim da Segunda Classe 11); ID. (ed.), *Le troisième livre de ʿEsrâ*: *version éthiopienne*, Paris 1919 (PO 13, 5) [repr. Turnhout 1973]; FRANCESCO DA BASSANO (ed.), ሐዲስ፡ ኪዳን (*Ḥaddis kidan*, 'The New Testament'), Aśmära 1920; ID. (ed.), ብሉይ፡ ኪዳን (*Bəluy kidan*, 'The Old Testament'), 4 vols., Aśmära 1915–18 A.M. [1922/23–25/26 A.D.]; SAMUEL MERCER (ed.), *The Ethiopic Text of the Book of Ecclesiastes*, London 1931 (The Oriental Research Series 6); SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT (ed.), *Les paralipomènes. Livres I et II*, Paris 1932 (PO 23, 4) [repr. Turnhout 1974]; HUGH CRASWALL GLEAVE (ed.), *The Ethiopic Version of the Song of Songs*, London 1951; ROCHUS ZUURMOND (ed.), *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice*: *the Synoptic Gospels*, part 1: *General Introduction*, part 2: *Edition of the Gospel of Mark*, Stuttgart 1989 (AeF 27); ID. (ed.), *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice*, part III: *The Gospel of Matthew*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 55); JOSEF HOFMANN – SIEGBERT UHLIG (eds.), *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice*: *Die katholischen Briefe*, Stuttgart 1993 (AeF 29); SIEGBERT UHLIG – HELGE MAEHLUM (eds.), *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice*: *Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe*, Stuttgart 1993 (AeF 33); TEDROS ABRAHA (ed.), *La lettera ai Romani. Testo e commentari della versione Etiopica*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 57).

Lit.: MICHAEL ANTHONY KNIBB, "The Ethiopic Translation of the Psalms", in: ANNELI AEJMELAEUS – UDO QUAST (eds.), *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen*, Göttingen 2000 (Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens 24; Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Folge 3, Nr. 230), 107–22; HARTMUT BOBZIN, "Miszellen zur Geschichte der Äthiopistik", in: WOLFHART HEINRICHS – GREGOR SCHOELER (eds.), *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag*, I.: *Semitistische Studien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Südsemitistik*, Beirut 1994 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 54), 82–101; JOSEF HOFMANN, "The Ethiopic Version", in: BRUCE METZGER (ed.), *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, Oxford 1977, 215–56; ALFRED RAHLFS, "Nissel und Petraeus, ihre äthiopischen Textausgaben und Typen", *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*. *Philologisch-historische Klasse aus dem Jahre 1917*, Berlin 1918, 268–348; JÜRGEN HORN, "Psalter für Äthiopien", in: *Das deutsche Buch. Die Sammlung deutscher Drucke 1450–1912. Bilanz der Förderung durch die Volkswagenstiftung*, Wiesbaden 1995, 106–07; OSCAR LÖFGREN, "Die äthiopische Bibelausgabe der katholischen Mission: Mit einer Kollation des Danieltextes", *Le Monde Oriental* 23, 1929, 174–80; ID., [Review of Mercer 1931], *ibid.* 24–27, 1923–33, 334–45; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, Oxford 1968 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1967); ENNO LITTMANN, [Review of Löfgren 1930 and Mercer 1931], *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 36, 1933, 373–77; JOHN WILLIAM CLEAR, "A List of Corrections for Sylvain Grébaut's Edition of Ethiopic I Chron.", *Le Muséon* 87, 1974, 207–21; ID. "A List of Corrections for Sylvain Grébaut's Edition of Ethiopic II Chron.", *ibid.* 85, 1972, 259–68; STEFAN WENINGER, [review of Hofmann – Uhlig 1993 and Uhlig – Maehlum 1993], *OrChr* 79, 1995, 265–70; MICHAEL ANTHONY KNIBB, [review of Hofmann – Uhlig 1993 and Uhlig – Maehlum 1993], *BSOAS* 59, 1996, 203–05; Lockot I, 272–82; Lockot II, 381–84 (Lit.).

Stefan Weninger

Bible canon

I. Canon in Christianity

The Christian biblical canon is generally understood as the list of all normative scriptures of a religious community. The word canon (from a Semitic root: Hebrew *qanēh*, Assyrian *qanû*, Akkadian *qin*, Ugaritic *qn*) means 'rule', 'standard', 'reference for measuring' (Sanders 1992:838). Canon as a legalistic term in the early Greek Church means 'paragraph' and was later used to describe a very special paragraph, i.e. the one that contained the complete list of biblical books.

There is more to the idea of canon than the simple dogmatic judging between holy and profane, inspired and uninspired books. Canon can be understood as the very process where a community defines its own cultural bias, as an integration process (cp. Assmann 1992). Canon in that sense is a document of compromise and legitimates different theological positions. On the other hand, canon is something exclusive which censors and limits the horizon, in which biblical books interpret themselves mutually. Since the 1970s, scholars sharpened their view for canon as a hermeneutic rule for biblical exegesis (cp. Sanders 1992).

II. Canon in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church

No official stand has been taken by the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewaḥədo Church concerning the canonicity of biblical books (cf. Mikre-Selassie Gebre-Ammanuel 1993:121f., Leslau 1951:XXVIII) and there is little theological literature about this issue. "The concept of canonicity is regarded more loosely than it is among most other churches" (Cowley 1974:318). We have a number of references to authoritative scripture: lists of biblical books and manuscripts and editions of the B. These sources allow merely a blurred view.

All books received as biblical in any of the other Christian denominations are considered to be canonical in Ethiopia as well. But there are some other books of the same status. So the list of biblical books in the Ethiopian Church is the longest in Christendom. Depending on how one

calculates book-divisions, the number of books in the Ethiopian canon is 82, or – more commonly, – 81: "[A]ll the clergy and laity commonly use the term 'eighty and one' whenever they speak of the B. in their religious encounter" (Mikre-Selassie Gebre-Ammanuel 1993:119).

The idea of a canon of 81 books is not of Ethiopian origin but reflects Coptic influence. In the 13th–17th cent., the legal compendia ↗*Senodos* and ↗*Fəṯḥa nägäśt* bring the number 81 to Ethiopia and with it the idea of the authoritative status of pseudo-apostolic scriptures. There are canon lists in two recensions of the *Senodos abṭəlis*, one in *Senodos gəṣṣəw* and one in *Fəṯḥa nägäśt* (cf. Beckwith 1985/86). According to these sources the following books are of full authority: the *Book of* ↗*Jubilees* (one or three books); the *Book of Joseph, the Son of Koryon*, which is "(another) book of Macabees" (the Book of Joseph ben Gurion or *Josippon*, s. ↗*Zena Ayhud*); another *Book of* ↗*Ezra* (one can assume, that one of them is the old Ethiopic version of the *Apocalypse of Ezra*); one called the *Wisdom of Bagor* (in the *Fəṯḥa nägäśt*; the title is unknown, possibly it refers to the second part of *Proverbs* in the manuscript often called *Tägśaṣ*); books or letters of Clement (two or eight in number). With regard to the fact that the Ethiopian translation of the "Octateuch of Clement" is nothing other than the *Senodos*, there is a very special case in the lists in the *Senodos*: they canonize themselves since they have the eight books of Clement in their lists. The canon of the *Senodos* contents and closes itself. Beckwith (1985/86) has shown that the characteristics of the lists from the *Fəṯḥa nägäśt* and the *Senodos* are of Coptic or Syriac monophysite origin: the number 81, the self-referential canonisation of Clementine literature, *Proverbs* divided in two parts, the book of *Josippon*. So only *Jubilees* seems to reflect old Ethiopian tradition.

Today it is impossible to reconstruct the exact canon of the Aksumite period or any other kind of Urkanon. It is not known which and how many books belonged to the biblical canon of Aksum in late antiquity (Brakmann 1992:783; but cp. the classic attempt of Baumstark 1905). Scholars differ in method and result of such hypotheses: if one concentrates on the textual witnesses – scriptures translated into Gəʿəz in the Aksumite period – one reveals a rich corpus of books that may have had canonical authority at that time (cf. Brakmann 1994:149ff.). If, on the other hand, one declares anything as "not original Ethiopic shape" that is also specific to other monophysite denominations, one gets the idea of a very strict canon. Cf. Beckwith's (1985/86:494–500) hypotheses of an "ancient canon": a book was not canonical, if it was doubted in the Syriac, Coptic and Jewish backgrounds.

We have more information about the canon in the time of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob. It is well known that he tried to push his reforms by giving them a new and broader scriptural basis (Wendt 1964). He reached the number of 81 books in the list from the *Senodos* by counting some other books: ↗*Enoch*, the *Testamentum Domini* (= two books of the Covenant, *Mäṣḥafä kidan*; ↗*Kidan zäʾəgziʾənä Iyäsus Krəstos*) and the Ethiopian version of the *Didaskalia* (↗*Didəsqəlya*). We know that the *Book of Jubilees* was one of the most important books for the Emperor, but since he started no activity to make others accept it, we can assume that it was canonical before his time.

In the 17th cent., the *Gädlä Marqorewos* speaks of "sanctos libros mutantes et prophetas XLVII et novos XXXV libros". His canon of 82 books includes in the O.T.: *Enoch*, *Jubilees*, two books of *Proverbs*, the *Apocalypse of Ezra*, three books of *Makkabees*, and in the N.T.: four books of *Senodos*, the *Didascalia* and two books of the Covenant (Conti Rossini 1962:11).

Nowadays one speaks of a "broader" and a "narrower canon". Both canons have in common that the number of books is 81. The "narrower canon" appears to have been somewhat influenced by Western churches, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant (Mikre-Selassie Gebre-Ammanuel 1993:122). This narrower canon includes none of the books which are doubted outside Ethiopia and reaches the number of 81 by a distinct method of counting. The "broader canon" is found in the *Short History, Faith and Order of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church*, edited by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Holy Synod, and in some other new documents (Mikre-Selassie Gebre-Ammanuel 1993:120f.). It includes all books of the canon list in the *Gädlä Marqorewos*.

There is a great difference between lists on one side and manuscripts and editions of the Bible on the other: Scribes never mixed up N.T. books from the "narrower canon" with the pseud-apostolic scripture. So in the scribal practice, the *Senodos*, the *Didascalia* and two books of the Covenant have less authority.

The manuscripts differ widely in grouping and ordering of the books, so there is no common arrangement of the books. Only some aspects of arrangement seem unchangeable: 1. a group called Orit, containing the first eight books of the Greek Bible (Gen to Ruth); Orit means Tora, but the (Jewish) Tora contains only the first five books; 2. a clear separation between O.T. and N.T. (s. Brandt 2000).

III. Betä ʾIsraʾel and Canon

The ↗Betä ʾIsraʾel reject the N.T. (and the pseudo-apostolic literature), but do not strictly follow Judaism in questions of authoritative literature: They accept Bible editions with all the O.T. books which they inherited from Ethiopian Christians. In contrast to the Christian notion of the Orit (as the first eight books of the Bible) they call the whole O.T. Orit ('Tora'). They are not acquainted with the Talmud. "The Old Testament and above all the apocryphal book of Jubilees are the sources of their religious laws and precepts" (Leslau 1951:xxxviii).

Lit.: I. JAN ASSMANN, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München 1992; JAMES SANDERS, "Canon I: Old Testament", in: DAVID NOEL FREEDMAN et al. (eds.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 1, New York 1992, 837–52.

II. ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH HOLY SYNOD (ed.), *Short History, Faith and Order of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church*, Addis Ababa 1983; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum I. Gadla Marqorēwos seu Acta Sancti Mercurii*, Paris 1904 (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 16, 17]), 11 (text) = 20 (tr.); ANTON BAUMSTARK, "Der äthiopische Bibelkanon. Ein Exemplar desselben mit einleitenden Bemerkungen vorgelegt", *OrChr* 5, 1905, 162–73; ROGER T. BECKWITH, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and its Background in Early Judaism*, London 1985/86, appendix 5, 478–505; HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, ***TO ΠΑΡΑ TOIC BAPBAPOIC ΕΡΓΟΝ ΘΕΙΟΝ***. *Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum*, Bonn 1994, 146–57; ID., "Axomis (Aksum)", in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Suppl. 1, 1992, 718–810; PETER BRANDT, "Geflecht aus 81 Büchern. Zur variantenreichen Gestalt des äthiopischen Bibelkanons", *Aethiopica* 3, 2000, 79–115; ROGER W. COWLEY, "The Biblical Canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Today", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 23, 1974, 318–23; EPHRÄM BURKHARD EISING, *Zur Geschichte des Kanons der Heiligen Schrift in der ostsyrischen Kirche im ersten Jahrtausend*, Würzburg 1972; MIKRE-SELASSIE GEBRE-AMMANUEL, "The Bible and its Canon in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church", *The Bible Translator* 44, 1993, 111–23; KURT WENDT, "Der Kampf um den Kanon Heiliger Schriften in der äthiopischen Kirche der Reformen des XV. Jahrhunderts", *JSS* 9, 1964, 107–13.

III. WOLF LESLAU, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven 1951 (Yale Judaica Series 6).

Peter Brandt

Bible commentary tradition

The Ethiopian tradition of B. commentary developed into a corpus of biblical interpretation and teaching. Commentaries share a relatively uniform methodology and form part of the broader Ethiopian theological tradition, heir to Antiochene and Alexandrian Christianity.

Written in Gəʿəz, commentaries are the outcome of a complex process of textual transmission. According to Cowley (1983:35–40), there are three kinds of commentaries: a) translations of exegetical commentaries of earlier Alexandrian-Greek sources, such as ↗John Chrysostom, ↗Basil of Caesarea, ↗Gregory of Nyssa etc.; b) translations of a later period of Syriac, Coptic and Arabic sources, mainly of Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib, or of considerable reworking of earlier sources, as in the Coptic-Arabic Gospel *catena*; c) original Gəʿəz compositions, which combine the two groups mentioned above.

The origins of the commentary tradition in Ethiopia are not clear. Traditional Ethiopian teaching believes that biblical books came to Aksum in pre-Christian times. But it also teaches that the B., brought from Alexandria by the Christian missionaries in the 4th cent. A.D., was quickly translated into Gəʿəz and commentaries were brought along with it. New commentaries continued to appear in the following centuries. A second group of commentaries reached Ethiopia in the 13th cent., when Christian oriental influence became strong in the country. The third kind of commentary developed in the different B. schools from the 13th to the 16th cent.

The reworking of Gəʿəz commentaries, as well as their later translation into Amharic, gave birth to the ↗*andəmta* and ↗*tərgʷame*. Lists of Ethiopian biblical scholars are found in Cowley (1983:19f.), Admasu Ǧämbare (1992:120f.) and Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh (1963:213ff.). Many B. monastic schools, such as ↗Marṭulä Maryam in Goǧǧam and Tädäbalä Maryam in Wällo, are noteworthy, since both trace their origins to Frumentius (*abunä* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan).

Commentaries in Gəʿəz follow a set pattern of exposition and use technical terms to structure the interpretation into two main parts. The first part contains a biblical quotation, usually introduced by the terms ቃል (*qal*, here 'text') or ንባብ (*nəbab*, 'reading'), or may be immediately fol-

lowed by the term **ዘ** (*zä-*, 'which'), an abbreviation of **ዘይቤ** (*zäyəbe*, 'that which says'). When the text under study is extensive, commentaries may quote the sentence with which the text begins followed by **እ፡ ኀ፡ ይ** (*ə ḫa yə*), abbreviation of **እስክ፡ ኀበ፡ ይቤ** (*əskə ḫabä yəbe*, 'until when it says'). This is followed by the last sentence of the Biblical quotation. The second part contains the commentary, often introduced by the term **ፍካሬ** (*fəkkare*, 'interpretation', or its abbreviation **ፍ**, *fə*), **ትርጓሜ** (*tərgʷame*, 'interpretation') or **ይብል** (*yəbəl*, 'it says'). Commentaries may offer several interpretations of the same passage. These are introduced by the terms **ወቦ፡ አለ** (*wäbo əllä*) or **ወቦ፡ እ** (*wäbo ə*, 'and there is [one] which [says]'), **ቦ** (*bo*, 'there is'), **ቦ፡ ዘይቤ** (*bo zäyəbe*, 'there is one which says'), **አው** (*awə*, 'or') or **ዳግም** (*dagəm*, 'also'; cf. Säyfä Śəllase Yoḥannəs 1994–95:121f.; García 1999:25–31).

The literary form of the commentaries contains authoritative interpretations, with a certain tendency to vulgarization, or an exegesis done by one author, more scientific in nature. Allegory and metaphor are frequently used to explain the meaning of texts.

Lit.: ADMASU ĞĀMBĀRE, **መዝገበ፡ ቅኔ** (*Mäzgäbä qəne*, 'Collection of *Qəne*'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1997/98 A.D.] (ms.); ROGER W. COWLEY, "Old Testament Introduction in the Andemta Commentary", *JES* 12, 1974, 133–75; ID., *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Cambridge 1983 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 33); ID., *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation. A Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge 1988 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 38) [Lit.]; MIGUEL ANGEL GARCÍA, *Ethiopian Biblical Commentaries on the Prophet Micah*, Wiesbaden 1999 (AeF 52); *liqä səlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƏNÄH, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እምነትና፡ ትምህርት** (*Yäʾityopya ortodoks täwaḥədo betä krəstiyan əmnätənna təmhərt*, 'The Faith and the Teaching of the Ethiopian Täwəhedo Orthodox Church'), Addis Ababa 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; SÄYFÄ ŚƏLLASE YOḤANNƏS, **የአንድምታ፡ ትርጓሜ፡ በኢትዮጵያ፡ ባህልና፡ ትምህርት** (*Yäʾandəmta tərgʷame bäʾityopya bahələnna təmhərt*, 'The Andemta Commentary in Ethiopian Culture and Education'), in: HAILEGEBRIEL MELLAKU (ed.), *Ethiopian Review of Cultures*, vol. 4–5, Addis Ababa 1994–95, 121–30.

Miguel Ángel García

Bible translation into modern Ethiopian languages

Modern B. translation began in the 19th cent., mainly inspired by Protestant missions, with translation being done in the larger languages of Ethiopia: ↗Amharic, dialects of ↗Oromiffa, and ↗Təgrəññña. In the 20th cent., translation was done in a number of other languages as well, so that by 1974 the following were available: whole B. in Gəʿəz, Amharic (1840 and 1962), northwestern Oromo (1899), Təgrəññña (1956); N.T. in ↗Añwaa (1962), ↗Kunama (1927), ↗Nuer (1968), ↗Somali (1972), ↗Təgre (1902). Portions were also produced in several other languages. (For information on recent translations into further languages s. the article on the ↗British and Foreign Bible Society).

Some of the better-known B. translators include ↗Abu Rumi for Amharic, ↗Onesimos Näsib for Oromo and ↗Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən for Təgrəññña and Təgre, Johann Ludwig ↗Krapf for two Oromo dialects and Elsie ↗Winqvist for Təgrəññña.

Peter Unseth

Bible translation into Amharic

The oldest published Amharic version of biblical books was a result of the co-operation between an Ethiopian monk from Goğğam, Abu Rumi (also known as *abba* Abrəham, this possibly having been his original name; s. Ullendorff 1968:63) and the French Vice-Consul in Cairo, Asselin de Cherville, who had discovered that he was an accomplished traditional scholar. Following the request of the Frenchman, Abu Rumi set about translating the entire B. into the Gondär dialect of Amharic.

In 1814 de Cherville was able to send a copy of the Amharic translation of the book of Exodus to the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS). When the British missionary William Jowett, agent of the ↗Church Missionary Society (CMS), visited Egypt in 1818, he met Asselin de Cherville and found the entire B. translated into Amharic. Their encounter led to the first publications of biblical books in Amharic. These included: in 1824 the Gospels; in 1829 the whole N.T.; in 1833 the Psalms; in 1837 the Pentateuch; in 1840 the whole B., published by the BFBS, London, edited by Thomas Pell Platt of the CMS, from the translation of Abu Rumi.

In 1842 the Psalms were published again (by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, London). This edition was included in a translation of the Prayer Book by Karl Wilhelm ↗Isenberg. In 1852 the N.T. was published by the BFBS, London, revised by Carl Heinrich Blumhardt on the basis of Abu Rumi's translation.

Revisions by the Protestant missionary Johann Ludwig Krapf followed. In 1860 the Psalms were printed (published by the BFBS, London), in 1864–65 the whole N.T. (in twelve seperate parts,

Darlow – Moule 1903:51f.) was again published by the BFBS and printed at the ↗St. Chrischona Pilgermission. Made up of these parts, the whole N.T. was bound together in 1866 and published by the BFBS in Basle. In 1871–73 the Psalms were reprinted in Basle. 1886 saw a new edition of the B. based on Krapf's last version (published by the BFBS at St. Chrischona), revised by Johannes Martin ↗Flad with the assistance of the Ethiopian missionary "Orgawi" (↗Mikaʾel Arägawi). This was done in collaboration with the ↗London Society for Propagating Christianity amongst the Jews.

After two decades, the first new translations were done: in 1907 the Gospel of Matthew, the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Galatians were published by the ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Rome, translated by Joachim Maria de Boceguillas, a Roman Catholic missionary.

In 1924 the Gospels were edited in Addis Abäba under the auspices of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I). 1924–25 saw the publication of the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs and Ezekiel by the Royal Press, Addis Abäba. This was a translation from the traditional Gəᶜəz text, which was also included. In 1928 the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles were published by the Royal Press, Addis Abäba, this was a new translation by *däbtära* Ḫəruy, together with the traditional Gəᶜəz text.

In 1937 the N.T., including Psalms, was republished. In 1939 the whole B. was printed privately in England, a photographic reproduction of a Gəᶜəz manuscript with an Amharic translation by *aläqa* Ḫəruy, *aläqa* Lämma, *nəburä əd* Täkle and *aläqa* Qʷaṣala.

During 1949–52 the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, Genesis, Proverbs, Song of Songs and the Epistle of James appeared, followed in 1955 by the N.T.

In 1961 a new translation of the whole B. (with Apocrypha) appeared, printed by the Royal Press, Addis Abäba. It was prepared by a joint committee appointed by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase and the BFBS, which included ↗Märsəᶜe Ḥazän, Austin Frederick Matthew (from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel), and Arʾaya Śəllase. The same version, without the Apocrypha, was subsequently published by the BFBS.

Src.: THOMAS PELL PLATT (ed.), *Biblia sacra amharice. Sub auspiciis D. Asselini, rerum gallicarum apud Aegyptios procuratoris, in linguam amharicam vertit Abu Rumi Habessinus*, London 1840; KARL HEINRICH BLUMHARDT (ed.), *Novum Testamentum* […] *in linguam amharicam vertit Abu-Rumi Habessinus. Nova editio* […], London 1852; *Novum Testamentum* […] *in linguam amharicam vertit Abu-Rumi Habessinus*, Basileae 1866 [repr. 1870, here the translator is called Abu Ruhh]; *The Books of the Old Testament, Translated into the Amharic Language by Abba Rukh* [...], *for the First Time Corrected and Edited in England by the Rev. Thomas Platt, Now Improved after the Hebrew Original by the Rev. Dr. Krapf in Germany*, St. Crischona 1871; *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments*, St. Chrischona 1886.

A page from the Amharic Bible (Num 12:1–10), translated by "Abba Rukh" (Abu Rumi), ed. by Platt – Krapf 1871

Lit.: EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, London 1968 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1967), 62ff.; THOMAS HERBERT DARLOW – HORACE FREDERICK MOULE, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol. 2: *Polyglots and Languages Other than English*, London 1911, 49–54 (Lit.).

Kirsten Stoffregen-Pedersen

Bible translation into Oromo

In the 19th–20th cent., portions of the B. appeared in different dialects of Oromiffa: Southern Oromo, Šäwa/Central Oromo and Western Oromo. The 19th-cent. B. translators (originally

European missionaries and their Ethiopian assistants) used mostly Gəʿəz characters, but in the beginning also the Latin script (long before it was accepted officially in November 1991). Onesimos Näsib was the first who produced a complete B. translation, published in 1899. The Church Missionary Society in London appears to have been the first institution which started printing Oromo B. translations in 1841.

Southern Oromo
Translations into this dialect were intended for Oromo south of Lake ↗Abbayya in Ethiopia and in Kenya. In 1878 the Book of Jonah was translated and printed by the United Methodist Free Church Missionary (UMFCM) Press in Ribe. In 1889, Thomas Wakefield, from the UMFCM, made a translation on the Gospel of John, which was printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) in London. In 1904 the Gospel of Matthew was translated by R.M. Ormerod from the UMFCM and printed by the BFBS, London. The ↗Boorana N.T. was translated by David Diida and Stephan Houghton in Kenya and published in Latin script in 1978. It was transcribed into Gəʿəz characters and in 1987 printed for distribution by the Southern Ethiopian Synod of the ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Iyesus. The entire B. was published in Latin script in Kenya in 1995. The B., with the deuterocanonical books (Apocrypha), appeared in Boorana in 1972 in London and in 1994 in Nairobi (with Latin characters).

Šäwa/Central Oromo
During his first stay in Šäwa in 1839–42, the Protestant missionary Krapf translated portions of the N.T. into Oromiffa, assisted by an Oromo ("Berk"). In 1839 Krapf published his tentative translation of John (*Tentamen imbecillum, Translationis Evangelii Johannis in Linguam Gallarum*), printed by the CMS, and sold for six pence per copy. The Gospel of Matthew was translated by Krapf at Ankobär, privately printed in Latin script in London in 1841 (*Evangelium Matthei, translatum in linguam Gallarum*, s. Pankhurst 1976:190). In 1843 four portions translated by Krapf (Matthew, Mark, Genesis and the Epistles to the Romans) had been completed in manuscript (Conacher 1970).

In September 1868 *aläqa* ↗Zännäb, who had known Krapf since 1855 and was close to the Protestant missionaries, started to send Krapf his own translations, based on the Šäwa dialect. He used them to improve the translation made by ↗Ruufoo, his Oromo assistant (cf. Smidt forthcoming), and provided the amalgamated texts for printing to the St. Chrischona Mission (Arén 1978:448). Subsequently, Luke (1870), John (1871), Genesis and Psalms (1872), the Acts of the Apostles (1874), the Epistles of Paul, Matthew and Mark (1875), the N.T. (1876) and Exodus (1877) were all printed in St. Chrischona. In 1893 the Mark edition of 1875 was transliterated by Oromo students at the Lovedale Missionary Institute, South Africa, and printed in Latin script (North – Nida 1972:147).

Eastern Oromo
In 1886 St. Matthew was translated into ↗Ituu by "Hajlu", a freed Oromo slave from Harär, and printed by the BFBS in Vienna (North – Nida 1972:147).

Western Oromo
Onesimos Näsib began his work on the N.T. translation in 1893 by reworking the Krapf – Ruufoo – Zännäb translation (Mekuria Bulcha 1995:41; Arén 1999:287). After 17 years of work, he completed his translation of the O.T. in June 1897, assisted by ↗Aster Gannoo (Arén 1999:287; North – Nida 1972), and immediately proceeded with a revision of the whole work (1897–99), using the B. versions in three languages (Amharic, Oromiffa ["Galla"] and Swedish). He used the Gəʿəz script. In 1899 the complete B. was printed at St. Chrischona under his guidance, to become the first complete B. edition in Oromiffa. In 1907 more than 2,000 copies of Onesimos's translation were printed. He chose a dialect common to as many Oromo as possible

Title page of the first printed Oromo New Testament, translated by Johann Ludwig Krapf, *aläqa* Zännäb and Ruufoo, courtesy of the Hermannsburger Mission, Hermannsburg

(Hylander 1969:86f.). It has been identified as the Northern Oromo dialect (The BFBS 1965:50; North – Nida 1972:148), seemingly because he lived in the north; others say that the translation was made in the Mäčča dialect (Western Oromo; Hylander 1969). Yet another translation of the Gospel of Luke and the Epistle of James was completed in 1928 by ↗Gidada Solon (Bliese 1999:27).

The Onesimos's B. was used until 1994, when the new Common Language B. was printed by the Bible Society of Ethiopia. Since the early 1970s, experts had worked on a new translation of the B. A Gəᶜəz-script version of the Common Language B. was distributed in January 1994 and a Latin-script edition followed in 1998. The Western Synod of the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Iyesus has been the sponsor of this project, with the support of the Evangelical Mission in Germany.

Src.: LUDWIG KRAPF – *debtera* SANEB – ROOFO, **ወንጌሊ፡ ሉቃሲ.** – *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, St. Chrischona 1870; YOḤANNƏS LUWIS KRAPF – *alläqa* ZÄNNÄB – RUUFOO et al., **ቁልቁሎታ፡ መ ጣፎታ፡ ከ ኮ፡ ሐረዋ፡ አፋን፡ የ ና ኒቲ፡ ገረ፡ አፋን፡ አሮሞኒ** – *The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ Translated into the Galla Language*, St. Chrischona 1876; ONESIMOS NESIB, **ከኮ፡ ሃራ** (*Käku hara*, 'The New Testament'), Moncullo 1885 A.M. [1893 A.D.]; **መጫፈ፡ ቁልቁሉ** (*Mäčafä qulqullu*, 'The Holy Bible'), St. Chrischona 1899; **ከኮ፡ ሃራ፡ አፋን፡ አሮሞት** (*Käku hara afan oromot*, 'The New Testament in Oromo Language'), Addis Ababa 1972 A.M [1979 A.D.]; *Kitaaba Waaqa Ka Kitaaba Deutarokanonikol/Apokrifa Qabu* ('The Bible with Deutero-canon/Apocrypha), London ¹1972, Nairobi ²1994 [Latin script, a new translation in Boorana]; BIBLE SOCIETY OF ETHIOPIA, **መጫፈ፡ ቁልቁሉ፡ አፋን፡ አሮሞ፡ ሂካሃ ራ** (*Mäčafä qulqullu afan Oromo hika hara*, 'The Holy Bible in Oromo, New Translation'), 1985 A.M. [1993 A.D.] [in Gəᶜəz Script]; *The Holy Bible in Oromo, New Translation, Macaafa Qulqulluu Afaan Oromoo Hiikaa Haaraa*, Addis Ababa 1997 [in Latin script]; THOMAS HERBERT DARLOW – HORACE FREDERICK MOULE, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol. 2: *Polyglots and Languages other than English*, London 1911 (Lit.).

Lit.: THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY (BFBS), *The Gospel in Many Tongues*, London 1965; JOHN ROY HAMILTON CONACHER, *General Survey Concerning Christian Literature in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1970; ERIK M. NORTH – EUGENE ALBERT NIDA (eds.), *The Book of a Thousand Tongues*, New York ²1972; FRIDE HYLANDER, "Onesimus Nesib: Some Remarks on Cerulli's 'The Folk-Literature of the Galla'", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 79–87; YPE SCHAAF, *On their Way Rejoicing. The History and Role of the Bible in Africa*, Carlisle 1994; MEKURIA BULCHA, "Onesimos Nasib's Pioneering Contributions to Oromo Writing", *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 4, 1, 1995, 36–61; LIANA LUPAS – ERROLL F. RHODES (eds.), *Scriptures of the World*, New York 1994; GUSTAV ARÉN, *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia. Origins of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus*, Stockholm 1978 (Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia 32); *Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus Western Wollega Bethel Synod (1919–1999)*, Dembi Dollo 1999; WOLBERT SMIDT, "The Unknown First Oromo Bible Translator Christian Rufo", in: *PICES* 14, forthcoming; LOREN BLIESE, *End of Year Report. Bible Society of Ethiopia since 1981–1999*, Addis Ababa n.d; TEFASSA DIGGA, *A Short Biography of Onesimos Nesib: c. 1850–1931*, Addis Ababa 1999; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Foundation of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Books Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 3, 1962, 241–90; ID., "The Beginnings of Oromo Studies in Europe", *Africa. Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto Italo-Africano* 31, 2, 1976, 171–206, here 199ff.

Merdassa Kassaye

Bible translation into Təgre

The Gospel of Mark was the first part of the N.T. to be translated into Təgre in 1889 by Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən and ↗Dawit Amanuᵓel under the supervision of the Swedish missionary Carl ↗Winqvist. The entire N.T. was translated and edited by Karl Gustav Roden with the help of Täwäldä Mädḫən and Dawit Amanuᵓel (1902, with a revised edition in 1931). Parts of the O.T. (Psalter and Isaiah) were translated by Gustav Richard ↗Sundström and published at Asmära in 1925 (with a second edition of the Psalms in 1931). A new translation of the entire B. (*Kətab qəddus*) appeared in 1995/96. Parts of the B. were published in various types of devotional literature, e.g. *hayyot* ('Fountain of life'), Asmara 1959. The language of the B. enjoys great prestige with the Christian Təgre but is deliberately shunned and ignored by many Muslim Təgre with even the script being viewed as "Christian".

Lit.: KARL GUSTAV RODEN – GUSTAV RICHARD SUNDSTRÖM (tr., ed.), *Cantici di Sion in Tigre* – **ደሩ፡ ጽዮን፡ ኦብ፡ ትግሬ**, Asmara 1902, ²1931; *Evangelium enligt på Tigre-Språket*, Monkullu 1889; **ሐዲስ፡ ገለድ** (*Ḥaddis gäläd*), Asmära 1902, ²1931; *Il libro di Isaia in lingua Tigré* – **ክታብ፡ ኢሰያስ**, Asmära 1925; **ክታብ፡ ቅዱስ፤ ባሊ፡ ወሐዲስ፡ ገለድ** (*Kətab qəddus, bali wäḫaddis gäläd*, 'Holy Book, Old and New Testament'), [Addis Abäba] 1995/96; MUSA ARON (tr.), **ናይ፡ ክታብ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ክብት፡ ቃላት** (*Nay kətab qəddus kəbt qalat*, 'Bible Dictionary'), [Asmära] 1996; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, London 1968 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1967), 71f.

Rainer Voigt

Bible translation into Təgrəññа

An early translation of the Gospels of Mark and John into Təgrəññа, called "Tigre" at that time, was undertaken by Nathaniel ↗Pierce, who lived in Ethiopia at the beginning of the 19th

cent. (Praetorius 1871:11). This manuscript is not of great value (except possibly for dialectological research) since the text is rendered with Latin characters and in conformity with English orthography (e.g. *wer* for Tgn. *wä-* 'and', s. the text in Platt 1823). The first known Təgrəññña translation (the Gospel of John) which uses Ethiopic characters was made in the 1830s by Samuel ↗Gobat. Franz ↗Praetorius used this manuscript (now in the Frankfurt am Main Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek) when working on his *Grammatik der Tigriñasprache* (1871).

Also from the 1830s there are two versions of the four Gospels. Both versions, although different, are said to have been translated by *däbtära* Matewos. A small part of the first manuscript was printed in Praetorius 1871. The other manuscript is in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Isenberg 1836/37). This was the version underlying the first printed edition of the Gospels by Johann Ludwig ↗Krapf (1866). Here, the language (Lat. *lingua tigrica*) is called "Tigre" and "Təgray", respectively, in the English and Təgrəññña versions of the title page.

The first entire N.T. edition appeared in 1909 (by Carl Winqvist and *aläqa* Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən). A second and improved edition was printed in 1933 by the Swedish Evangelical Mission in Asmära. The entire B. was published in Asmära in 1956/57 (translators, s. Agoṣtinos-Tädla 1994: 455). This edition has been reprinted many times. This translation is traditionally regarded by Təgrəññña writers as a model for Təgrəññña stylistics. The Catholic press in Asmära has published other translations of parts of the B., e.g., the Gospels translated by *abba* ↗Adḫanom Sə^{c}əlu (the four Gospels, first published separately in 1973–76 and then together in 1975/76).

The Protestant and Catholic presses each use a different orthography. The Catholics follow as far as possible the Classical Ethiopic (↗Gəʿəz) orthography whereas the Protestants adhere more to the phonetic principle, e.g. **ብዙኅ፡ ሕዝቢ** versus **ብዙሕ፡ ህዝቢ**, both phonemically *bəzuḫ həzbi*, 'much people'. Some terms are rendered differently; e.g., *däqqä mäzamurtu* (as already in the 1866 ed.) appears in the Catholic translation as *ardəʾtu*, 'his disciples' (Mt 5:1).

In the dialectological/stylistic field, we note such a difference as, e.g., [Protestant] *nəssatkum č̣äw mədri iḳum* (cf. *nəssatkum iḳum č̣äw nəmədri* in the 1866 ed.) vs. [Catholic] *nəssəḳatkum č̣äw mədri iḳatkum*, 'Ye are the salt of the earth' (Mt 5:13), and [Protestant] *^{c}aqqalat nəmədri ḳiwärsəwa əyyom əmmo bəṣuʾan əyyom* (cf. *<bəṣuʿat> yäwahat nəssatomma yəwärsəwa nəmədri* in the 1866 ed.) vs. [Catholic] *ətom yäwahan <bəṣuʿan> iyatom kämäy nəmədri ḳiwärsəwa iyatom* (Mt 5:5), 'Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth'. Traditionally the Protestants used the form Yäsus (**የሱስ**), but the Catholics the form Iyäsus (**ኢየሱስ**) for "Jesus". So far, the differences between all these editions have not been studied thoroughly.

There is one ecumenical edition of the N.T., published in 1982 A.M. [1991 A.D.] in Asmära by the Bible Society of Ethiopia. The full B. with deuterocanonical books was published in 2000 by the Bible Society of Eritrea. In these ecumenical editions the text follows the Protestant version but has adopted the Catholic orthography (including "Iyäsus").

Src.: *Die 4 Evangelien, ins Tigrische übersetzt durch Debtera Mateos, revidiert durch C.W. Isenberg, Missionar in Adoa in Abessinien, in den Jahren 1836 und 1837*, ms., Berlin Staatsbibliothek; **ሐዲሽ፡ ኪዳን** – *The New Testament in the Tigrinja language*, Asmara 1909, ²1933; THOMAS PLATT, *A Catalogue of Ethiopic Biblical Manuscripts*, London 1823; *Evangelia Sacra Domini nostri et salvatoris Jesu Christi …, in linguam tigricam vertit Debtera Matheos Habessinus Adoae, Tigriae oppido, natus, nunc primum in lucem edita per Johannem Ludovicum Krapf …*, Basel 1866 [with parallel titles in English and Təgrəññña]; FRANZ PRAETORIUS, *Grammatik der Tigriñasprache in Abessinien*, Halle 1871 [repr. Leipzig 1972], 1lf.; **ቅዱስ፡ መንጌል** (*Qəddus wängel*, 'The Holy Gospels'), Asmära 1968 A.M. [1975/76 A.D.]; **መጽሐፍ፡ ቅዱስ፡ [ብሉይን፡ ሐዲሽን፡ ኪዳን]** (*Mäṣḥaf qəddus [bəluyən ḥadišən kidan]*, 'The Bible [Old and New Testament]'), Asmära 1949 A.M. [1956/57 A.D.]; **ሐዲሽ፡ ኪዳን** (*Ḥadiš kidan*, 'The New Testament'), Asmära 1992 A.M. [1991 A.D.]; **መጽሐፍ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ብሉይን፡ ሐዲሽን፡ ኪዳን** – *The Bible in Tigrinya*, Asmära 2001; **ካልአይ፡ ቀኖና፡ ብሉይ፡ ኪዳን፡ ዝሐዘ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ቅዱስ** (*Kalʾay qänona bəluy kidan zəḥazä mäṣḥaf qəddus*, 'The Bible with the Deuterocanon and the Old Testament'), Asmära 2000.

Lit.: WILLIAM JOWETT, *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean*, London 1822; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, London 1968 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1967), 67–71; Abbā AGOṢTINOS-TÄDLA, *La Lingua Abissina*, Asmara 1994, 455 (translators).

Rainer Voigt

Bible Society of Ethiopia ↗ British and Foreign Bible Society

Bibliographies

Due to the early interest of theologians, travellers, historians, philologists and others in Christian Europe in the old religious and literary

traditions of the country, the study of Ethiopia is relatively well-documented since at least the 18th cent.

The pioneer scholar of Ethiopian B. was the 17th-cent. German savant Hiob ↗Ludolf, who in his many publications, notably in the second edition of his *Historia Aethiopica* (1684) and his *Commentarius* (1691–93), inventored previous works on Ethiopia.

The first professional B. (as a reasoned recording of publications) on Ethiopian studies is probably that of ↗Fumagalli (1893), containing 2,722 entries. Many bibliographical surveys have subsequently appeared. A survey of 1990 listed 80 extant B. on Ethiopia (Abbink 1991). Since then, at least twenty others have appeared (Abbink 1996), showing that the literature on Ethiopia continues to grow. Nearly all B. dealt with selected aspects of Ethiopia, for instance: history (Brown 1978, Marcus 1975), travel (Pankhurst – Pankhurst 1978), languages (Leslau 1965; Unseth 1990), Italian colonialism (Stella 1983), religion, land resources (Reilly 1978), demography (Abdullahi Hassen et al. 1990), natural sciences (Kesete Belay 1982), health and disease (Kloos – Zein 1988) and development issues (Alasebu Gabre-Sellassie 1981). Two important B. on Eritrea are those of the Research and Information Centre on Eritrea (RICE 1982) with 3,376 items and the annotated one (Fegley 1995).

The most comprehensive, though not very user-friendly, B. is Paulos Milkias (1989), with 19,286 entries (many of them in Ethiopian languages, mainly Amharic). The format of this publication (which is not annotated) shows that compiling a comprehensive B. on the vast and rapidly expanding literature on the country is now virtually impossible. The most important recent B. on general Ethiopian studies are the detailed volumes by ↗Lockot (Lockot I, II), Abbink (1991, 1996) and Munro-Hay and Pankhurst (1995), which is an annotated one. These works are all quite accessible because of their good indexes and appropriate and detailed subject headings. In particular Lockot II is a major source, with 23,903 items and with an exemplary index and format. Some valuable general B. remain unpublished (s. Haile-Mäsqäl Gäbrä-Wold 1991). The only substantial B. on Ethiopia is the one by Girma Makonnen (1976). A lack in bibliographical studies on Ethiopia is that few give any overview of trends and themes in Ethiopian studies.

The bibliographical literature on Ethiopia today shows a continuation of the various genres of B.: the annotated, the listings and to a much lesser extent the critical. Most of them are, and will continue to be, selective or thematic. A large number of items on Ethiopia do not have ISBN or ISSN numbers and many others are unpublished reports or "grey" publications: these are not readily traceable or available, certainly not outside Ethiopia.

In the early 1970s, the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies at Addis Ababa University started with the excellent initiative of the series *Ethiopia Publications* and a *Register of Current Research on Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa* (Chojnacki – Pankhurst 1964/1971), but this was not sustained. A revival of such an initiative, perhaps in collaboration with a foreign counterpart institution, would fulfil a great need. Most profitable would be an edited and periodically updated electronic version readily accessible on a website. Finally, in Ethiopia the foundation of a National Archive and a law of deposit for all Ethiopian publications would seem highly desirable, but have not been undertaken to date.

Lit.: JON G. ABBINK, *Ethiopian Society and History: a Bibliography of Ethiopian Studies, 1957-1990*, Leiden 1991; ID., *Eritreo-Ethiopian Studies in Society and History: 1960-1995*, Leiden 1996; ABDULLAHI HASSEN – TESFAYESUS MAHARY – JELALUDIN AHMED, *Annotated Bibliography of the Population of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1990; ALASEBU GABRE SELLASSIE, *Women and Development in Ethiopia: an Annotated Bibliography*, Addis Ababa 1981; CLIFTON FLEMING BROWN, *Ethiopian Perspectives: a Bibliographical Guide to the History of Ethiopia*, Westport – London 1978; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI – RICHARD PANKHURST (eds.), *Register of Current Research on Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa*, Addis Ababa 1964/1971; GIUSEPPE FUMAGALLI, *Bibliografia etiopica: catalogo descrittivo e ragionato degli scritti pubblicati dalla invenzione della stampa fino a tutto il 1891 intorno alla Etiopia e regioni limitrofe*, Milano 1893, Farnborough ²1971; GIRMA MAKONNEN, *A Bibliography of Ethiopian Bibliographies, 1932–1972*, Addis Ababa 1976; HAILE-MÄSQÄL GÄBRÄ-WOLD, *The Ethiopian Nationalities: a Bibliography*, vol. 1: *Works in Ethiopian Languages (746 items)*; vol. 2: *Works in Foreign Languages (3705 items)*, Addis Ababa 1991; KESETE BELAY, *Ethiopia: a Bibliography of Science*, Gaborone 1982; HELMUT KLOOS – ZEIN AHMED ZEIN, *Health and Disease in Ethiopia: a Guide to the Literature 1940–1985*, Addis Ababa 1988; WOLF LESLAU, *An Annotated Bibliography of the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, London – Paris 1965; Lockot I; Lockot II; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Modern History of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa, a Select and Annotated Bibliography*, Stanford 1972; PAULOS MILKIAS, *Ethiopia: a Comprehensive Bibliography*, Boston 1989; STUART MUNRO-HAY – RICHARD PANKHURST, *Ethiopia*, Oxford – Santa Barbara – Denver 1995 (World Bibliographical Series 179); RICHARD PANKHURST – RITA

PANKHURST, "A Selected and Annotated Bibliography of Travel Books on Ethiopia", *Africana Journal* 9, 2–3, 1978, 113–32, 101–35; PHILIP MILES REILLY, *Ethiopia: Land Resource Bibliography,* Surbiton 1978; RESEARCH AND INFORMATION CENTRE ON ERITREA (RICE), *Bibliography on Eritrea,* Roma 1982; GIOVANNI CARLO STELLA, *Africa Orientale* (*Etiopia – Eritrea – Somalia*): *Colonialismo italiano. Bibliografia,* Ravenna 1983; PETER UNSETH, *Linguistic Bibliography of the Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia,* East Lansing, MI 1990.

Jon G. Abbink

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

The origin of the B. was the scrinium (library-archive) of the Roman Catholic Church which dates from the 4th cent. During the 6th cent. it was placed under the direction of the primicerius notariorum. The office of bibliothecarius appears towards the end of the 7th cent. The papal library-archive was taken apart during the first half of the 12th cent. New collections of documents were taken to Perugia, Assisi and Avignon – but much was lost. At Avignon, a third library began to emerged, a part of which came into the possession of the Borghese family. This division was returned to the Holy See only in 1891. Nicholas V (1447–55) was the founder of the modern library acquiring for it many manuscripts. Sixtus IV (1471–84) provided funds for it while Sixtus V (1585–90) ordered that a new building be constructed to house the collection. Manuscripts which arrived after 1621 were no longer included within the Vatican collection but kept in separate collections (Palatine 1623, Urbinate 1658, Queen Christina of Sweden 1690, Capponiani 1746 and Ottoboni 1748).

After losses due to the invasions of Napoleon's armies, the library made its most significant acquisitions: during Leo XIII's pontificate (1878–1903), the Borghese, Barberini and Borgia collections and during Pius XI's pontificate (1922–39) Rossi, Chigi and Ferraioli collections. Leo XIII made it more available to scholars and it was further enhanced by Pius XI.

The library is directed by the Cardinal Librarian and by the Prefect. Scriptores do scholarly research and involve themselves in the cultural activities of the library, which is divided into three sections – manuscripts, prints and a coin collection, two offices (a secretariat and an accounting office) and five service departments (restoration, photography, data processing, editorial board and schools). In 1934, Pius XI added a School of Library Science. The three sections each have their own separate collections:

1. about 70,000 different manuscripts – Greek, Latin (all those written with Latin characters), Arab, Armenian, Chinese, Coptic, Georgian, Hebrew, Old Slavonic, Persian, Syriac, etc. The library houses about 1,100 Ethiopian manuscripts which belong to the following collections: 323 Vatican, 37 Borgia, 1 Barberini (Orientale 2), 1 Rossi (865), 329 Cerulli, 290 Comboni, 136 Raineri. Particularly significant are the following: Vaticano 25 (a manuscript containing the four Gospels which dates from the 15th cent. and on the basis of which the first Ethiopian edition of the Gospels was made: Roma 1548); Borgiano 2 (Senodos of 1434–41); Barberiniano Orientale 2 (five-language Psalter from the 14th cent.);
2. printed books – the library contains about one million of these (with about 7,000 incunabula) which all come from various other collections. Particularly important for Ethiopian studies are a few copies of the Psalter of Johannes ↗Potken, a N.T. of ↗Täsfa Ṣəyon (1548/49) as well as the Enrico Cerulli and Salvatore Tedeschi collections;
3. a Numismatic Room, restored in the 19th cent. after grave losses in 1798 and expanded during the 20th cent. It contains about 400,000 articles: coins, medals, seals, jewels, etc.

↗Manuscript collections

Lit.: NELLO VIAN, "Vatican Library", in: *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 14, 572–77; *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Firenze 1985; LOUIS DUVAL-ARNOULD, "Bibliothèque Apostolique Vaticane", in: PHILIPPE LEVILLAIN (ed.), *Dictionnaire historique de la papauté*, Poitiers 1994, 224–27; *Annuario Pontificio per l'anno 2001*, Città del Vaticano 2001, 1115ff., 1626f.; GreTisVat; ARNOLD VAN LANTSCHOOT, "Inventaire sommaire des mss. Vaticans éthiopiens 251–99", in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda a Biblioteca Apostolica edita*, Città del Vaticano 1962 (Studi e testi 219), 453–512; OSVALDO RAINERI, "I manoscritti Vaticani etiopici 300–23. Inventario analitico", *Quaderni Utinensi* 7, 13/14, 1989 [1993], 105–94; ID., "Libri di uso prevalentemente liturgico tra i mss. 'Cerulli Etiopici' della Vaticana", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 100, 2, 1986, 171–85; ID., "Inventario dei manoscritti etiopici 'Raineri' della Biblioteca Vaticana", in: *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae VI. Collectanea in honorem Rev.mi patris Leonardi E. Boyle, O.P., septuagesimum quintum annum feliciter complentis*, Città del Vaticano 1998 (Studi e testi 385), 485–548; ID., *Codices Comboniani Aethiopici*, Vaticano 2000; ID., "Tetravangelo etiopico (Vat. et. 25)", in: FRANCESCO D'AIUTO – GIOVANNI MORELLO – AMBROGIO M. PIAZZONI (ed.), *Vangeli dei Popoli: la Parola e l'Immagine di Cristo nelle culture e nella storia*, Città del Vaticano 2000, 167–68; ID., "Tetravangelo etiopico (Combon. A.1)", *ibid.*, 168–69; ID., "Nuovo Testamento etiopico (Roma, Valerio e Luigi Dorico, 1548)", *ibid.* 410–14;

ID., "Tetravangelo etiopico (Vat. et. 81)", *ibid.* 429–30; ID., "Tetravangelo etiopico (Cerulli et. 64)", *ibid.* 430–31; ID., "I manoscritti Cerulli Etiopici 240–45 della Biblioteca Vaticana", in: *Miscellanea Aethiopica Reverendissimo Domino Stanislao Kur septuagenario professori illustrissimo viro amplissimo ac doctissimo oblata*, Warszawa 1999 [2000] (= Warszawskie Studia Teologiczne 12, 2), 223–34.

Osvaldo Raineri

Bibliothèque Nationale de France

The B.N. in Paris has its origins in the libraries of the French kings, who, since the 14th cent., often showed a vivid interest in literature. François I (1515–47) started the systematic policy of book conservation; his order of 1537 obliged all French publishers to submit one copy of each publication to the Royal Library. This *dépôt légal* was the first initiative of its kind in the world. It is still valid today, and is responsible for around half of the annual acquisitions of the B.N.

From the 18th cent. the B.N. has occupied a vast area between rue de Richelieu and rue Vivienne in the centre of Paris. The extension of collections has recently led to the construction of a new building complex in quartier Tolbiac on the banks of the Seine. These new buildings are supposed to store all the publications which appeared after 1945, while older prints and manuscripts remained within the rue de Richelieu compound.

The B.N. has one of the world's most important collections of Ethiopian manuscripts, which can bost of over 1,000 items. In Europe it is only surpassed by the ↗Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The manuscripts in the B.N. collection are of great interest, some of them being of extraordinary importance due to their antiquity. The value of the collection is further enhanced by the wide variety of manuscripts of different types and in different languages. Gəʿəz manuscripts dominate, but also other Ethiopian languages, particularly Amharic, are represented (for a scroll in the allegedly Oromo "script" s. Rubenson 1987:40f.). The collection forms part of the Département des manuscrits orientaux with its 30,000 items.

The Ethiopian collection originates in the acquisitions made by Charles Colbert in the 17th cent. Colbert, who was sponsoring expeditions and research of Jean-Michel Vansleb (↗Wansleben), could lay hands on his collections of Ethiopian and other Oriental manuscripts. In 1877 Herman ↗Zotenberg provided the first catalogue of the Ethiopian part of the Département des manuscrits orientaux (ZotBNat). The early 19th-cent. acquisitions by Antoine d'↗Abbadie, which poured into the collection in 1902, form an important part of it. During his stay in Ethiopia (1837–49), d'Abbadie purchased or copied around 250 manuscripts (s. his catalogue of 1859 [AbbCat], and the ones by Chaîne [ChAbb] and Conti Rossini [CRAbb]). These manuscripts, covering a wide range of genres and topics, have been used for numerous text editions and studies of major importance (cp. Berthier 2000:39). The ↗Mondon-Vidailhet collection, added in 1910 (s. ChMonV), and the ↗Griaule collection with its 366 manuscripts, which was the result of the work of the 1931 Mission ethnographique et linguistique Dakar-Djibouti and was added in 1933 (s. Grébaut 1938–44, Strelcyn 1954), were a significant influx that considerably increased the B.N. manuscript collection.

Src.: ZotBNat; AbbCat; ChAbb; CRAbb I–IV; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Éthiopiens de la Collection Griaule*, 3 vols., Paris 1938–44; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Éthiopiens (Collection Griaule)*, vol. 4, Paris 1954 (Lit.); SVEN RUBENSON (ed.), *Correspondence and Treaties 1800–1854*, Lund 1987 (Acta Aethiopica 1), 40f.

Lit.: BRUNO BLASSELLE – JACQUELINE MELET-SANSON, *La Bibliothèque nationale de France, Mémoire de l'avenir*, Paris 1996; ANNIE BERTHIER (ed.), *Manuscrits, xylographes, estampages: les collections orientales du Département des manuscrits*, Paris 2000.

Wolbert Smidt

Bicini, Hieronimo

B. ("Messer Gregorio"), an Italian merchant residing in Ethiopia, was also a painter. Alessandro ↗Zorzi, the 15th-cent. Venetian erudite, obtained information on him from an Ethiopian monk, Thomas (of Ganget; s. CrawItin 166f.), who was passing through Venice at the time.

Painting attributed to Bicini, photo courtesy of the author

It appears that B. departed from Venice with merchandise destined for Alexandria in 1482 and thereafter made his way to Ethiopia, where he settled and became a person of some importance and wealth (CrawItin 160ff., 169). Zorzi counterchecked the entire story with B.'s family in Venice and found it to be accurate. B. probably arrived in Ethiopia shortly after 1482 and died before the arrival of the Portuguese embassy in 1520.

To date, no painting signed by B. has been found. However, there exists an opinion that among the unsigned foreign paintings of that time, at least one diptych can be attributed to him (s. Chojnacki 1983:451, fig. 119). It represents St. George on horseback wearing a crown and the Virgin Mary is shown holding the naked Child on her lap with her hands folded. The figure of St. George is clearly depicted in Italian Quattrocento style, while the Virgin's figure shows some indebtedness to International Gothic style. An inscription in contemporary Ethiopic and the flat background indicate Ethiopia as the country of origin (cf. Chojnacki 1983:400f.).

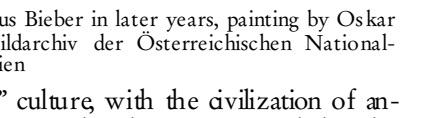
Src.: CrawItin 160f., 166f., s. index.
Lit.: STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Major Themes in Ethiopian Painting*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 10), 298–401, 408f., 451 (ill.); ID., "The Iconography of St. George in Ethiopia, Part I", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 57–73, here 71ff., 65 (ill.).

Stanisław Chojnacki

Bieber, Friedrich Julius

Son of an Austrian coffee-merchant, B. (b. 24 February 1873, Wien, d. 3 March 1924, Wien) came to Ethiopia in 1904 with the von Mylius delegation from the Austro-Hungarian Empire (↗Austria) to explore the possibility of a trade agreement between the two country. He also was a self-taught Africanist with a strong interest in the "homeland of coffee". B. went on to do field research in ↗Käfa in southern Ethiopia after this old kingdom had been incorporated into Ethiopia by *aṣe* Mənilək II's conquest of 1897. He not only explored the origins and use of ↗coffee in Käfa, but went on to investigate the history and culture of this region, and produced a monumental two-volume study of the Käfiĉĉo people and country. In 1909 he returned for a second trip, this time accompanied by Emil Pick (1870–1931).

While B.'s diffusionist historical speculations as to the connections of the Käfiĉĉo, as a "pre-



Friedrich Julius Bieber in later years, painting by Oskar Rainer, © Bildarchiv der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Wien

Abyssinian" culture, with the civilization of ancient Egypt were largely misconceived, his detailed descriptions of Käfiĉĉo life and culture were impressive and valuable. His main contribution was to draw attention to the long and rich history and the political traditions of the pre-conquest ↗Gonga cultures in the Ethiopian southwest. His book on Käfa also contained important descriptions of Käfiĉĉo material culture and social organization. In 1908 B. published the first dictionary of the Käfiĉĉo language. He also wrote accounts on his travels in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Sudan for various travel journals (unpublished material remains; e.g., in his diaries). In addition, he published some shorter articles on aspects of life in highland and southern Ethiopia (on sexuality, folklore and ethnology). In 1923 he edited a travel narrative of the "forgotten" early 19th-cent. Austrian traveller Eduard von Callot in eastern Sudan and the Ethiopian highlands. B.'s ethnographic collection of Käfa artefacts is housed in a museum in Vienna. He also left a large private library of Ethiopiana.

Src.: FRIEDRICH JULIUS BIEBER, *Dizionario della lingua Cafficio,* Roma 1908; ID., *Kaffa. Ein alt-kuschitisches Volkstum in Süd-Äthiopien,* Wien – München 1923–25; ID., "Eduard Freiherr von Callot's Reise durch Kusch und Habesch", in: LEO FROBENIUS — FRIEDRICH JULIUS BIEBER, *Zur Herrlichkeit des Sudans,* Stuttgart – Berlin – Leipzig 1932; for full bibliography s. Lockot I, index; Lockot II, 52, 1787.
Lit.: OTTO STRADAL, *Der Weg zum letzten Pharao. Leben und Werk des Afrikaforschers Friedrich Julius*

Bieber. In Zusammenarbeit mit seinem Sohn Otto Bieber unter Verwendung der Tagebücher und Aufzeichnungen des Forschers, Wien 1954.

Jon G. Abbink

Biftu Anno ↗ Gäbrä Śəllase Anno

Bihono

B. (**ቢሆኖ**, or **ቢሆኖ፡ ኃያል** Bihono Ḫayyal, d. 7 June 1632) was commander of the rebel forces of *abeto* ↗Mälkəʾa Krəstos, who led the anti-Catholic rebellion against *aṣe* ↗Susənyos between 1629 and 1632 from a regional base in Lasta and Wag. Mälkəʾa Krəstos, a descendant of *aṣe* Dawit II, had a dynastic rivalry with Susənyos. He declared himself "King of the [Orthodox] faith" (EMML 6954, fol. 10) and had wide support in his bid for political power.

The origin of B. is not very clear, but he may have been from the Wadla-Dälanta region, where the rebel forces were also operating. As a commander, B. was noted for his brilliant military victories against the royal army. According to the Chronicle of Susənyos, B. gained a decisive victory immediately before the battle of Wäynä Däga in 1632, which had a great effect on the court.

At first he defeated the governor of Bägemdər, Gäbrä Krəstos, and forced him to flee to the camp of *ras* ↗Səᶜəlä Krəstos, the King's brother and second in rank in the state. He then attacked and defeated the combined forces of the two commanders by inflicting heavy damages. Səᶜəlä Krəstos was humiliated in his defeat and, not wanting to face his royal brother, he travelled to Damot, in Goğğam. The victory of B. almost at the gates of the royal court in Bägemdər boosted the morale of the rebel forces and sent a shock of terror through the royal camp, inducing a large number of the King's commanders to join the rebel army. Following this, Susənyos inflicted a major defeat on the rebel forces at Wäynä Däga on 7 June 1632. B. died on the battlefield. Susənyos then abdicated in favour of his son ↗Fäsiladas, who re-established the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and revoked the alliance to the Roman Church.

Src.: PerChron 326–33; EMML no. 6954, f ol. 10.
Lit.: WUDU TAFETE KASSU, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, c. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 48–52.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Bilāl ↗ Newspapers

Bilāl b. Rabāḥ al-Ḥabašī

B. (, d. between 638/42) was born a slave of Ethiopian origin in Mecca. He became one of the first converts to Islam. Owing to his low social status, he had to suffer much torture when the Meccans started to persecute the followers of the new Prophet. Finally, he was released from his pains when Abū Bakr (later the first *ḫalīfa*) bought and manumitted him. Though a freedman of Abū Bakr, he became a constant attendant of the Prophet.

When Muḥammad emigrated to Medina in 622, so did B. He became the first official *muʾaḏḏin* when the call to prayer was instituted in 623. He accompanied the Prophet on all his military expeditions. The climax of his career came after Mecca's fall to the Muslims in 630, B. calling the Muslims to prayer, for the first time from the roof of the Kaᶜba. After the death of the Prophet in 632, B. still held a prestigious position and belonged to the decisive political figures of early Islam. During the caliphate of ᶜUmar, he joined the campaigns in Syria, where he spent the rest of his life.

Like Salmān al-Fārisī for the Persians, B. became a symbol figure for the African Muslims. His career is proof for the important contribution of Africans to early Islam and for the equality of Africans and Arabs in religion. This tendency to make B. a proto-type is obvious already in the *Faḫr as-sūdān ᶜalā l-bīḍān* ('The Precedence of the Blacks over the Whites') of the most famous Arabian prose writer al-Ǧāḥiẓ (776-868/69, probably also of Ethiopian stock) and continues until the present time. A Muslim journal published in Addis Abäba was entitled *Bilāl*.

↗Islam

Lit.: WALĪD ᶜARAFĀT, "Bilāl b. Rabāḥ", in: *EI²*, vol. 1, 1215 (Lit.); SUSANNE ENDERWITZ, *Gesellschaftlicher Rang und ethnische Legitimation: Der arabische Schriftsteller Abū ᶜUṯmān al-Ǧāḥiẓ (gest. 868) über die Afrikaner, Perser und Araber in der islamischen Gesellschaft*, Freiburg 1979 (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 53), s. index.

Ewald Wagner

Bilharziasis

B. (also schistosomiasis) is a chronic parasitic disease found in many tropical and subtropical countries and is caused by flukes of the genus *Schistosoma*.

B. has been recognized since the time of the Egyptian pharaohs. The worms were eventually

discovered in 1851 in Cairo's Qaṣr al-ᶜAynī Hospital by Theodor Bilharz, a young German pathologist. B. is endemic in 74 tropical countries. Some 600 million of the world's population run the risk of becoming infected. It is estimated that 200 million of these are already infected. Extreme poverty, the unawareness of the risks, the inadequacy or absence of public health facilities, plus the deplorable unsanitary conditions in which the people lead their daily lives are all factors contributing to the risk of infection.

Among human forms, for the most part schistosomiasis mansoni and schistosomiasis haematobium occur in the north-western (Kurmuk) Lake Ṭana areas and the north-eastern region of Ethiopia (Kemise, Harbu and Bati towns), however, there is no evidence of B. in Eritrea. Schistosomiasis mansoni, which has the highest prevalence rate, causes intestinal symptoms while schistosomiasis haematobium causes urinary B. The *Schistosoma* parasite multiplies within snails that infest rivers and ponds; when humans use the water, the organism enters their skin.

In 1964 the Ethiopian biologist ↗Aklilu Lämma travelled to ᶜAdwa to study B. At one brook, Aklilu saw women washing clothes with the sudsy extract from the local ↗*ənd*od berry; downstream, the snails were dead. Back in Addis Abäba, Aklilu instituted a program to study whether the *ənd*od berry could be safely used in controlling *Schistosoma*-bearing snails. Although *ənd*od also kills mosquito larvae and fish, he found that it is harmless to rats; in humans, it is an emetic.

Until the 1970s, treatment of B. was almost as dangerous as the disease itself. Praziquantel is effective in the treatment of all forms of B., with virtually no side effects. In Africa Oxamniquine is used exclusively to treat intestinal B., while Metrifonate is effective for urinary forms.

↗Diseases

Lit.: MARTIN S. CETRON — LESTER CHITSULO — JOHN J. SULLIVAN et al., "Schistosomiasis in Lake Malawi", *Lancet* 348, 1996, 1274–78; AKLILU LEMMA, "A Preliminary Report on the Molluscicidal Properties of Endod", *Ethiopian Medical Journal* 3, 1965, 187–90; ID., *Overcoming Obstacles to Science from the Third World: the Story of Endod, a paper presented at the Biology Department of the University of Toledo*, Ohio, on 15 June 1990; PETER H. GOLL — AKLILU LEMMA — JOHN DUNCAN et al., "Control of Schistosomiasis in Adwa, Ethiopia, Using the Plant Molluscicide Endod", *Tropenmedizin und Parasitologie* 34, 3, 1983, 177–83.

Biniam Ghebremedhin

Bilin

Bilin language

B. (also Bilen, Biläyn, Bəlin, Bogos) is an Afro-Asiatic language belonging to the ↗Agäw (Central Cushitic) group of the Cushitic family. Its speakers (ca. 90,000–100,000) live in Bogos land, scattered along the plateaux overhanging the valleys crossed by the rivers Daʾari and ↗ᶜAnsäba in and around the district of Kärän in Eritrea. Their country thus encompasses the plateaux of Magareh, Kärän and Ǧufa, as well as the ᶜAd Dämat country and, on the right bank of the ᶜAnsäba river, the Plateaus of Muša, Färhen, Bəsikdira and ᶜAmər. Within Agäw, the B. language forms the northern branch together with Ḫamta, Qʷaräsa and Kəmant, which are thus its closest relatives. B. has some dialectal variations, mainly concerning its lexicon and its syntax and partially also the morphology of the language.

As far as the language structure is concerned, B. is substantially an inflectional language. Although the prosodic system of B. needs further study, one can already say at the present stage that tone does not seem to be phonologically relevant; nevertheless, prominent syllables are auditorily characterized by higher pitch. Within one word, one syllable only may be prominent, but a word may also contain no prominent syllable at all. The canonical syllable structure of B. is Consonant-Vowel and Consonant-Vowel-Consonant; if, due to morphological concatenation, structurally more complex syllable margins arise, they are split up by insertion of an /ə/. The vowel system of B. consists of five peripheral and two central vowel phonemes; vowel length, although present, is not phonologically relevant. Both central vowels (/ə/ and /ɐ/) have several allophonic variants according to their phonetic environment and do not usually occur in word-final position in isolated words. The consonant system encompasses six points of articulation (labial, coronal, palatal, velar, labio-velar, glottal and pharyngeal) and eight manners of articulation (stops, fricatives, affricates, ejectives, nasals, vibrant, lateral and glides). Apart from this, B. displays a series of very interesting morphophonemic rules (consonant alternations and vowel apophony) which characterize the oppositions singular / plural and, more rarely, masculine / feminine.

Lexically, B. stems are basically biradical, but nowadays triradicals are, thanks to massive borrowing from Semitic languages, also very numerous. Morphologically, B. nouns have all three categories: gender (with masculine and feminine), number (with the oppositions singular / plural and collective / singulative) and case (with nominative, definite object case, dative, comitative, genitive, locative, ablative and vocative). The language contains numerous devices to mark the singular and plural. Case marking takes place by means of suffixes. Adjectives, which may precede or follow their head noun, have to agree with gender and number of the latter. The verb system exhibits, as is usual in Ethiopian languages, a complicated flexion, with numerous paradigms and forms. The verbal inflection and derivation occurs by means of suffixed morphemes.

Syntactically, B. has a basic Subject-Object-Verb structure; within the noun phrase modifiers can precede or follow their head noun according to what the speaker wants to emphasize and, above all, according to the dialectal variety he speaks. In possessive constructions the possessor (in the genitive) as a rule precedes its head noun, but if it is expressed by means of a "genitival adjective", it also assumes the typical endings required by the B. adjective and usually follows the possessed. Relative sentences as a rule follow their head nouns, but they can also precede them. In verb phrases auxiliaries follow their main verb.

Language samples:

personal pronouns:

	sg.	pl.
1st person	*ʾɐn* (inflecting stem *yə-*)	*yən*
2nd person	*ʾənti* (inflecting stem *kʷə-*)	*ʾəntən*
3rd masc./fem.	*ni / nəri*	*naw*
polite forms:		
2nd person	*ʾəntən*	
3rd person	*naw*	

demonstrative pronouns:

	masc.	fem.	pl.
this (adj.):	*ʾənna*	*ʾənna*	*ʾənnɐnen*
this (pr.):	*nin*	*nini*	*nen*
that (adj):	*ʾənčʾa*	*ʾənčʾa*	*ʾənčʾa*
that (pr.):	*ʾənčɐdən*	*ʾənčɐdən*	
that (pr.):	*ʾənčɐdin*	*ʾənčɐdini*	*ʾənčɐden*

copula:
gən (is/are).

10-word list:

one	*laxʷ*	sun	*kʷara*
two	*leŋa*	moon	*ʾɐrba*
three	*sexʷa*	blood	*bər*
water	*ʿɐkʷ*	tongue	*laŋkʾi*
fire	*lɐxa*	tooth	*ʾərkʷi*

Lit.: MARCELLO LAMBERTI – LIVIA TONELLI, "Some Phonological and Morphophonological Aspects of Bilin", in: ALESSANDRO BAUSI – MAURO TOSCO (eds.), *Afroasiatica neapolitana. Contributi presentati all'8° incontro di linguistica afroasiatica (camito-semitica), Napoli 25–26 gennaio 1996*, Napoli 1997 (StAfEt 6), 81–99; MARCELLO LAMBERTI – LIVIA TONELLI, "The Noun System of Bilin", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 499–524; FRANK ROBERT PALMER, "The Verb in Bilin", *BSOAS* 19, 1957, 131–59; ID., "The Noun in Bilin", *ibid.* 21, 1958, 376–91; ID., "An Outline of Bilin Phonology", in: *PICES* 4, 109–16; LEO REINISCH, *Die Bilin-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*, Wien 1882 (Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 94, 2), 583–718; ID., *Texte der Bilin-Sprache*, Leipzig 1883; ID., *Wörterbuch der Bilin-Sprache*, Wien 1887.

Marcello Lamberti

Bilin ethnography

The B. (pl. from sg. Bilina; also Bogos, Bəlin, Blin, often spelled "Blean" locally; in Tgn. Bilen, Biläyn, Tgr. Bəlen, Bawqos) are an ancient ↗Agäw group in the northern highlands of Eritrea. In older literature they are known as Bogos (e.g., Munzinger 1859). Most B. live as agriculturalists on the tablelands north of ʿElla Bärʿad, along the seasonal river ʿAnsäba and affluents of the southern ↗Barka. Their capital city is ↗Kärän, an old caravan station on the way from the coast to the Sudan. The southern part of the B. territory is traditionally called

↗Sänḥit, the north-western Ḥalḥal. The south is dominated by the ruling clan Bet Tärqe (or Bet Gäbre Tärqe, Tärqe q^{w}ər); the Bet Ṭaq^{w}e (or Bet Ṭawqe, Ṭa q^{w}ər) dominate the northwest.

Mixed farming with cattle breeding is the basis of B. economy. Like other Agäw groups, the B. extensively cultivate the fertile soil (with maize, millet, barley, wheat and legumes). The sociopolitical order of the B. is hierarchical, strengthened by ancient law codes of ruling lineages, which were strictly observed (like the ↗*Faṯḥa Mogareḥ*, or the *Tärqer Fətəḥ*). The aristocracy, *səmgär* (a notion formed according to tradition after the Tgr. *nabtab*), is a warrior group that traces its descent to the original conquering Agäw. One of their social markers is the strict interdiction against milking cows (but milking sheep and goats was permitted); their serfs, *məḵiruḵ*^{w} (or *təgre*), were farmers. Tradition and research suggest that most serfs are descendants of herders who had been original settlers of the area.

It was only in the 1960s that social reform abolished the traditional hierarchies. Traditionally the B. were not led by a single chief (*səm*), but by several chiefs of the different B. lineages, linked with each other only in a very loose federation. Heritage is patrilinear, but the respect for the mother's brother might be a remnant of older matrilinear practices. Croplands are mostly controlled by kinship groups.

The B. name of god, *Ǧar* ('heaven', 'god'), points to an older pre-Christian belief in a god of the heaven. Remnants of their traditional religion suggest that it was monotheistic with belief in natural spirits (Adhana Mengeste-ab in PICES 8, vol. 1, 748). Even though they nominally identified themselves as Christians (*kostan*), by the 19th cent. they had virtually neither churches nor priests. When the surrounding Təgre groups converted to ↗Islam in the mid-19th cent., most of the northern B. also accepted Islam, and, perhaps, half of the B. in the south. Simultaneously, Catholicism was spread around Kärän; there is a significant number of Catholics still living there today, while Orthodox Christians form a tiny minority. Approximately half of the B. are Christian. Religious barriers are secondary, as the strict observance of common traditions is adhered by all religious groups (as in burial, s. Adhana Mengeste-ab, ibid.); cross-religion marriages also reveal the prevalence of tradition over religion. Strictly endogamous practices have apparently helped preserve the B. culture and language in the face of steadily rising economic and cultural dominance of the neighbouring groups (Abbebe Kifleyesus 2000:71).

Almost all B. are multilingual (mainly Təgre, Təgrəññа, but also Arabic for commercial activities), and most of them speak the B. language. Some, however, in the north have adopted Təgre (but still consider themselves as B.); others, living in villages near Kärän, are Təgrəññа-speakers, but trace their origin to one of the B. ancestors and take still part in traditional B. assemblies. The Ǧängaren near Ḥalḥal, around the valley Bab Ǧängaren, of Təgre (ᶜAd Sawra) descent have adopted the B. language. Therefore they are often called the third B. subgroup. Today, many B. have Təgre or Təgrəññа as their first language due to linguistic assimilation, a process increased by migration after the recent armed conflicts in the region. The newly introduced B. orthography in Latin letters has replaced an adapted Ethiopic script, which is still in use also in print (e.g., ጎ, a variant of ገ 'g', stands for 'ŋ', shaped after ኘ 'ñ' < ነ 'n').

The first ethnographer to report in detail on the B. was Antoine d'↗Abbadie. Most important, however, and still today a valuable source, is ↗Munzinger's accounts on their law and society in his books written in 1859 and 1864.

Lit.: KilHDic 121ff., 276; ABBEBE KIFLEYESUS, "Bilin, Speaker Status Strength and Weakness", *Africa. Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto Italo-Africano* 1, 2000, 69–89 (Lit.); *Bilin Language and Culture Seminar*, Institute of African Studies, Asmara University 1986 (mimeographed); ADHANA MENGESTE-AB, "Ancestor Veneration in Blean Culture", *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 747–50; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916, 637ff.; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, *Races and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1944, 31–37; ALBERTO POLLERA, *Le populazioni indigene dell'Eritrea*, Bologna 1935, 153–67; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Racconti e canti bileni", in: *Actes du XIVe Congrès international des orientalistes*, Paris 1907, 331–94; WERNER MUNZINGER, *Ueber die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos*, Winterthur 1859; ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, "Sur le droit Bilen, à propos du livre de M. Werner Munzenger [sic]", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 11, 1866, 241, 470; ID., *Géographie de l'Ethiopie*, Paris 1890, s. index.

Wolbert Smidt

Bilin history

According to oral tradition the B. settled in the northern highlands during the first Agäw migration to the north ca. 9th or 10th cent. They apparently originated from Lasta; linguistic data show their close relationship to the ↗Ḫamta, who still live near the ancestral region of the B. Oral tradition and genealogies report that the B.

were lead by Gäbre Tärqe, the founder of Kärän and apical ancestor of the Bet Tärqe, to the Bogos land.

After the second Agäw migration the B. were confronted with the rising power of the ↗Adkämä Məlgaʾ in Säraye (e.g. under their 14th-cent. leader ↗Bəlen Sägädä, lit. 'the one who made the Bəlen kneel'). It was probably at this time that the B. lost much of their original territory (which extended to the south of Dämbäzan, as tradition and old place names suggest) and retreated towards the north. At that time, groups of different origins apparently integrated with the B., including the Bet Ṭaqʷe, who came from Ḥamasen. The B. are rarely mentioned in ancient sources; according to the Acts of ↗Ewosṭatewos, the saint and religious leader was once captured by the people of "Mədrä Bägʷäs" (Bogos; cp. LusStud 59ff.).

The term "Bogos" (allegedly derived from the lineage's name Boas qwər, 'sons of Boas', s. Munzinger 1859:7) was originally used for the area around Kärän, but later extended by both B. and Təgrəñña speakers to their whole territory (alternatively called, more correctly, Ḥalḥale Bogos). As an ethnic term "B." originally meant only people north of the Bogos, in the plains west of the ʿAnsäba (d'Abbadie 1890:272). Later it designated the whole people.

The B. always had their own leaders. Local tradition reports that they recognized the Ethiopian emperors. The time when the Funǧ dominated the neighboring areas is mentioned as a time of stability. Oral tradition reports of the armed incursions of *däǧǧazmač* "Obe" (↗Wəbe Ḥaylä Maryam) in the 1840s as a misfortune.

At the end of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, the B. were largely autonomous, but accepted the suzerainty of the Christian governor of Ḥamasen. Many B., however, subsequently converted to Islam in reaction to Egyptian raids against them. In that period the B. area is called "Kustān" in Egyptian sources (from *krəstyan*, 'Christian') and considered a dependency of the *mudīriyya* of ↗Taka. These raids (1850, 1854, 1862/63, 1867) led to the submission of Ḥalḥal. Inroads by the Ottoman *nāʾib*, who collected tribute in areas near the Mänsaʿ before 1865, are also reported. At that time the B., tired of the increasing pressure in their life in the borderland, started to seek protection from outside powers and changed their religous affiliations.

Muslim grave in the Bilin area, near Kärän, 1997, photo courtesy of Sara Smidt Bill

In the early 1850s a Catholic mission, led by Giovanni ↗Stella, was established in Kärän (s. Sapeto 1857). Soon after, the young orientalist Munzinger came to the region (1855). His reports attracted a considerable number of travellers and scholars, so that the B. area (the "Bogos countries") became one of the best documented regions in north-east Africa before the colonial period (e.g., the ↗Heuglin expedition 1862, based in Kärän; followed by the hunting expedition of the head of state Ernst II of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha; de Rivoyre 1885; Traub 1889).

The permanent presence of the Catholic Lazarist mission had a lasting influence on the people; Kärän became one of the few centres of the Apostolic Vicariate of Abyssinia. The French established a permanent consulate at the coast and declared the B. their protegés. In the 1860s the B. territory became a de facto French protectorate. Traditional feuds with cattle-raiding "Barka" (a designation for the inhabitants of the Barka lowlands), who were Egyptian subjects, were followed by reparations paid by the Egyptian to the French government, and then redistributed among the B. by the French consul. In 1868 the governor of Təgray responded with the appointment of a local French settler, the mechanic Gérard René from Marseille, as a governor under his authority.

French colonists settled in Kärän and cultivated tobacco; the soil was fertile. Later an Italian agricultural settlement, the first in north-east Africa, was set up in Šətäl south of Kärän by the initiative of Stella (the "Colonia Italo-Africana di Sciotel", 1867–69). But Munzinger's idea of founding a Swiss colony was given up.

When the Egyptians in 1865/66 took over the Ottoman province of Massawa (↗Ḥabeš), they also claimed Kärän; some B. elders even seem to have sought the protection of the Egyptians. This was used by Munzinger *bey* (married to a Bilin woman), Egyptian governor of Massawa since 1871, to occupy Kärän on 2 July 1872. In the following years the new government effectively pacified the B. area (1872–75). When in 1875 the Egyptian-Ethiopian war was imminent, the majority of Egyptian troops, sent from Massawa, were concentrated in the Bogos area. Then, during power struggles in Ḥamasen, the rebellious *ras* ↗Wäldä Mika'el Sälomon established himself with his army and relatives among the B. (1876–79). However, as Egypt had been weakened in the war, *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda, governor of the Märäb Məllaš, subsequently raided the B. and even the surroundings of the Egyptian fort of Sänḥit (Arab. Sanaḥīt) in Kärän, forcefully collecting tribute.

Yoḥannəs IV in an active diplomatic campaign subsequently convinced European powers (including some high Egyptian officials like Gordon), that the territory be ceded to Ethiopia. With the Anglo-Egyptian Hewett Treaty of 1884 the Bogos territory was finally given to *ase* Yoḥannəs and most of it occupied by *ras* Alula as his northernmost province. However, already in 1888 the Italians, who had declared a protectorate over the coast, annexed the B. area. In 1890 it was included into the Zona di Cheren in the new Colonia Eritrea. The Italians kept the traditional system of the B. intact and used the different *səms* to rule. Only in 1932 they appointed leaders for both the Bet Tärqe and the Bet Ṭaq^{w}e, but met strong opposition.

Later the B. gained their own province, called Sänḥit.

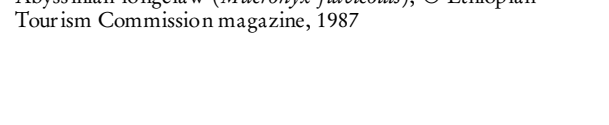
Src.: JOHANNES KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega, Traduction Française*, Upsal 1915 (Archives d'Études Orientales 5:2); Correspondence politique, Consulat de Massowah, Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères, Paris; Public Record Office, Kew.
Lit.: KilHDic 122f.; LusStud 59ff.; GIUSEPPE SAPETO, *Viaggio ai Mensa, ai Bogos e agli Habab*, Milano 1857; WERNER MUNZINGER, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Schaffhausen 1864; ARTURO ÍSSEL, *Viaggio nel Mar Rosso e trai Bogos*, Milano 1876; DENIS DE RIVOYRE, *Aux pays du Soudan. Bogos, Mensah, Souakim*, Paris 1885; PAUL TRAUB, "Voyage au pays des Bogos et dans les provinces septentrionales de l'Abyssinie", *Bulletin de la Société géographique neuchâteloise* 4, 1888–89, 96–191; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London – New York – Toronto 1952, 164ff.; ḪAYLU TÄSFAY, **የክረን፡ አውራጃ፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäkäränawraǧǧa aççər tarik*, 'A Short History of Kärän Sub-Province'), Asmära 1980; ADHANA MENGSTE-AB, "Yohannes IV and Keren", in: TADDESE BEYENE – RICHARD PANKHURST – SHIFERAW BEKELE (eds.), *Kasa and Kasa. Papers on the Lives, Times and Images of Téwodros II and Yohannes IV (1855–1889)*, Addis Ababa 1990, 247–52; MIKAEL GHABER, *The Blin of Bogos*, Baghdad 1993; AWET ERMIAS, *Origin and Pattern of Blin Migrations*, B.A. thesis, Asmara University 2000.

Wolbert Smidt

Birale ↗ Ongota

Birds

The unique topography of Ethiopia, ranging from 120 m to over 4,000 m A.S.L., coupled with the variation in climate has resulted in a diversity of vegetation. This in turn has greatly contributed to a rich variety of bird species (*avifauna*). The Afrotropical highland, the Somali-Maasai and the Sudan-Guinea savanna habitats are important centres for numerous bird species and populations. To date, there are 861 species of B. recorded within the boundaries of Ethiopia. This figure represents 9.5 % of the world's species and 39.0 % of African species. Of the 861 species, about 214 are Palearctic migrants, that come to Ethiopia for breeding and wintering. Until recently, there were 30 species of B. unique to Ethiopia (endemic). However, the number of endemics has declined



Abyssinian longclaw (*Macronyx flavicollis*), © Ethiopian Tourism Commission magazine, 1987

Lit.: JESSE C. HILLMAN, *Ethiopia: Compendium of Wildlife Conservation Information*, Addis Ababa 1993; BER VAN PERLO, *Birds of Eastern Africa*, London 1995, Princeton ²2001; EMIL KARL URBAN – LESLIE HILTON BROWN, *Checklist of the Birds of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1971.

Afework Bekele

Harwood's francolin (*Francolinus harwoodi*), © Ethiopian Tourism Commission magazine, 1987

to 16 since the separation of Eritrea from Ethiopia. At present, the B. that are confined within the territory of Ethiopia include: Harwood's francolin, the Spot-breasted plover, the Yellow-fronted parrot, the Prince Ruspolis touraco, the Nechisar nightjar, the Degodi lark, the Sidamo long-clawed lark, the White-tailed swallow, the Ankober serin, the Yellow-throated serin, the Salvadori's seed-eater, the Black-headed siskin, the Abyssinian bush-crow, the Abyssinian catbird, the Abyssinian longclaw and the Abyssinian woodpecker.

In addition to pollinating flowers and helping the farmer to reduce insect pests in agricultural production, B. are valued as an important food source and assist humans in diverse ways.

The arrival of certain B. such as finches (*yämäsqäl wäf*) and the changing of plumage during certain seasons informs many Ethiopians that the rainy season is ending and the dry season is beginning. The presence of specific B. is – in some areas – understood as an indication of future events in a continuum between rational and magical interpretation. Ostrich eggs gave their form to the typical Ethiopian church pillars (↗Church buildings). From time immemorial, people have been inspired by the beauty and melodious songs of B. Ornamental B. and their feathers have also been used as status symbols. Doves carrying olive leaves are considered as a symbol of peace and prosperity.

↗Animals, domestic; ↗Animals, wild

Birth

Childbirth is marked by ritual in almost all religious and ethnic communities and those of Ethiopia are no exception. Although rituals connected to childbirth are probably of considerable antiquity, there is little documentation available earlier than the mid-19th cent. Scattered hagiographic reference and testimony of the Portuguese offer some information on Christian behaviour. However, evidence on other groups is virtually nonexistant prior to the production of modern ethnographic reports. These reports, moreover, vary considerably in quality.

The pattern – separation, transition and return – found in many rites of passage is commonly found in Ethiopian childbirth rituals. Other common themes are considerable delays in the naming of children and special treatment of the umbilical cord and/or placenta. The B. of twins is frequently treated as a special event. Despite these underlying structural similarities, there are often significant differences in the meanings assigned to such rituals and the exact details of their performance, consequently, it would be rash to generalize too broadly concerning "pan-Ethiopian" phenomena.

Such rituals also functioned to relieve the widespread anxiety associated with conception, pregnancy and B. Barrenness, difficult B. and a significant rate of infant mortality appear to have been common in Ethiopia throughout all of its known history. Barrenness figures prominently in old hagiographic texts and parents are often said to have prayed for a child, made a vow or given charity in the hope of being rewarded with the B. of a child. Holy men are often said to have intervened for the benefit of women experiencing trouble in conceiving.

Miscarriages and other difficulties in pregnancy are also reported in both historical sources and in modern times. Popular wisdom holds that a quarter of women experienced difficulties conceiving or in carrying pregnancy to term. Coupled with a high infant mortality rate, there were an abundance of reasons to engage in any action

Preparing birth at home, Mäsärät Ǝndalä, 1997, photo: Carol Guzy — The Washington Post, courtesy of Thamar Klein

which might increase the chances of successfully conceiving and bearing children.

Birth preparation

Among the ↗Amhara, pregnant women often wear extra cowrie-shells or amulets (↗Magic) to guard against miscarriage or other dangers. Women often wear a long cotton girdle for support and may continue wearing it for some time after childbirth. Many women, especially in the case of a first child, return to their parent's household a month or two prior to giving B. (This is widely reported among other groups, including the ↗Kəmänt, ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, and ↗Murle). This relieves her of household duties such as fetching water, cooking, gathering fuel etc. Even if she remains in her husband's village, as is often the case with later children, she is assisted by her female friends, relatives and neighbours during the final stages of her pregnancy. Shortly before giving B., an expectant mother prepares flour to make the special porridge she will eat during the period after giving B.

Among the Kəmant, a woman whose pregnancy is well advanced stays in a temporary confinement hut constructed in the vicinity of the homestead. Among the ↗Oromo, the expectant mother receives gifts of honey-wine and milk from her in-laws. The ↗Aari believe B. takes place after eight months, just before a small hut is built in the compound. The expectant mother is secluded and is served by an unmarried girl, because she is considered impure and dangerous.

It is common for women throughout the Ethiopian countryside, especially in the south-west, to take ↗*koso* beginning in the third month in order to prepare for childbirth. It is believed to kill intestinal parasites, cleanse the bowels and thus leave space for the foetus, and ensure that the baby will not be too large. During the last month of pregnancy, *koso* is consumed every third day. *Bisanna* (*Croton macrostachys*) is another medicinal plant used similarly, often in combination with *koso*.

Dry ↗*ənsät* fibres are collected by pregnant women and used to prepare a special basket for the new-born. Women often do this together, sharing knowledge about B. as they work. The fibres are also used to prepare a blanket as well as diapers. *Ariti* (*Artemisia sp Compositae*) is also used in making blankets and to keep insects away from the mother and child.

Birth procedures

When a Christian woman goes into labour, she summons several senior women to act as midwives. They assist her, comfort her and pray for her. When she is ready to give B., she sits with her feet propped up on a chair or a table. One woman supports her by holding her shoulders, while another holds her legs in place. An older woman serves as a midwife and usually sits on the ground so that the baby will drop in her lap. All those present beseech the Virgin Mary that she may assist the mother and incense is sometimes lit. The infant is delivered into a flour-filled basket and then washed in cold water. She/he may be fed and anointed with butter. She/he is perfumed, and the head is shaped. If it is a boy, a lance is poked through a flap or window to make him brave. Iron tools or weapons may be put near the mother to frighten away demons. No men are allowed in the room and should one enter, he would be considered impure and not permitted in the church for 40 days. A chicken is usually sacrificed to distract spirits which may seek to harm the new-born. *Doro wät* is prepared for those who assisted with the B.

When a boy is born, a fowl is slaughtered and women cry out. Although authorities disagree as to how many cries are uttered, there is a consensus that more cries greet the B. of a boy than a girl. Among Christians, three days after the B. the mother's clothes are cleansed in a nearby stream or river. Boys are circumcised on the eighth day in keeping with biblical tradition (Lev 12:3). Female ↗circumcision was also often performed. Shortly after the B., the family is visited by a priest, who informs them when the ↗baptism will take place.

Among the ↗Mao, a wife never speaks directly to her husband about her pregnancy, even when

the moment of birth approaches. The birth of girls is particularly welcomed, since they will eventually bring their fathers bridewealth. When a ↗Somali woman gives B. to a boy, his head is anointed with blood and a sheep is sacrificed. No such sacrifice is performed for girls.

Among the ↗Boorana and other groups which practise various forms of the ↗*gadaa* system, there are restrictions which limit the age-grades at which men can father children. Children born outside these restrictions are given for adoption to other families.

A ↗Ṭwampa woman goes into the bush to give B. She often goes alone, but may be accompanied by a female relative. When she returns to her hut, she is washed with hot water and both she and the baby are smeared with a mixture of oil and red dirt.

Handling of the umbilical cord and placenta

The umbilical cord, placenta and afterbirth are often accorded a special status and believed to have a special connection to the mother or child or both. Among the ↗Konso, the umbilical cord is said to remain attached at the navel for three months as a symbol of the bond between mother and child. The Mao do not tie it, but let it dry by itself. Among the Somali, the umbilical cord is bound at its ends with hairs from a camel's tail; the camel is subsequently given to the child. Among Christian Amhara and the Kəmant, the umbilical cord is cut and the cord and afterbirth are buried out of sight near the house, usually by the father, but sometimes by the midwife. The Betä Ǝsraʾel follow a similar observance, but purity laws dictate that only a woman can perform the burial. The Murle tie the foetal end of the cord very tightly and when it falls off, bury it along with the afterbirth near the hut. The Ṭwampa sprinkle powder from a fresh-water shell on the cord every day until it falls off. The ↗Berta bury the afterbirth on the right side of the door of the house.

Twins

It is widely believed that people, in contrast to animals, bear their children one at a time. Twins are, accordingly, an anomalous phenomenon treated with feelings ranging from awe and veneration to disdain and abhorrence. At one extreme are the Udhuk, who are reported to have formerly killed twins because they were believed to cause death and misfortune. The Berta are said to believe that twins are the result of intercourse between the mother and an ancestor and that one will die. Among the Mao, in contrast, the B. of twins is marked by feasting and special ceremonies. The ↗Komo and the Murle believe that twins must receive special treatment in order to insure that they grow up healthy. The Somali consider twins a sign of luck, while Christian Amhara are reported to have precisely the opposite attitude.

Seclusion

Among many Ethiopian peoples, a woman remains in seclusion for weeks or even months after giving B. This period is usually associated with ideas of impurity and/or danger to the new-born. Among the Konso, for example, a woman who has given B. remains secluded in her homestead with the baby for three months. This is believed necessary to protect it from evil spirits. A boy may be given a girl's name, because the spirits are believed to be less interested in killing girls. The baby is also considered mystically tied to the mother until the *sogeda* ceremony, when the mother and child emerge from seclusion. If he/she dies before the ceremony, the body is buried without formality.

Among the ↗Aari, the nursing mother remains in the same hut for three months in the case of a girl and four months for a boy until the naming-ceremony. During this period she is considered defiled and polluted. Visitors remain at a distance and do not see her face. She is served by a young unmarried girl. The husband demonstrates his social obligations and duties by drawing water from a river or stream and bringing firewood. Female relatives and neighbours bring her all kinds of food and drinks, but she is prohibited from drinking milk or eating honey until the naming-ceremony.

Following the B., a Kəmant woman moves into the confinement hut and remains there for seven days. The house in which she gave B. and the women who assisted in the B. are purified with holy water (*qeɨona*). After the seven days, the mother shaves her head, washes her body and puts on clean clothing. The confinement hut and her old clothing and objects she used while in confinement are burnt. Both boys and girls are circumcised on the eighth day.

The Somali mother is considered ritually impure for 40 days and the husband does not live with her during this period. She may not go

outside the hut during this time without putting the child's life at risk.

In the case of Christians, the mother and child return home on the tenth day after the B. in the case of a boy and the twentieth in the case of a girl. Before they enter, a priest visits the house carrying a cross and incense and sprinkles the house with holy water to purify it. The mother cannot enter the church until 40 days after the B.

The Betä Ǝsraʾel observe particularly strict seclusion practices: 40 days in the case of a boy and 80 in the case of a girl. In the former case, the mother and child spent the first week in the "menstrual hut" and the remaining period, following the circumcision, in a B. hut. In the case of girls, the first two weeks are spend in the 'menstrual hut' and the remaining time in the B. hut. Female circumcision was practised in Ethiopia until relatively recently.

Among the Murle, a woman remains in her hut for three days after the B. of a boy and four in the case of a girl. Among the Maale, a woman would leave her husband's hut before giving B. and he could only visit her after the child had cut its first tooth. In the case of the Oromo, both the father and mother are said to have observed eight days of seclusion. Moreover, a mother must wait one month before she can visit a *qaalluu* ('priest').

Naming and reintegration

Among Christians, boys are baptized on the 40th day after B. and girls on the 80th day. At this time, the infant receives a baptismal name from the priest or his godfather, who is often a relative. This name depends on the day of the month on which the child was born or christened and often refers to the saint commemorated on one of these days. This name is often not used widely in public. The christening is usually the occasion for feasting and celebration with friends and relatives.

Among the Betä Ǝsraʾel, the child is given a name and immersed in water at the completion of the seclusion period. *The Book of the Disciples* (↗*Ardəʿət*) is read at this time; the mother and child are purified and the B. hut is burnt.

The Konso ceremony indudes the mother, both grandmothers, husband's sister and "the B. person". The mother is anointed and dressed in a ritual dress and the child is named. Among the Aari the name is bestowed at the end of the seclusion. The child is also given his/her first solid food. The midwife is considered the "social mother" and is a special guest at this ceremony. The name is given by father or grandfather. Mother and child are then welcomed back into the house.

20 or 30 days after his B., the infant is cleansed and initiated into Kamant society in the *qenona* purification ritual. He is bathed in a wooden bowl, provided new clothing, and given several names, including a religious name which is used in ceremonies.

Among the Somali, the mother's brother (for a boy) and the mother's sister (for a girl) perform the *kalaqad* ceremony, in which the infant is carried over the threshold. A first-born boy will have been blessed by a *yibir* ('craftsman') and given a charm.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, *A Social History of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1990, 195, 267; STEVEN KAPLAN, *Les Falashas*, Turnhout 1990, 142ff.; CHRISTOPHER ROBERT HALLPIKE, *The Konso of Ethiopia: a Study of the Values of a Cushitic People*, Oxford 1972, 295–300; TASFAYE HAILU, "Childbirth and Seclusion among the Omotic Ari", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 2, 1017–32; FREDERICK CHARLES GAMST, *The Qemant: a Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia*, New York 1969; LISA ANTEBY, "Rituals of Birth and Death: the Construction of Identity for Ethiopian Jews", *Israel Social Science Research* 10, 2, 1995, 41–54; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar, Saho*, London 1969, 138f., 171; ERNESTA CERULLI, *Peoples of South-West Ethiopia and its Borderland*, London 1956, 20ff., 56, 73f., 102f., 121; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Galla of Ethiopia – the Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero*, London 1955, 39f.; VSAe I, 80ff., 142–45, 181, 260f., 291f., 411; VSAe II, 232–35, 482f.; VSAe III, 64f., 131f., 208f., 246f., 362f.; BIRGIT NEGUSSIE, "Some Indigenous Medicine Used during Childbirth in South-West Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 3, 152–72; STEVEN KAPLAN, "Seen but not Heard: Children and Childhood in Medieval Ethiopia", *IJAHS* 30, 3, 1997, 539–53.

Steven Kaplan

Traditional birth attendants

A standard or uniform definition of the biomedical term TBA does not exist. Even though it is generally applied to female and male specialists assisting women during delivery, there is no consensus as to whether or not these specialists may be called TBA if they had biomedical training. Additionally, it has to be pointed out, that not every person attending birth is to be called a specialist or TBA. The Amhara midwife **የልምድ፡ አዋላጅ** (*yäləmd awwalağ*) does not have a counterpart everywhere in Ethiopia. Among the ↗Hamar and ↗Bäšada in South Omo, for example, women may be aided by their husbands or experienced women of their confidence who are not designated to be a spe-

cialist by the community, or they may give birth without any kind of help at all.

TBA is an ethic concept, a summary for people in professions concerning midwifery. Therefore it is not always easy to draw a distinct line between TBA and other medical specialists. Medical anthropologists should be especially cautious about placing – particularly female – medical specialists into a fixed western set of medical professions. Many (women) healers involved with fertility and birth cannot be reduced to the field of traditional birth attendance. Various other skills, such as bone setting, circumcision, abortion, and the treatment of manifold (children's) diseases may belong to their repertoire, too.

As with birth, no generalization can be made for the profession of TBA in Ethiopia. The role and knowledge of TBA varies from culture to culture. It is advisable to check anthropological and medical databases to get detailed information on TBA in a specific Ethiopian region (e.g. Gebreselassie 1979 for Gondär region). Specialists working as TBA may be of different gender, age, social and marital status. For example, Messing (1972) reports of a male upper class Amhara as well as of a female lower class "Šanqə–lla"/"Galla" medical specialist, both being consulted in childbirth complications, circumcision and diterodectomy.

TBA also vary in their professional education. Some are self-trained, others have gained their TBA or have attended biomedical training courses by non-governmental organizations. It may be the practitioners' main source of income, a part-time job, or non-profit aid. Even though most women TBA have given birth themselves, this is not a general requirement for their occupation. These and the following variances are not necessarily due to different ethnic background but to diverse individual and professional histories.

The profession of TBA may include the mastery of occurring complications such as haemorrhage, delayed labour, and retained placenta. The treatment of anaemia and infections may also belong to their know-how. Many specialists have a profound expertise in medical herbs. TBA may practice internal and external cephalic version, episiotomies, and different techniques of massage. Esoteric knowledge of prohibitions and requirements before, during, and after pregnancy as well as dietary recommendations are passed on and their observance is supervised.

Traditional birth attendance, Mäsärät Ɛndalä, 1997, photo: Carol Guzy — The Washington Post, courtesy of Thamar Klein

TBA often serve as a bridge between diverse medical traditions, e.g. biomedical and other local medical sciences. It should be observed, however, that since the majority of TBA is female, they are target to the exploitation of the "cheap resource" woman: "(...) midwives seem to work best where funds are limited" (Kinahan 1990:1335); "In general, training of TBA is done because 'there is no one else to deliver the services' and because 'the health services are otherwise not functioning'" (Prendiville 1998:355).

↗Healers and healing; ↗Medicine

Lit.: JOHN KINAHAN, "We Could Learn a Lesson from Kenya's Midwives", *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 143, 12, 1990, 1353–55; SIMON DAVID MESSING, *The Target of Health in Ethiopia: a Holistic Reader in Applied Anthropology*, New York 1972; GEBRESELASSIE OKUBAGZI, "Characteristics and Practices of Traditional Birth Attendants in Gondar Region, Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Medical Journal* 16, 4, 1978, 149–53; NOREEN PRENDIVILLE, "The Role and Effectiveness of Traditional Birth Attendants in Somalia", *Evaluation and Program Planning* 21, 4, 1998, 353–61.

Thamar Klein

Bišārīn ↗ Beğa

Bishop ↗ Ṗappas

Bišoftu ↗ Däbrä Zäyt

Bitwäddäd

B. (**ቢትወደድ** or **ብሕት፡ ወደድ**, *bəḥt wäddäd*, lit. 'the only loved one') is a court title of remarkable duration in the history of Ethiopian mo-

narchy. The earliest written mention of B. is found in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Zärᶜa Yaᵓəqob (r. 1434–68; s. PerrZarY 9–12). Taddese Tamrat (TadTChurch 273, n. 3) believes that the context in which the twin titles of **ብሕት፡ ወደድ፡ ዘየማን** (*bəḥt wäddäd zäyäman*, 'B. of the Right') and **ብሕት፡ ወደድ፡ ዘፀጋም** (*bəḥt wäddäd zäṣägam*, 'B. of the Left') are mentioned clearly indicates that they were of much older origin, the bearer of the former title conducting military campaigns, the bearer of the latter – protecting the kingdom and camping at the outskirts of the royal camp.

The idea of duplication of both the title and the office was certainly aimed at counterbalance and neutralization of the mighty influence of any B. against the sovereign. The pattern proved to be effective during the reigns of mature and strong monarchs, but infant kings needed just the reverse, i.e. the protection of a single "strong man", they found in the person of one B.

Formally B. was just a member of the council of regents, which usually included also the Queen Mother and ↗*aqqäbe säᶜat*, but practically he was chosen among the most prominent war-lords (↗*Ras*) to actually run the state. During the times of infant kings the precarious situation in the country permitted no artificial duplication of this important office. Such was the evolution of B.'s title and duties to that of *ras bitwäddäd*, a genuine Prime Minister or President of the imperial council. This process was by no means irreversible: when an infant monarch grew to maturity, he could return to the old practice of two B., but his orphan son might again need the protection of the *ras bitwäddäd*.

Both tendencies were present at the great royal court of ↗Gondär in the 18th-cent., where pomp and ceremony favored the development of twin offices ("of the Right" and "of the Left"). However, the actual weakness of Gondär sovereigns and the growing rivalries (both political and religious) promoted the idea of a protective figure of a single *ras bitwäddäd*, such as ↗Anəsṭasyos, ↗Fares, etc. (Berry 1979, 1992). The fall of the Gondärine Kingdom and the ensuing ↗*Zämäna mäsafənt* brought an end to any significance for the title of B., whereas the military title of *ras* became of primary importance.

The revival of the Ethiopian monarchy accomplished by *nəguś* ↗Mənilək II in Šäwa revealed a new development for B.'s title and office. Until Mənilək was crowned *nəguśä nägäśt* in 1889, the office of B. was filled by ↗Mängäša Atikäm, who was then promoted to the position of *ras bitwäddäd* with quite prominent military and gubernatorial functions. After 1889 the title of B. was granted to the Swiss adviser Alfred ↗Ilg "merely as an honor" (BTafA 605). This was the turning point in the long history of the title: since then and until its final disappearance together with the monarchy B. remained a court title without function, and the political (and any other) influence of the title-bearer depended exdusively upon the Emperor's attitude towards him.

Src.: PerrZarY 9f., 12f., 94f.; MANFRED KROPP, *Die Geschichte des Lebna Dengel, Claudius und Minas*, Louvanii 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]), 10 (text); KaneDic 866, 919.
Lit.: BTafA 896; BAIRU TAFLA, "Civil Titles and Offices in the Reign of Emperor Menilek II, 1889–1913", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 597–612, here 605; DombrChr 300; TadTChurch 240, 241, 273, 286–90, 294; LAVERLE BERRY, "Factions and Coalitions During the Gondar Period, 1630–1755", in: *PICES* 5B, 431–41; ID., "Ras Farés and the Tewahdo Coalition in Late Seventeenth Century Gondar", in: PIOTR O. SCHOLZ – RICHARD PANKHURST – WITOLD WITAKOWSKI (eds.), *Orbis Aethiopicus. Studia in honorem Stanislaus Chojnacki*, Albstadt 1992 (Bibliotheca nubica 3), 69–82.

Sevir Chernetsov

Bizamo

B. (**ቢዛሞ**) was a region roughly bounded by the rivers Abbay, Diddessa, Angur and Little Angur which was once part of the kingdom of ↗Damot. It bordered on the region of Goğğam. In the 15th cent. during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq it paid tribute to the Christian ruler. However, in the second part of the 16th cent. it came under the control of the Oromo, a fact stressed repeatedly by Almeida in his references to the region. Some residents of the areas are also designated as ↗Gafat. *Aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl made his rainy season camp (*məkram*) at B. in 1574, and *aṣe* ↗Susənyos is said to have laid waste to B. ca. 1600.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 10f., 18f., 25 (map), 27, 56, 135, 231.
Lit.: HuntGeogr 93, 141, 143, 147, 149f., 154, 164, 169, 173, 246f.

Steven Kaplan

Blacksmiths

B. are found within any ethnic group in Ethiopia. They satisfied the extended need for iron

products (especially agricultural tools and ↗weapons) in northern Ethiopia, but also the intensified agricultures in the south demanded the implementation of iron tools on a large scale; contrasting this the pastoralists' need for iron objects was relatively low.

In the process of forging ↗iron, the raw metal is heated to a particular temperature (red hot) and is hammered into the desired form. The work is done in a special smithy with the forging pit, filled with charcoal, the bellows, the anvils: rock and iron, several hammers tongs and other tools. Because of the physical danger fire presents, the smithy is usually spatially separated from the housing site. Nevertheless it is an integral part of the village or town, and a popular informal meeting place. Today industrially produced steel or scrap iron is processed. Indigenous iron melting in Ethiopia was documented for the last time among the ↗Dime.

A wide variety of iron products are used: agricultural implements, tools, weapons, ↗knives and other utensils of daily use. Ornaments and objects for ritual use are produced as well. Beside the basic skill of transforming the iron by hammering, most smiths also master the techniques of forge-welding and hardening the steel. Some smiths also know how to work non-ferrous metals by means of open mould-casting and even the lost-wax process, which has a strong tradition in ↗Konso and is still practised there. Apart from a few West African areas, this complicated technology used to be rarely found in Africa. Although today industrially manufactured iron implements can often be bought in the market cheaper than local products, farmers still prefer the traditional agricultural implements, as made by the indigenous smiths.

To be a B. requires years of experience and much knowledge and skill. For example, whilst hammering the metal, the smith must be in total control of the correct temperature for the various sorts of iron and types of work he has to deal with. It is a specialized craft, always done by men (women may operate the bellows). B. are usually organized in distinct groups which are often endogamous. Among the ↗Amhara, this work was generally left to non-Amhara people, while among the pastoralists chiefly migrant smiths of temporary residence can be found.

Hardly any other material has more significantly influenced the world view of African agriculturists than iron, be it in ritual activities or daily life. People who produce and process iron are an integral part of this symbolic field. Even in Christian and Islamic cultures their transformative processes invoke their spiritual connection to life and death. People therefore show a distinct attitude towards them. In central and southern Ethiopian myths, the B. of primeval times, as an earthly demiurg, completes the process of creation. Thus man intervenes in creation more actively than in hierarchized "literate" religions. The contemporary smiths are still considered to be gifted with this creative power and the metal just by itself can be a symbol of this power. In a world-view like this the smith is a homo creator and not merely a subordinate "hand"-worker.

A blacksmith preparing a paste for smithing, courtesy of the author

↗Handicrafts, ↗Agriculture, ↗Buda

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN, *Differenzierung und Integration. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Spezialisten und Handwerkern in südäthiopischen Agrargesellschaften*, München 1990; ID., "Hunde Gottes: Eisenhandwerker und Demiurgen", in: REINHARD KLEIN–ARENDT (ed.), *Traditionelles Eisenhandwerk in Afrika*, Köln 1997 (Colloquium Africanum 3), 146–73; JUDIT A. TODD, "Iron production by the Dime of Ethiopia", in: RANDI HAARLAND – PETER SHINNIE, *African Iron Working*, Oslo 1985, 206–51.

Hermann Amborn

Blatten geta

B. (ብላቴን፡ ጌታ, also *blattengeta*, pl. *blattenočč geta*, lit. 'chief of pages') is a court title (from

the word *blatten* 'a page', 'an armour-bearer', or 'a personal servant of a nobleman').

In the 16th cent. there appeared at court a new title and person, the **ውስጥ፡ ብላቴን** (*wəsṭ blatten*, 'a page of the inner chamber'), who, due to his proximity to the emperor, was sometimes much more influential than his modest position as a servant would imply. In the beginning of the 17th cent. another title, i.e. of B., appeared, and in the reign of *aṣe* Susənyos it was granted to ↗Mälkəʾa Krəstos, a husband of ↗Wälättä Ṗeṭ–ros, a famous abbess of Qʷäraṣa nunnery. Mälkəʾa Krəstos, however, was in command not of pages, but of a guards' regiment, Səlṭan Märəd. As B. and guards' commander, he was a member of the State Council which permitted him occasionally to defend his persecuted ex-wife, who publicly censured the renegade-king Susənyos for embracing the Catholic faith.

With the foundation of the capital city of ↗Gondär and the growth of a palace compound the court staff enlarged considerably. There appeared in the second half of the 17th cent. two titles for chiefs of different pages: **ታላላቅ፡ ብላቴን፡ ጌታ** (*talallaq blatten geta*, 'chief of senior pages') and **ጥቃቅን፡ ብላቴን፡ ጌታ** (*ṭəqaqən blatten geta*, 'chief of junior pages'). Those pages who waited upon the King were under the command of the Chief of junior pages, and the Chief of senior pages was the commander of the royal body-guards. Thus, the position in the court hierarchy of the latter was 15 grades higher than that of the former, according to official Ethiopian registers of ranks (in Chronicles of Iyasu I and Bäkaffa; s. GuiIohan 152, 313f.; ↗*Śərᶜatä mängəśt*). With the decay of Gondär towards the end of the 19th cent. this court office disappeared, but the title remained and was applied to learned men and experienced advisers at court. During the reign of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I (r. 1930–74) it became an honorific title granted to respected men of learning, such as ↗Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl.

Src.: DombrChr 300 (tr.); GuiIohan 152, 313f. (tr.); KaneDic 866.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Civil Titles and Offices in the Reign of Emperor Menilek II, 1889–1913", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 597–612, here 611; GEBRE IGZIABIHER ELYAS, *Prowess, Piety and Politics: the Chronicle of Abeto Iyasu and Empress Zewditu of Ethiopia (1909–1930)*, ed., tr. by REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, Köln 1994 (SKK 104), 23.

Sevir Chernetsov

Blemmyes ↗ Beğa

Blondeel van Cuelebrouck, Édouard

B. (B. van Cuelebrouk, b. 1809, d. 1872) was a Belgian diplomat who visited Ethiopia in 1840–42 to further his country's interests in the interior and on the Red Sea coast. Appointed Belgian consul-general in Egypt, he proceeded to Ethiopia, where he travelled widely.

Inspired by the expansionist/imperialist ambitions of his monarch, King Léopold I, B. visited the principal Ethiopian rulers, *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam of Səmen and Təgray, *däğğazmač* ↗Goššu Zäwde and *däğğazmač* ↗Bərru Goššu, both of Goğğam, and *ras* ↗Ali Alula of Bägemdər. He urged them to conclude alliances with Belgium and offered them a hundred or more Belgian troops and 7,000 or so muskets (↗Firearms). His objective was, as he claimed, to keep all doors open so as to allow Belgium to choose its Ethiopian allies. As Rubenson (1976:99) comments, "on the Ethiopian scene no one played the game of proto-imperialism with more gusto and fewer scruples than Consul Blondeel".

B. also conceived a project to purchase the Red Sea port of Amfilla, 100 km south-east of Massawa. His schemes were abortive, but significant in that they foreshadowed others of the colonial era. His *Rapport Général*, a unique copy of which is in the Library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, contains invaluable data on the country's political and economic life at the time.

Src.: EDOUARD BLONDEEL VAN CUELEBROUK, *Rapport et mémoires sur la colonisation de l'Abyssinie, présentés au Gouvernement belge, 1839–1842* ["Rapport Général"], ms.

Lit.: ALBERT DUCHESNE, *A la recherche d'une colonie belge: le consul Blondeel en Abyssinie, 1840–1842: contribution à l'histoire précoloniale de la Belgique*, Bruxelles 1953 (Mémoires, Institut Royal Colonial Belge 30, 3); SVEN RUBENSON, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, London 1976, 99–102, 132ff.

Richard Pankhurst

Blood

B., at once a life-giving substance and a symbol of death, is a primordial, highly-charged human symbol. Shrouded in ambivalence in many cultures and religions, B. is perceived as being simultaneously pure and impure, sacred and profane. The handling of B. is hence dictated, in many cases, by the rules and restrictions of ritual observance. Such is the practice among

various groups in Ethiopia, where rites involving B. are assigned to specialists, induding warriors, hunters, sacrificers and circumcisers. Practices and beliefs surrounding this key symbol have become a major criterion for determining religious legitimacy and group boundaries. Despite the prevalence of B. rituals in Ethiopian religious life, the ethnographic record concerning the rules, restrictions and religious rituals and customs connected with B. in Ethiopia is incomplete.

B. is allotted a central place in the ritual slaughter and ↗sacrifice of animals common among many groups in Ethiopia and related to holidays and other religious dates, or to private or group life-cyde rituals. Since practices involving B. are considered ritually significant, different religious groups tend to eat meat that is slaughtered and prepared only by their own members.

Rituals of sacrifice do not always include consumption of the sacrificial meat, as in the Passover offering of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, or the sacramental B. of Ethiopian Christians (↗Eucharist), who shun the practice of animal sacrifice. In other cases, the meat is eaten following ritual acts that are related to the sacrificial B. For example, in south Ethiopia among the ↗Ubamär, ↗Basketo and ↗Dime, following the harvest or during burials, B. rituals are performed in which the B. of the slaughtered animal, usually a sheep, is sprinkled on the ground, after which the meat is consumed in a communal meal. Some groups use animal B. to increase fertility "magically" and provide protection from private and group disasters. For example, the ↗Oromo in south Ethiopia conduct various fertility rituals involving the smearing of animal B. on various locations on the body, induding during pilgrimage sacrifices, or the drinking of newly shed B. Fresh B. is considered among many southern Ethiopian groups as a fortifying drink and is also used as a liquid that increases the fertility of the soil, or in rainmaking rituals. Among the ↗Šakačo of south Ethiopia, sacrificial B. is sanctified and preserved for practices related to ancient spirits.

Rituals linking B. with various forms of milk have been documented among many Ethiopian groups. Among the Oromo, wedding ceremonies have been documented in which the bride brings a container of milk to the threshold of her future father-in-law's hut, where the waiting groom or his father slaughter a bull or sheep,

Taking blood from living cattle (Banna), photo by Elisabeth Pauli, 1950-52, © Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23 Pa032-26)

causing the B. to flow towards the bride's milk-container. The resultant mixture is then smeared over various parts of their bodies, symbolically representing the union of bride and groom and heralding their future fertility. Similarly, as part of the ↗Koorete marriage ritual, the groom's father douses the bride and groom, as they arrive at his doorstep, with the B. of a slaughtered ram or with milk.

Among the ↗Somali, upon the birth of a male child, a sheep is sacrificed and the baby's head is anointed with the B. This sacrifice (*walcal*, or *wakalol*) is not performed on girls.

↗Circumcision, a body-marking ritual, is practised by many groups in Ethiopia at varying ages. The B. of circumcision symbolizes the covenant associated with initiation into an age-grade or organization, such as in some ↗ʿAfar groups. Christians and Betä Ǝsraʾel living in the Ethiopian highlands circumcise all male babies on their eighth day of life, in accordance with the rules of the Old Testament (Lev 12:3). Among the ↗Käfa groups, circumcision is practised on babies at the age of two months. Other groups perform the rite during childhood or puberty (Boorana, Burği, Hamär) or at the end of the procreative period (some Oromo groups; ↗Konso).

In select groups, circumcision signifies both a religious covenant between the believer and God and the transition from a state of impurity to one of purity, as among the Christians and among the Betä Ǝsraʾel. Similarly, according to Cecchi, among the Käfa, those who died uncircumcised were not buried properly. In the case of Somali groups, circumcision marks the point at which a young man becomes ritually pure and eligible for marriage.

The procedure of clitoridectomy, in its various physiological manifestations, is carried out among women of varying ages in many groups in Ethiopia. Although not religiously prescribed, clitoridectomy is related to deep cultural perceptions regarding gender hierarchies and the control of "women's nature."

Menstrual B. and the B. following delivery comprise another example of the ambivalent relationship to female B., expressed in its being associated with both purity and life and impurity and the absence of life. The assignment of impure status to women in Ethiopia has not been documented widely, but is believed to exist among a number of other groups, such as among the Ǧanǧäro (↗Yäm), or in the past among the ↗Kəmant of highland Ethiopia. The various manners of relating to menstrual and post-partum B. by different groups in Ethiopia are based in religious belief. For example, Christian women of the highlands are not separated during menstruation, even though many of them refrain from sexual intercourse during this period. In contrast, their former Betä Ǝsraʾel neighbours would move to separate dwellings during the seven days of menstruation, for 40 days following the birth of a son and 80 following the birth of a daughter. During this time, the entire area surrounding the hut was considered impure. Religious perceptions and practices as markers of group boundaries have been documented between the Ðáasanač of the covenant northern end of Lake Turkana and the Amhara.

Lit.: IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar, Saho*, London, 1955, 134f., 166, 169f.; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Galla of Ethiopia – the Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero,* London, 1955, 76–81, 115, 141–44; ERNESTA CERULLI, *Peoples of South-West Ethiopia and its Borderland*, London 1956, 36f., 50f., 54–61, 84, 102f., 121; VSAe I, 73, 180, 219, 245, 258, 274, 326, 331, 368f., 411; VSAe II, 227, 238, 252, 332, 338f., 403, 474f., 503; VSAe III, 46, 55, 59, 124, 133, 167, 189, 199, 208, 225, 245, 316, 321, 328, 339, 343, 348, 372; HAGAR SALAMON, *The Hyena People: Ethiopian Jews in Christian Ethiopia*, Los Angeles 1999, 95–102; MIRCEA ELIADE (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion,* New York 1986, vol. 2, 254ff.; FREDERIC CHARLES GAMST, *The Qemant: a Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia,* Prospect Park 1969; URI ALMAGOR, "Institutionalizing a Fringe Periphery: Dassanetch-Amhara Relations", in: DONALD LEWIS DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia,* Cambridge 1986, 96–115.

Hagar Salamon

Blue Nile ↗ Abbay

Blumhardt, Carolus Henricus

B. (Karl Heinrich B., b. 1808, Stuttgart, d. 1883) was born to a family of theologians and missionaries. His interest for mission work in Ethiopia could have been due to his encounter with Samuel ↗Gobat (↗Church Missionary Society). Gobat travelled to Europe in 1833 and visited Württemberg, the birthplace of B., to promote the mission cause.

After he received Anglican ordination, B. came to Ethiopia in January 1837 and joined another missionary of the Church Missionary Society, Carl Wilhelm ↗Isenberg in ᶜAdwa. One of the purposes of the Church Missionary Society was to support renewal and reform within the ancient churches of the Near East, as well as the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

From descriptions of their discussions and the outcome of the year, 1838 B. apparently had a more diplomatic approach to the Ethiopian Orthodox priests and rulers of that time than his colleague Isenberg. Specifically, when *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḥaylä Maryam, the ruler of Səmen in northern Ethiopia, planned to send envoys to England to request British intervention against an expected aggression of Egypt, B. was asked to accompany them. B. refused in order to prevent being involved in politics. The project was never carried out.

Due to controversy and suspicion created upon the arrival of the Catholic missionaries Guiseppe ↗Sapeto and Arnauld d'↗Abbadie, who emphasised the deviance of Protestantism and the relative similarity between Catholicism and Ethiopian Orthodoxy, B. was expelled from ᶜAdwa on 12 March 1838 together with Isenberg and ↗Krapf. B. and Isenberg went to Cairo to wait for instructions from London, while Krapf continued his endeavours to proceed to the interior by the way of the coast.

His linguistic competence is reflected in a number of works, the most important one being his edition of Abu Rumi's Amharic ↗Bible.

Src.: CAROLUS HENRICUS BLUMHARDT, *Outlines of Amharic, Containing an English, Oordoo and Amharic Vocabulary* […], Serampore 1887; KARL HEINRICH BLUMHARDT (ed.), *Novum Testamentum* […] *in linguam amharicam vertit Abu-Rumi Habessinus. Nova editio* […], London 1852; for complete bibliography cf. Lockot I, II, index.

Lit.: GUSTAV ARÉN, *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia: Origins of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus*, Stockholm 1978, 64, 66ff., 70; DONALD CRUMMEY, *Priests and Politicians, Protestant and Catholic Missions in Orthodox Ethiopia 1830–1868*, Oxford 1972, 43–46, 150;

WILHELM CLAUS, *Dr. Ludwig Krapf, weiland Missionar in Ostafrika. Ein Lebensbild aus unseren Tagen*, Basel 1882, 35.

Eshetu Abate

Blundell, Herbert Weld

B. (b. 1852, d. 5 February 1935) was an English traveller, educated at Stoneyhurst and Queen's College Oxford. After travelling through Persia (1891) and Cyrenaica (1895), B. made two trips to East Africa. In 1898 he journeyed through Somaliland and Ethiopia to the Sudan. During the expedition, B. discovered that the Abbay (↗Nile) river had been incorrectly mapped, reviewed construction progress on the Addis Abäba-Djibouti ↗Railway and collected 300 species of birds and 17 new species, all of which he donated to the ↗British Museum. In 1905, he returned to Ethiopia and produced an accurate map of the river and visited Lake Zʷay. B. also investigated the Oromo political system, trading routes and the "Šanqəlla" (↗Berta) and their customs. In his later years, he maintained his interest in Ethiopia and edited the *Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia*. He also published several scholarly articles in publications like the *Journal of the African Society*.

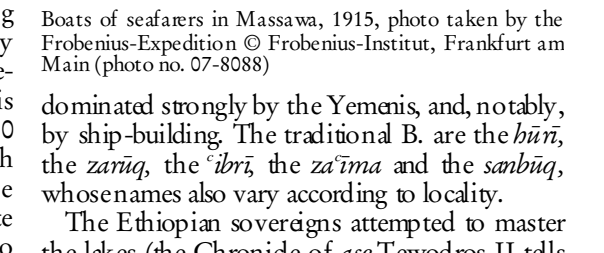
Src.: HERBERT WELD BLUNDELL, "A Journey through Abyssinia to the Nile", *Geographical Journal* 15, 1900, 97–121, 264–72; ID., "Exploration in the Abai Basin, Abyssinia", *Geographical Journal* 27 1906, 529–53; ID., *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia 1749–1840*, Cambridge – London 1922.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Boats

The form of B., as well as the materials used in their construction, is entirely dependant upon both their means of propulsion and the waters in which they evolve.

Aksumites used B. for travelling, trading and warfare activities in the Red Sea. Their ships could have been made by binding, as is still done today in some regions of the South Arabian coast. In the course of history, the Təgrəñña-speakers and the Amhara, who inhabited the highlands and were separated from the sea by a desert coastal strip of land, had to fight the lowland ᶜAfar, Təgre or Beğa nomads to gain access to the sea. The coastal population only fish near the sea shore with small B. (*hūrī* or *zarūq*) and use nets or lines, but the maritime activity on the coast is, as in the rest of the southern Red Sea,



Boats of seafarers in Massawa, 1915, photo taken by the Frobenius-Expedition © Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (photo no. 07-8088)

dominated strongly by the Yemenis, and, notably, by ship-building. The traditional B. are the *hūrī*, the *zarūq*, the *ᶜibrī*, the *zaᶜīma* and the *sanbūq*, whose names also vary according to locality.

The Ethiopian sovereigns attempted to master the lakes (the Chronide of *aṣe* Tewodros II tells of one expedition made by the Emperor on Lake ↗Ṭana). Popular paintings depict these nautical travels, while the illuminations in ecclesiastical manuscripts sometimes show religious scenes as taking place among the B.

The basic terminology concerning B. that penetrated at an early date into Amharic (through Təgre and then through Təgrəñña) owes nothing to Gəᶜəz, but rather to Arabic: **መርከብ** (*märkäb*, a B. in general, a B. of great size or dimensions, a passenger steamer), **ጀልባ** (*ğälba*, a B. of small dimensions), **ሰንበቅ** (*sänbuq*, a small traditional Red Sea coastal B.), **ደቀል** (*däqqäl*, 'mast'), **መልህቅ** (*mälähq*, 'anchor'), **ሸራ** (*šära*, 'sail'), **ኩላብ** (*kullab*, 'hook'). Today, English is the dominant source of loan-words in this field.

In the highlands and in the ↗Rift Valley, every lake has its own type of B., usually constructed with the help of whatever kind of reeds are available locally. Naturally, the vocabulary used is that of the population concerned. On Lake Ṭana, the real "sea" of the Amhara, it is only one group, the ↗Wäyṭo, who devote themselves to nautical activity, for which they employ a B. of this type named ↗*tankʷa*. Lying very low in the water, it is operated by the use of so-called "paddles" without blades.

The Italians had introduced motor-boats on the lake (*ğälba*), which were utilized after the Liberation by *commendatore* Buschi's company *Navigatana*. One of them was still operating in 1993.

With the establishment of a naval base on the peninsula of ᶜAbd al-Qādir at Massawa by the

Tanqʷa construction on Giddiččo island, photo by Eike Haberland, 1954/55, © Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (27 Ha 078–40)

Italians, later taken over by the Ethiopian navy, modern warships were introduced.

↗Fishing; ↗Navy

Lit.: GUSTAVO BRUNELLI et al, *Esplorazione dei laghi della fossa galla. Missione ittiologica dell'Africa orientale italiana*, 2 vols., Roma 1941; VINIGI LUIGI GROTTANELLI, [review of Brunelli et al. 1941], *RSE* 2, 2, 1942, 198–208; HENRI GROSSET-GRANGE, *Glossaire nautique arabe, ancien et moderne, de l'Océan Indien*, ed. by ALAIN ROUAUD, Paris 1993; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Depiction of Boats in Ethiopian Ecclesiastical Manuscripts", in: PIOTR O. SCHOLZ – RICHARD PANKHURST – WITOLD WITAKOWSKI (eds.), *Orbis Aethiopicus: Studia in Honorem Stalislaus Chojnacki Natali Septuagesimo Quinto Dicata, Septuagesimo Septimo Oblata*, Albstadt 1992 (Bibliotheca nubica 3), 391–410; ALAIN ROUAUD, "Langages de la mer, des poissons et des bateaux en amharique: jalons pour une recherche", *Bulletin des Études Africaines* 4, 8, 1984, 89–100.

Alain Rouaud

Bodi ↗ Meʾen

Bodleian Library

The first Oxford University library was founded in the early 14th cent. by bishop Thomas de Cobham (d. 1327). But it is 1602 which is considered the official foundation date of the B.L., as in that year Sir Thomas Bodley (1545–1613), a Hebraist and collector of medieval manuscripts, re-opened the library after a period of relative insignificance and added several buildings to the library-complex.

Today the Oriental Collections of the B.L. alone comprise six libraries on five separate sites, including the Bodleian Japanese Library, the Indian Institute Library, the Oriental Institute Library, the Oriental Reading Room, with holdings of some 500,000 volumes and some 20,000 manuscripts.

The Ethiopian manuscript collection, comprising ca. 100 manuscripts, has been made widely available by two catalogues. August ↗Dillmann's catalogue (1848) contains descriptions of 35 manuscripts – mainly the ones which were brought to the United Kingdom by James ↗Bruce. A part of them is illuminated. Edward Ullendorff (1951) dealt with 66 manuscripts, most of which were brought to England by members of the ↗Napier expedition (1867–68) and later bought by the B.L. Since then there have been few accretions.

Src.: *http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk*

Lit.: AUGUST DILLMANN, *Codices aethiopici. Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis VII*, Oxford 1848; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Catalogue of the Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, vol. 2, Oxford 1951.

Siegbert Uhlig

Body ornamentation: scarification and tattooing

The most common type of permanent B.o. throughout Ethiopia is the scarification and tattooing of the skin. Scarification, also known as cicatrization, involves splitting of the skin and allowing new tissue to heal over the open wound. The healing process usually forms a recessive valley on the skin's surface or a raised bump, depending on the technique employed. Both processes create textured irregularities on

A Karo woman with scarification, Murle Camp in the Southern end of Margo National Park, June 2000, photo courtesy of Clare de Wet

A woman from Lalibäla with tattooed Christian symbols, from Girma Fisseha 1997:17

the skin's surface. For incised scars, a sharp thorn or razor is used to lacerate the first few layers of skin. To produce elevated patterns, the skin is cut open and rubbed with ash to create calculated tumors.

Among the ↗Ñaŋatom, ↗Kara and ↗Suri near the Omo river, men and women decorate their torso in curvilinear forms reminiscent of water or horns. Deep horizontal scarring of the forehead is practized by ↗Nuer men and serves to easily identify a Nuer man from his neighbours. Nuer women incise their exposed torso with raised patterns that accentuate and draw attention to their abdomen.

Often incised scarification is combined with tattooing practices in order to make the recessive skin more visible. When tattooing and scarification are combined, the scar becomes more pronounced. Pigment is most commonly placed into cuts made on the face, particularly between the eyebrows and along the cheeks, when a highland boy or girl reaches puberty. These marks can serve both decorative and amulet functions by attracting potential partners while repelling unwanted forces. Women in their teenage years, for example, are believed to be particularly vulnerable to harm due to their heightened state of attractiveness. Further, scaring and tattooing around the eye region is intended to arrest the harmful gaze of the evil eye. The same marks may also be applied at any age among Eastern Cushitic groups to help cure and guard against eye disease.

The tattooing process involves the insertion of pigments just below the skin's surface. In Ethiopia these pigments are usually made of powdered herbs, soot and water mixed into a liquid paste. Tattoos are most commonly applied with thin hollow bamboo applicators. One of the most universally recognized tattooing practices among Semitic- and Cushitic-speaking women is the darkening of the upper gums. In the past, soot and plant extracts were mixed together to create a green-black colour and applied with thorns pricked into the gums. Today, this process is most often performed with modern dyes and needles. While most ↗Gurage, ↗Oromo, and ↗Amhara think of the process today purely as an aesthetic enhancement, hiding the natural pink of the gum and bringing out the white of the teeth, a century ago this practice was associated with healing, initiation and protection from malevolent forces.

Tattooing is most commonly performed on the face during young adulthood to beautify, as medicine, or to assert religious belief. Black lines may be added by ↗Argobba, ↗ᶜAfar and Oromo women to the spaces between their eyes, on their cheeks and running along the bridge of their noses in order to lengthen, highlight and beautify their faces and foreheads. In central and northern Ethiopia, the practice of tattooing horizontal lines on the necks of women to aid in alleviating throat conditions like goitre is still practised. It is also common to see Christian crosses tattooed on the forehead, hands or lower arms to show the wearer's Orthodox faith in the northern highlands. Today, the facial tattoo is gradually being replaced by less permanent pigments like kohl, ↗henna and nail polish.

↗Cosmetics; ↗Hairstyles

Lit.: CAROL BECKWITH – ANGELA FISHER, *African Ark: Peoples of the Horn*, London 1990; PERI KLEMM, *Women's Costumes of Eastern Ethiopia*, Exhibition Catalogue, Addis Ababa University 2000; ID., "The Body Arts of Ethiopia", paper presented at the *African Arts Lecture Series, Michael C. Carlos Museum*, Emory University 1998; GIRMA FISSEHA, *Bergland Äthiopien: Kunst und Kultur aus dem Hochland*, München 1997, 17 (ill.).

Peri Klemm

Boggalä Wälälu

B.W. (**ቦጋለ ወለሉ**, b. 1909, Šanto, Damot Gale *wäräda*, Wälaytta *awraǧǧa*, d. 26 January 1966, Addis Abäba) was an author and a member of

Parliament. As a child, he was engaged in cattle-keeping and farming. At the age of 16 he came to Addis Abäba where he received primary education. Later B.W. received a church education at Däbrä Libanos in Šäwa. Afterwards he took classes in English at Mənilək II Secondary School.

B.W. worked as a translator in the Zännäbä Wärq Hospital until the Italian war 1935–36. After the occupation he went back to Wälaytta and began teaching and writing. His works were devoted to different aspects of life and were primarily aimed at enlightenment and education.

In 1961 he was elected to Parliament and he remained a member until his death.

Src.: BOGGALÄ WALÄLU, **የወላሞ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ታሪክና ፡ ባርነት ፡ እንዴት ፡ እንደተወገደ** (*Yäwällamo ḫəzb tarikənna barənnät əndet əndätäwäggädä*, 'History of the People of Wällamo and How the Slavery was Eliminated'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.]; ID., **ብርሃን፡ በመንገድ ፡ የመሰረተ ፡ ትምህርት ፡ ጮራ** (*Bərhan bämängäd yämäsärätä təmhərt č̣orra*, 'The Light on the Way of Basic Education'), Addis Abäba 1947 A.M. [1954/55 A.D.]; ID., **ሰባዌ፡ አእምሮ ፡ የጨዋ ፡ ልጅ** (*Säbawe aʾəməro yäč̣äwa ləǧ*, 'Human Mentality [is] a Noble Child'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.]; ID., **ሰውና ፡ ኑሮ** (*Säwənna nuro*, 'Man and Life'), Addis Abäba 1949 A.M. [1956/57 A.D.].

Mellese Madda Gatiso

Boghossian, Krikorios ↗ Armenians

Bogos ↗ Bilin

Bokkuu

B. ('knob, club'), the wooden sceptre made from the olive tree, is a sign of office surrounded by a sacred aura in different Oromo groups. As a symbol of ritual and juridical power it could be worn by judges (↗*Hayyuu*; VSAe II, 51) and members of the *warra bokkuu* ('people of the B.') of the Karrayyuu clan among the Boorana (Leus 1995:113). In some groups, however, it was the exclusive right of the ↗*abbaa gadaa* to keep the B. (MHasOr 43). He used it at the highest assembly when proclaiming laws, and for blessings. After retiring he handed the B. over to his successor, thus marking the change of the *gadaa*-government (MHasOr 15; de Salviac 1910:188; Cerulli 1922:177f.; ↗*Gadaa*). Nonetheless, some sources indicate that the B. was inherited by the owner's son (VSAe II, 51; d'Abbadie 1880:179). The owner of the sceptre was called ↗*abbaa bokkuu*.

For Oromo subgroups, being united under the same B. symbolizes internal peace the sharing of a common law and participation in the highest

A Boorana *gadaa moǧi* with *kallačča* on his forehead, holding his *bokkuu*, photo by Joy Adamson, 1950/52, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23 Ad 184–08)

↗*č̣affee* assembly. The historical account about the Mäčč̣a and Tuulama Oromo who quarrelled about the possession of an (iron) B., following the splitting of their previously common assembly (Cerulli 1933:170; VSAe II, 527; MHasOr 42ff.), can best be understood in this context.

In everyday life, the term B. could also refer to a normal stick with a heavy and thick end or knob (Leus 1995:113).

↗Kallačča

Lit.: MARTIAL DE SALVIAC, *Un peuple antique au pays de Ménélik. Les Galla (dits d'origine gauloise), grande nation africaine*, Paris 1910, 188; TON LEUS, *Borana English Dictionary: a Borana Book for the Study of Language and Culture*, Yabello 1995, 113; ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, "Sur les Oromo, grande nation africaine", *Annales de la Société Scientifique de Bruxelles* 4, 1880, 167–92; BTafA; ENRICO CERULLI, *The Folk-Literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia*, Cambridge, MA 1922 (Harvard African Studies 3), 170, 177f.; ID., *Etiopia occidentale, dallo Scioa alla frontiera del Sudan: note del viaggio, 1927-1928*, 2 vols., Roma 1933; VSAe II, 51, 527; MHasOr 15, 42ff.

Andrea Nicolas

Boḳru Sälomon

Baḥri nägaśi B.S. (**ቦኽሩ፡ ሰሎሞን**, also Bäkʷrä Ṣəyon, "horse name" **አባ፡ ቦር**, Abba Bor; b. in Kudo Fälasse or Hazzäga, d. 17 October 1776) was a descendent of the ↗Däqqi Täššim of

Ḥamasen. B.S.'s father ↗Sälomon Täsfa Ṣəyon held the office of *baḥri nägaśi* in Ṣäᶜazzäga. Whilst he was still very young, B. became a *diyaqon*. However, when his father died in 1743, "*qäsi* B." immediately took over his office and the title of a *däğğazmač*, probably as a co-regent with his granduncle *däğğač* ↗ᶜAndä Haymanot (Kolmodin 1914:A20).

B.S. called himself "*baḥri nägaśi* of Dəbarwa"; others report that he received this title from the emperor after seven years of service at his court. B.S.'s rule, which he extended over the whole ↗Märäb Mällaš, and mainly based in Ṣäᶜazzäga, according to tradition ended only 24 years later. Even if his father was a vassal of *aṣe* Iyasu II, his son did not receive the office from the latter, but by heritage. Between ca. 1760 and 1770/71 B.S. was deprived of his government, now in the hands of *käntiba* Qälätä of Hazägga among others. But then, after the arrest of *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel Səḥul, B.S. was reinstated (Kolmodin 1914:A72, A20).

B.S.'s government was characterized by permanent tension. *Ras* Mikaᵓel Səḥul of Təgray raided Ḥamasen twice. As a consequence, during the last years of his rule, B. had to accept the suzerainity of the *ras*, who married his daughter to B.S.'s eldest son and thus conduded a peace agreement. Tradition reports that B.S. was a powerful and aggressive leader who reorganized the land-ownership to pursue his personal and political interests.

B.S. led both external and internal wars. While he was collecting tribute from the ↗Mänsaᶜ, one of his adversaries, the weaker cousin *baḥri nägaśi* Kəflä Täḵlit of ᶜAd Täḵlay, used B.S.'s absence to claim the office for himself. After the first confrontation with B.S.'s army near Däqqi Ṣənᶜa, Kəflä fled to Säraye. B.S. attacked again but was captured, and brought to the Emperor, who, however, reportedly reinvested him. An important chapter of B.S.'s government was his conflict with the *näᵓib* "Ḥəya" (=Yaḥyā *näᵓib* Aḥmad of Ḥərgigo), who controlled parts of the Märäb Mällaš due to a peace treaty with B.S.'s father. Three victorious battles in Däqämḥare, Zagar in Karnəššəm and Č̣əfaᵓkäla (around 1760) led to the annexion of the *näᵓib*'s possessions in the highlands and to a durable peace agreement with the latter.

During the last years of his reign B.S. left the devastated Ṣäᶜazzäga and settled in Šär Ǝmba, where he built the church of Kidanä Məḥret. His eldest son Gäbrä Krəstos was the son of a concubine from Təgray. His second son, Täsfa Ṣəyon, born by B.S.'s legitime wife *wäyzäro* Qəddusan Sämärä Ab from Däqqi Ṣäḥay, inherited his father's office. He kept it even when he was challenged by his elder brother, who fled to Amhara, where he stayed until Täsfa Ṣəyon's death 15 years later.

The first part of a *täzkar* manuscript of the "family of the *däggiyat*" (i.e. the leaders of the Däqqi Täššim) is attributed to B.S. (Kolmodin 1914:A78).

Src.: JOHANNES AXEL KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega. Annales et Documents*, Upsal 1914 (Archives d'Études Orientales 5:3), A20f., A72ff., A78ff.
Lit.: JOHANNES AXEL KOLMODIN, *Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega, Traduction Française*, Upsal 1915 (Archives d'Études Orientales 5:2), passim; RUFFILLO PERINI (GÄBRÄ NƎGUŚ), **መረብ፡ መላሽ** (*Märäb Mällaš*), Roma – Asmära ²1995 [Tgn. tr. from Italian *Di qua dal Marèb* (*Marèb-mellàsć*), Firenze 1905], 123 [genealogy], 125; YƎSḤAQ YOSEF, **ንግስነት፡ ሃገረ፡ ምድሪ፡ ባሕሪ፡** (**ኤርትራ፡**), **ታሪኽ፡ ደጊያት፡ ሃይሉ፡ «አባ፡ ጋላ፡»** (*Nəgəsənät hagärä Mədri Baḥəri* [*Erətra*], *tarik däggiyat Haylu «abba Galla»*, 'The Narrative of the Land of the Sea [Eritrea], the History of *Däggiyat* Haylu «*abba* Galla»'), Asmära 2000, 97ff.

Wolbert Smidt

Bolläd

B. (**ቦለድ**, lit. 'squatter') is an Amharic word, which in the 17th cent. described an outlaw who lived on plunder and resisted the established authorities, both local and supreme. The term referred to a type of "noble brigand", not only because sometimes the B. were noble by birth, but because very often their banditry was a form of political competition for an office. However, most of them, found death because of the way of life they had chosen, and not the office they fought for, but a few were successful, such as *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, who began his political career as a B. and then became emperor and the founder of a new dynasty. In the 19th cent. the term B. was supplanted by another term, ↗*šəfta*.

Src.: KaneDic 667, 868.
Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, "Banditry and Resistance: Noble and Peasant in Nineteenth Century Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 7, 263–77 (Lit.).

Sevir Chernetsov

Bolotov, Vasiliy Vasilyevich

B. (b. 13 January 1854, Ostashkov, d. 18 April 1900, St. Petersburg), professor at the St. Petersburg Theological Academy and Corresponding Member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in

St. Petersburg (1896), was born to the family of a poor sacristan. B. entered the theological seminary in Tver where, by chance, he was given ↗Ludolf's *Grammatica aethiopica* instead of another book he had ordered. The young student was proud when, making use of his Hebrew, he could understand the Lord's Prayer published therein. This inspired him to pursue further studies in ↗Gəʿəz and he graduated from the seminary with a good knowledge of two Semitic languages. In 1875 B. entered St. Petersburg Theological Academy, from which he graduated in 1879. He was immediately elected an Associate Professor of the Theological Academy and began teaching a course on ecclesiastical history. In 1885 B. was elected Professor Extraordinary and in 1896 he was awarded a Doctor of Theology *honoris causa*.

His main scholarly interests lay in ancient ecclesiastical history, to which he devised his own periodization. He attached major importance to the monophysite movement. To investigate this topic more thoroughly, in addition to Ethiopic, B. learned Coptic, Arabic, Syrian and Armenian.

↗Ashinov's initiative to dispatch Russian ecclesiastical missionaries to propagate the Orthodox Faith in Ethiopia made B. get involved. On 16 February 1888 he delivered a brilliant speech *On the Question of a Union of the Abyssinians with the Orthodox Church* in which he argued the futility and even harmfulness of any attempts of Orthodox propaganda among the members of the Ethiopian Church. The discussion of this question motivated B. to write *Theological Disputes in the Ethiopian Church*. B. was the first (and for many years the only) scholar in Russia who learned ↗Amharic. His works were extremely scholarly and well-founded.

Src.: VASILY BOLOTOV, *Ucheniye Origena o Svyatoy Troitse* ('Origen's Triadological Doctrine'), M.A. thesis, St. Petersburg 1879; ID., "Iz tserkovnoy istorii Egipta" ('From the Ecclesiastic History of Egypt'), *Hristianskoye chteniye* 1884, part 2, 585f.; 1886, part 1, 347–401; ID., "On the Question of a Union of the Abyssinians with the Orthodox Church", *ibid.* 1888, 450–69; ID., "Theological Disputes in the Ethiopian Church", in: *ibid.* 1888, 30–62, 775–832.

Lit.: ALEKSANDR BRILLIANTOV, "K harakteristike uchonoy deyatelnosti V.V. Bolotova kak tserkovnogo istorika" ('To the Charateristics of the Research Activities of V.V.Bolotov as a Church Historian'), *Hristianskoye chtenie*, April 1901, 467–97; BORIS TURAIEV, "Vasiliy Vasilyevich Bolotov", *Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosvjascheniya* 330, 1900, 81–101; BORIS MELIORANSKIY, "Vasiliy Vasilyevich Bolotov", *Vizantiyskiy vremennik* 7, 4, 1900, 614–20.

Sevir Chernetsov

Bonchamp, Christian de ↗ Fashoda, incident of

Bonga

B. (ቦንጋ) was the most important town in the once-independent state of ↗Käfa and later the capital of the Käfa *awraǧǧa* in the province by the same name. Established, according to local tradition, by the Käfa king Bonketato around 1500, the town maintained its importance even after the founding of ↗Andaračа, another main town in Käfa nearby B. B., which was situated on a small hill, was, for most of its history, the site of an immense royal compound. The 19th-cent. French traveller Paul Soleillet says that it contained a "large number of huts" of different shapes and sizes. The town was later occupied by *aṣe* Mənilək II's forces, which began the occupation of Käfa under *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye in 1897, and subsequently emerged as an important commercial centre deeply involved in the ↗coffee trade. By the early 20th cent., B. had a hospital and a school, and a population, according to the Italian *Guida* of 1938, of some 3,000 inhabitants.

Src.: GueCopMen, s. index; *Guida* 536–39; MAX GRÜHL, *Vom heiligen Nil ins Reich des Kaisergottes von Kaffa: Reiseskizzen*, Berlin 1929, New York 1977, 224–27; ID., *The Citadel of Ethiopia: the Empire of the Divine Emperor*, tr. by IAN D. F. MORROW – L.M. SIEVEKING, London 1932; PAUL SOLEILLET, *Voyages en Éthiopie (janvier 1882 – octobre 1884). Notes, lettres et documents divers*, Rouen 1886, 191; ADRIEN ZERVOS, *L'empire d'Éthiopie. Le miroir d'Éthiopie moderne 1906–1936*, Alexandria 1936, 376.

Lit.: WERNER LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61); BAHRU ZEWDE, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855–1974*, London 1991, 21.

Richard Pankhurst

Bono, Emilio de

B. (b. 19 March 1866, Cassano d'Adda, Milan, d. 10 January 1944) was an Italian military officer and minister. In 1878, B. attended Milan's Military College and then enrolled in the Military School. He subsequently served in Eritrea, Libya and Tripolitania. During the 1929–35 period, B. was Minister for the Colonies.

Emilio de Bono (right) discussing surrender with *däğğazmač* Ḫaylä Śəllase Gugsa in Mäqälä, from de Bono 1936:209

On 10 January 1935, B. became High Commissioner of East Africa. On 3 October 1935, B., in command of a force of more than 100,000 troops, crossed the ↗Märäb river into Ethiopia along a 40-mile front without declaration of war. Ethiopia's unpreparedness enabled Italian forces to occupy several important towns, including ᶜAddigrat, Ǝntičč̣o, and Dərḥo Täklä (4 October), ᶜAdwa (6 October), Aksum (15 October) and Mäqälä (8 November). Another setback occurred on 10 October 1935, when *däğğazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase Gugsa, commander of the Mäqälä sector, and 1,200 of his followers surrendered to the commander of the Italian outpost at ᶜƎdäga Ḥamus.

On 11 November 1935, Mussolini, anxious for more victories, ordered B. to advance from Mäqälä to ↗Ambalage "without delay". Despite the rapid advance of his troops, B. remained cautious about overextending his lines and therefore refused to obey Mussolini. On 17 November 1935, Pietro ↗Badoglio replaced B. as Commander-in-Chief of Italian Forces in East Africa. Meanwhile, Mussolini avoided a public scandal by promoting B. from General to Marshal of Italy. However, he served only ceremonial or honorary posts. On 4 October 1943, police arrested him for participating in a coup plot against Mussolini. On 10 January 1944, the Fascist Grand Council executed B. for alleged treason.

↗Italian war, 1935

Src.: EMILIO DE BONO, *Anno XIII: the Conquest of an Empire*, London 1937.
Lit.: ANTHONY MOCKLER, *Haile Selassie's War: the Italian-Ethiopian Campaign, 1935–1941*, New York 1984; EMILIO DE BONO, *Die Vorbereitungen und die ersten Operationen zur Eroberung Abessiniens*, München 1936, 207 (ill.).

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Books, bookmaking ↗ Manuscripts; ↗ Printing

Boorana

B. is one of the two major ↗Oromo divisions mentioned at the beginning of the 17th cent. by the monk ↗Baḥrəy (1907:195; BeckHuntAlm 112; s. Lusini 1991–92:167) in his description of the 16th-cent. Oromo expansion from southern Ethiopia into the Ethiopian highlands. The other moiety is ↗Baarentuu.

Among the present-day western Oromo, the descent groups are classified into the *boorana* and *gabaro* categories: the first implies the idea of a pure Oromo descent, probably referring to the Oromo who migrated from southern Ethiopia during the great Oromo expansion, while the second may refer to the autochthonous people Oromized through incorporation into the descent system. This distinction has only ritual meaning, with no economic or legal significance (Cerulli 1922:140; Hultin 1990:102–08; Bartels 1983:133–65; Triulzi 1996:261f.).

Today B. is also the ethnonym of a pastoral-oriented Oromo community living in the semi-arid lands of southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya, geographically and genealogically linked to the ancient Oromo division. The B. speak a southern Oromo dialect (Stroomer 1987:5) and share a common identity built through the dominant national symbols connected with their ↗*gadaa* centre (Asmarom Legesse 1973:68ff.) and with their ↗*qaalluu* dignitaries.

The descent system of the B. is, as with other geographical units of the Oromo, characterized by paired moieties (Gemetchu Megerssa 1993; Kassam 1999:485) called Sabbo and Goona. Each exogamous moiety is segmented into pat-

Boorana men in conversation, photo by Eike Haberland, 1950/52, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23-Ha247-31a)

rilineal clans (*gossa*, 'type', 'quality', by extension also 'ethnic group' or 'nation'), lineages (*mana*, 'house') and minimal lineages (*balbala*, 'door', 'gateway'). The members of the different descent sections, at all levels of segmentation, live mixed and scattered in B. land and are fully integrated from an economic point of view.

The crucial rituals connected with the *gadaa* and *qaalluu* institutions take place in Liiban and Dirree, the B. homelands in southern Ethiopia, where all the major institutional leaders (↗*abbaa gadaa*; ↗*qaalluu*; ↗*hayyuu*) live by custom. Liiban is the land between the ↗Ganaalee and Daawwaa rivers. The area used by the B. has been shrinking since the second half the 19th cent. (Bassi 1997:25f.) and today is limited to its north-western half, *awraǧǧa* Boräna (Sidamo province), with its capital ↗Nagallee in the centre.

To the south-west of the Daawwaa river is Dirree, characterized by a large number of hand-dug wells, a crucial pastoral resource during the dry season. These wells are gathered in groups in the localities where underground water is available. Nine of these well-clusters (Meelbanaa, Irdar, Goofa, Laye, Ḍaasi, Weebi, Waačille, Hiigo and Gaayo) are considered particularly important by the B. for their capacity to provide a regular output of high-quality water. Many of these wells, called *tulaa*, are more than 40m deep and are excavated in hard rock. Dirree provides a unique pastoral environment, admired by early European observers (Vannutelli 1899:158ff.; Smith 1897:185f.).

The B. territory also includes the area of Taltallii to the west of Dirree, the escarpment running between Ethiopia and Kenya and the lowlands dose to it. The Kenyan plains between the escarpment and Marsabit mountain are seasonally used by mobile herds belonging to the B. as well as to other ethnic groups, while Marsabit mountain and its slopes are again B. territory (Baxter 1954:34). Far to the south, along the Waasoo Nyiro river and in geographical isolation from the other B., live the B. of Isiolo, also known as Waasoo – Boorana (Dahl 1979:9ff.).

Most of the B. of Ethiopia maintain traditional Oromo religion, with few converted to Christianity or Islam, while in Kenya the majority are Muslim, especially the Waasoo – Boorana, or Christian, although their attachment to the Oromo values is still strong (Baxter 1966; Hogg 1990:21; Aguilar 1996:200).

Among the B. of southern Ethiopia, the *gadaa* system of generation-classes is fully operative, though their incorporation into modern Ethiopia may have affected its functional aspects. All the *gadaa* officers are responsible for the maintenance of harmony or peace (*nagaa*) within the society (Baxter 1965:65; 1990:236ff.). The relevant economic, political and juridical decisions – not directly involving the Ethiopian State's authorities – are taken on a consensual basis within the context of a highly differentiated and complex assembly structure, with constant reference to B. impersonal law (↗*aadaa*; ↗*seera*) and under the guidance of a formal leadership legitimized through their activity with the *yaaʾa gadaa* (s. Bassi 1990:92f., 153–58, 241–44); and the *yaʾa qaalluu* (Bassi 1999:19–25).

The general assembly of all B. is the *Gumii Gaayoo*, organized every eight years by the *gadaa* leaders in service. The general assembly is the highest court and the context where law is discussed and formally proclaimed (Asmarom Legesse 1973:93–98). Among the B. there are two main *qaalluu*, one from the Odituu and one from the Karrayyuu clans, each ritually associated with one of the exogamous moieties, and three minor ones. The *qaalluu* embodies the divine source of human order. It is especially associated with the *nagaa* within the society (Baxter 1965:69) and through them God has sent the essential customs, induding the rules of the generation-dass system (Baxter 1965:69; 1978:161f.).

The main ceremonies connected with the *qaalluu* are called ↗*muuda* ('anointment'). In B. there are two different *muuda* organized every *gadaa* period (eight years). The first is the *muuda gadaa,* implemented by the *gadaa* leaders for the *qaalluu* of their respective moiety,

symbolizing the divine legitimization of the *gadaa* order. The second is the *muuda qorričaa*, performed by the *qaalluu*'s clan-mates. This ceremony in the past was more relevant, symbolizing inter-group or inter-ethnic unity at a regional level. There are several records from the 19th and early 20th cent. indicating that the central and western Oromo used to go on *muuda* pilgrimage to both the major *qaalluu* of the B. (Knutsson 1967:147–51, 155). Similarly, during the 19th cent. the B. were able to establish an hegemony in northern Kenya, involving several Oromo or Oromized groups in a network of alliances (VSAe II, 141ff.; Schlee 1989:38f.). The bond with the B. was expressed by participating in the *muuda* of one or the other *qaalluu*.

Due to the preservation of Oromo institutions, rituals and values and to their genealogical and geographical identification with the centre of the 16th-cent. Oromo expansion, the B. are often regarded as a paradigm the Oromo culture.

Src.: BAḤREY, "Historia gentis Galla", in: *CRHist* 223–32 (tx.) = 195–208 (tr.); ID., "History of the Galla", in: *BeckHuntAlm* 111–29; LAMBERTO VANNUTELLI, *L'Omo: seconda spedizione Bòttego, viaggio d'esplorazione nell'Africa orientale narrato da L. Vannutelli e C. Citerni*, Milano 1899, 158ff.

Lit.: ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada: Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York 1973, 93–98; MARIO I. AGUILAR, "Keeping the 'Peace of the Waso Boorana'. Becoming Oromo through Religious Diversification", in: PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER – JAN HULTIN – ALESSANDRO TRIULZI (eds.), *Being and Becoming Oromo: Historical and Anthropological Enquiries*, Uppsala 1996, 190–201; PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER, *The Social Organization of the Galla of Northern Kenya*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford 1954, 34; ID., "Repetition in certain Boran Ceremonies", in: MEYER FORTES – GERMAINE DIETERLEN (eds.), *African Systems of Thought*, London 1965, 64–78; ID., "Acceptance and Rejection of Islam among the Boran of the Northern Frontier District", in: IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS (ed.), *Islam in Tropical Africa*, London 1966, 233–50; ID., "Oromo Blessings and Greetings", in: ANITA JACOBSON-WIDDING – WALTER VAN BEEK (eds.), *The Creative Communion. African Folk Models of Fertility and the Regeneration of Life*, Uppsala 1990, 235–49; LAMBERT BARTELS, *Oromo Religion. Myths and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia. An Attempt to Understand*, Berlin 1983, 133–65; MARCO BASSI, *I Borana. Una società assembleare dell'Etiopia*, Milano 1990, 19–26; ID., "Returnees in Moyale District, Southern Ethiopia: New Means for an Old Inter-Ethnic Game", in: RICHARD HOGG (ed.), *Pastoralists, Ethnicity and the State in Ethiopia*, London 1997, 23–54; ID., "The Complexity of a Pastoral African Polity: an Introduction to the Council Organisation of the Borana-Oromo", *JES* 22, 2, 1999, 15–34; ENRICO CERULLI, *The Folk-Literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia*, Cambridge, MA 1922 (Harvard African Studies 3), 11–228; GUDRUN DAHL, *Suffering Grass. Subsistence and Society of Waso Borana*, Stockholm 1979, 9ff.; GEMETCHU MEGERSSA, *Knowledge, Identity and the Colonizing Structure: the Case of the Oromo of East and Northeast Africa*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1993; VSAe II, 141ff.; RICHARD HOGG, "The Politics of Changing Property Rights among Isiolo Boran Pastoralists in Northern Kenya", in: PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER – RICHARD HOGG (eds.), *Property, Poverty and People: Changing Rights in Property and Problems of Pastoral Development*, Manchester 1990, 20–31; JAN HULTIN, "Resource-Use, Territory and Property among the Macha-Oromo", in: *ibid.*, 95–109; ANEESA KASSAM, "Ritual and Classification: a Study of the Booran Oromo Terminal Sacred Grade Rites of Passage", *BSOAS* 62, 3, 1999, 484–50; KARL ERIC KNUTSSON, *Authority and Change: a Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*, Göteborg 1967; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Documenti per la storia degli Oromo", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 14–15, 1991–92, 163–69; GÜNTHER SCHLEE, *Identities on the Move: Clanship and Pastoralism in Northern Kenya*, London 1989; ARTHUR DONALDSON SMITH, *Through Unknown African Countries. The First Expedition from Somaliland to Lake Lamu*, London 1897, 185f.; HARRY STROOMER, *A Comparative Study of Three Southern Oromo Dialects in Kenya*, Hamburg 1987, 5; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, "United and Divided. Boorana and Gabaro among the Macha Oromo in Western Ethiopia", in: PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER – JAN HULTIN – ALESSANDRO TRIULZI (eds.), *Being and Becoming Oromo: Historical and Anthropological Enquiries*, Uppsala 1996, 251–64.

Marco Bassi

Boräna

B. (ቦረና), formerly an *awraǧǧa* of Wällo province (with Mäkanä Sälam as its capital), is today divided between the *wäräda*-districts of Däbrä Sina, Wägdi and Kälala in the South Wällo Zone. Topographically, B. is separated from Goǧǧam

by the Abbay to the west, from Sayənt by the Dänqoro river to the north, from Läga Hida and Šäwa by the Bäto river to the east and south.

Landscapes of B. consist of strips of plateau separated by deep river valleys. This frame corresponds approximately to the historical province of ↗Wäläqa, which was conquered by Oromo lineages classified as *boorana* belonging to the ↗Tuulama branch (distinct from other Wällo groups).

Today, the people of B. are mainly Amharic speakers, with some Oromiffa remnants (ca. 20,000) in Wägdi and Kälala. Christians and Muslims coexist as in other parts of Wällo. Christians have the majority in Däbrä Sina (60 %) and Muslims dominate in Kälala (95 %). The pre-Oromo Christian past of the region is witnessed by churches, the most important ones are located on the plateaus of Gasəčča (↗Däbrä Baḥrəy) and Čaqäta (↗Däbrä Qozät; s. Wright 1957; Derat 2001). In Dägar, 20 km west of the town Kälala, the Muslim shrine of Šarafaddīn Ibrāhīm is located, one of the most venerated saints in Wällo.

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia. Results for Amhara Region*, Addis Ababa, December 1995.

Lit.: ODD ERIK ARNESEN, "The Becoming of a Place: a Tulama Oromo Region of Northern Shoa", in: PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER – JAN HULTIN – ALESSANDRO TRIULZI (eds.), *Being and Becoming Oromo: Historical and Anthropological Enquiries*, Uppsala 1996, 210–38; VOLKER STITZ, *Studien zur Kulturgeographie Zentraläthiopiens*, Bonn 1974 (Bonner Geographische Abhandlungen 51), 80, 94, 112, 124; STEPHEN WRIGHT, "Notes on Some Cave Churches in the Province of Wallo", *AE* 2, 1957, 9–13; NATALIA RODRIGUEZ – BERTRAND HIRSCH, "Aläqa Ayyälä: un peintre d'église du Wällo ou la peinture comme exercice spirituel", *AE* 16, 2000, 271–308; MARIE-LAURE DERAT, "Gäbrä 'Endreyas de Däbrä Qozät et les généalogies monastiques du XV^e^ au XIX^e^ siècle: réécritures et réemplois", *AE* 17, 2001, 229–55.

Eloi Ficquet

Borelli, Jules

B. (b. 1853, d. 1941) was a French traveller and explorer who travelled to Ethiopia from Egypt on 16 September 1885 to explore the ↗Omo river. In this effort he was supported by his brother, a financier in Cairo and the owner of a fine collection of Egyptian antiquities. He was delayed from moving into western and southwestern Ethiopia by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, who, out of political concerns, detained him at the capital of Ǝnṭoṭṭo for part of the period from July 1886 to November 1887. Finally, in November 1887, B. started out for the headwaters of the Omo river, and reached a point some 300 miles north of Lake Rudolf (Turkana) on 17 June 1888, three months after Count Samuel Teleki von Szek and Lieutenant Ludwig Ritter von Höhnel had arrived on the lake's southern shore. Had Mənilək not detained him and had he not fallen ill with malaria, B. could have reached the lake well before Teleki and von Höhnel. During his travels, B. was given a good description of the lake by people in Ethiopia, who called it Lake Šambara.

B. arrived in Cairo on 15 November 1888, where he later met Teleki and von Höhnel who were returning to Europe from their trip. The latter assisted B. in drawing his maps of the country surrounding the Omo river. B. doubted von Höhnel's unsubstantiated claim that two rivers flowed into Lake Rudolf, and, as was later proven, correctly deduced that only the Omo flowed into the lake. In 1889, B. invited von Höhnel to Paris to attend an international geographical congress, where both men lectured. B. described his Ethiopian travels in his beautifully illustrated and well documented book published in 1890.

Src.: JULES BORELLI, *Ethiopie-Méridionale: Journal de mon voyage aux Pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama, Septembre 1885 à Novembre 1888*, Paris 1890.

Lit.: PASCAL JAMES IMPERATO, *Quest for the Jade Sea. Colonial Competition Around an East African Lake*, Boulder, CO 1998, 74f., 117, 151; LUDWIG RITTER VON HÖHNEL, *Over Land and Sea. Memoir of an Austrian Rear Admiral's Life in Europe and Africa, 1857–1909*, ed. by RONALD E. COONS – PASCAL JAMES IMPERATO – J. WINTHROP ALDRICH, New York – London 2000, 74, 80f.

Pascal James Imperato

Boro ↗ Šinašša

Borodda ↗ Wälaytta

Boru Meda

B.M. (**ቦሩ፡ ሜዳ**) is a locality in Täkʷəlädäre *wäräda* in southern Wällo, about 10 km to the north of Däse. This swampy plateau (Amh. *meda*), near the head-waters of the Borkänna river, is traditionally said to have been named after the Oromo word *booru* 'tomorrow', signifying a battlefield, as this cry was allegedly chanted at the enemy the day before an encounter. B.M. is noted for the religious council summoned there by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV in May 1878 to reassert the official ↗*täwaḥədo* church doctrine.

After obtaining the submission of *ras* Mənilək on 20 March 1878, Yoḥannəs decided to take advantage of his hegemony and assert the unity of the Ethiopian Christian faith by putting an end to the doctrinal dissensions within the Church. Since it was dominant in Təgray and Goğğam, the Twin Birth (↗*Hulätt ləḏät*) doctrine was to be declared the official faith against the Triple Birth (↗*Śost ləḏät*) or Child of Grace (↗*Yäṣägga ləğ*) doctrine, prevalent in Šäwa, as it had been preached by the ↗Däbrä Libanos convent. Wällo was chosen to welcome the Synod, because it was a neutral territory between Yoḥannəs's and Mənilək's spheres of power, and also to confirm the Christian sovereignty over this Muslim territory.

The synod was held in B.M. on 22 *Gənbot* 1870 A.M. [29 May 1878 A.D.]. In addition to priests from both camps, major dignitaries were present: *aṣe* Yoḥannəs, *ras* Mənilək of Šäwa, *ras* Adal Täsämma of Goğğam, and both rival claimants to the leadership of Wällo, *imām* Muḥammad ᶜAlī (subsequently baptized as ↗Mikaᵓel ᶜAli) and *imām* Amäde Libän "Abba Waṭäw" (subsequently baptized as Ḫaylä Maryam). No *abun* was there to preside at the assembly, since *abunä* ↗Atnatewos died in 1876 and had not been replaced because of hostilities with Egypt. A letter was therefore read from the Alexandrian Patriarch Cyril V excommunicating the followers of the Triple Birth doctrine. Then debates were held between leading theologians, even though the die had already been cast. An edict was finally published banishing those who would not abnegate the condemned doctrine and threatening with further punishment (tongue mutilation) any who should persist in teaching it. The Muslims and "pagans" were then ordered to convert to Christianity within two years.

The Abärra Śəllase church was subsequently built and became the seat of the Church scholar *mämhər* ↗Akalä Wäld, who had the specific charge of converting the Muslims of Wällo to Christianity.

B.M. became a sizeable market-place at the beginning of the 20th cent.

Src.: GUGLIELMO MASSAJA, *I miei trentacinque anni di missione nell'alta Etiopia*, 12 vols., Roma 1921–30, vol. 11; GueCopMen vol. 1, 149–56; *Guida* 400.

Lit.: ASNAKE ALI, "A Historical Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in Wallo, 1872–1917", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 263–76; RICHARD ALAN CAULK, "Religion and the State in Nineteenth Century Ethiopia", *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 23–41; MARIO DA ABIY-ADDI' [AYELE TEKLE-HAYMANOT], *La dottrina della chiesa etiopica dissidente sull'unione ipostatica*, Roma 1956 (OrChrA 147), 92–133; YAQOB BEYENE, *L'Unzione di Cristo nella teologia étiopica. Contributo di ricerca sui nuovi documenti etiopici inediti*, Roma 1981 (OrChrA 215), 280–95; ID., "Controversie cristologiche in Etiopia. Contributo alla storia delle correnti e della terminologia nel secolo XIX", *Annali IUO*, supplement no. 11, 37, 1977, 31–59; CARLO ANGELO ANNARATONE, *Abissinia*, Roma 1911, 29 (ill.).

Eloi Ficquet

Boša

The name B. refers to a kingdom and its inhabitants at the confluence of the Omo and Goğäb rivers. Before they were linguistically assimilated by the Oromo in the 19th cent., the B. spoke a language of the Gomara subgroup (↗Gonga) of the Omotic family. In a cultural classification

proposed by Werner Lange (1982) they constitute, with the Hinnario (Ǝnnarya), Šeko (↗Moča) and ↗Käfa, the southern Gonga cluster. The major staple crop of B. is *ənsät*, which secures a high productivity and population density.

In the 15th cent. B. belonged to the gold-producing countries on the south-western periphery of the Christian empire. Ethiopian rule became obviously threatened in those areas during the Muslim advance of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's troops. *Aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl therefore conducted a military campaign in 1567 which restored the control of the empire over B. for a limited period. From the 17th cent. onwards the Oromo occupation of the ↗Gibe region cut off the Gonga peoples from their northern links and exerted an increasing pressure on their political existence. In the 18th cent. internal conflicts resulted in the flight of parts of the royal family to Käfa and in an exodus of Christian clergy to regions controlled by the Ethiopian empire. Christianity was no longer actively pursued and was replaced by syncretic folk religions. ↗Abbaa Gomol II, the king of Ǧimma, conquered B. in the 1860s or 1870s and it subsequently became Islamicized. This vassal state, whose population adopted the Oromo language, was henceforth commonly named Garo.

Despite this dramatic political change B. has preserved notable parts of its pre-Muslim cultural traditions. In the 1970s the social stratification as well as the political institutions, offices and titles of Garo state still reflected numerous features of its historical predecessor. As is well known, the Oromo kingdoms of the Gibe region became deeply influenced by the type of socio-political structures they encountered among the conquered autochthons of that area. The egalitarian ↗*gadaa* system, a basic element of Oromo social organization, was quickly replaced by the sophisticated hierarchical patterns of kingdoms such as B. and ↗Ǝnnarya.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, *Studi Etiopici*, vol. 4: *La Lingua Caffina*, Roma 1951; WERNER LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga* (*Southwestern Ethiopia*), Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61), 50–92 (Lit.); BendNonSLang, s. index.

Ulrich Braukämper

Botor

B. (ቦቶር; in BTafA 757: Botär) is a river in the Käfa province (north-eastern part of Limmu *awraǧǧa*). A chain of mountains and the nearby region are also called B.

The ↗Oromo in the area are traditionally called the Botor Oromo; together with the Hagalo and Šoora they form one of the three subgroups of the Oboo Oromo. In the 19th cent., their territorial boundaries ran from the junction of the Gibe rivers of ↗Limmu and of ↗Lagamara in the north, in the west the B. mountains and in the south along the Temsa river (Cecchi 1888:143). The territory is on a high plateau approximately 1,600 m A.S.L. Food production was based on agriculture (sorghum, maize). *Ǝnsät* was not cultivated. Wild tobacco was consumed. The B. had cattle, horses and donkeys, in addition sheep and goats; chickens were sold in the neighbouring markets of the ↗Ǧimma and Limmu kingdoms. Cecchi (1888:145) described the B. as virtually independent, not subject to any other group. Thus, the old Oromo institutions like the ↗*abbaa duulaa* still fully functioned and also the traditional religion was preserved longer than in other Oromo areas. In the 1870s they became subject to *aṣe* Mənilək II, *däǧǧazmač* Ḫaylä Maryam Wäldä Mikaʾel became their and Tokkeʾs governor (BTafA 757). Later Mənilək put the B. together with Limmu Ǝnnarya under the governorship of *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis, who also controlled Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar. Under Ḫaylä Śəllase I the B. forest was a property of Crown Prince Asfa Wäsän, who gave concessions to saw-mills there.

Village settlements became common only in the 20th cent. Several villages south of the Gibe rivers are today called B., while a larger urban settlement on the road between Limmu and Gurage is named Botor Bočo.

Src.: BTafA 757, 897 (Lit.); GueCopMen 175 n. 3, 533; MAX GRÜHL, *Vom heiligen Nil ins Reich des Kaisergottes von Kaffa. Reiseskizzen*, Berlin 1929, 234f., 294; ANTONIO CECCHI, *Fünf Jahre in Ostafrika: Reisen durch die südlichen Grenzländer Abessiniens von Zeila bis Kaffa*, Leipzig 1888, 143–53.
Lit.: VSAe II, 553f.

Wolbert Smidt

Bottego, Vittorio

B. (b. 1860, Parma, d. 17 March 1897, Daga Roba), an Italian explorer, arrived in Eritrea in 1887 as artillery captain of the expedition dispatched after *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda's victory over the Italians at Dogᶜali. In the following years B. dedicated himself to intensive exploratory activities, not only with scientific objectives but also political and military goals.

In May 1891 he travelled from Massawa to ᶜAsäb along the still unknown coastlines of Dankalia. In November 1892, he led an expedition from Berbera to reach Imi on the Wabi Šäbälle. He crossed the Awdo mountains and later explored all tributaries of the Juba river and discovered its springs on 21 March 1893. On his return journey he explored the courses of the rivers Daawwaa and Gannaallee, noting the independence of the Omo and the Juba; he finally reached the coast of ↗Brava on 7 October 1895.

From Brava, B. began his last expedition on 12 October 1895; once he had reached Lugh, he followed the course of the river Daawwaa as far as Lake ↗Abbayya (which he re-named Margherita in honour of the Queen of Italy), through the Omo valley as far as the river estuary in Lake Rudolf (called Turkana today). This last mission, which coincided with the period of greater Italo-Ethiopic tension after the Italian invasion of Təgray, aimed to cause difficulties for *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II on the south western borders of Šäwa. Unaware of the overthrow of the Italians at ᶜAdwa in 1896, B. ended up completely isolated. Attacked at Gobo near Gadami, he was killed at Daga Roba after persisting with a futile resistance.

B. is celebrated as a hero in Parma. A monument has been erected in his honour.

Src.: VITTORIO BOTTEGO, *Il Giuba esplorato*, Roma 1895.
Lit.: AROLDO LAVAGETTO, *La vita eroica del capitano Bottego (1893-1897)*, Milano 1934, passim.

Marco Lenci

Boucoiran, Maurice

B. (b. 18 October 1880, Nîmes, d. 31 December 1952, Nice) was a French diplomat. The son of a merchant, he studied at the business academy in Montpellier before beginning a consular career in 1906, where he was first posted to Alexandria and then to Genoa. In 1912 B. succeeded Honoré Roux in the post of head of the French Chamber of Legation in Addis Abäba. After some years, he became the embassy's number two official, first under minister Charles Brice and then Maurice de ↗Coppet. While his superiors or colleagues were absent, he was in charge of the Legation and also of the Vice-Consulate in ↗Dərre Dawa. Relations between France and Ethiopia were close at that time, and B. played an important role on many occasions, notably in 1923, when he effectively helped Ethiopia enter the ↗League of Nations. He left the country in 1923.

Src.: Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères, dossier de pension Boucoiran 063; dossier personnel Boucoiran, 3e série, 35.
Lit.: MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES (ed.), *Annuaire diplomatique*, Paris 1922, 1939, etc.; *Annuaire de la Marine*, Paris 1922, 761; *Le Courrier d'Éthiopie*.

Alain Rouaud

Boundaries

Pre-colonial boundaries

Frontiers, in a specifically territorial sense, were not considered of great significance in medieval Ethiopia. They are not mentioned in the Ethiopian chronicles, hagiographies or other early texts. Royal land charters specify districts and even fields by name, without referring to their borders. Lands were not territorially defined, let alone delineated.

There was, however, a consciousness of Ethiopia as a distinct Christian polity, different from its Islamic and other non-Christian neighbours, as well as an awareness of various districts, or provinces, which tended to be conceived of as lands subject to a given ruler, and/or of his fiefs. The concept of the delimitation of areas of political power was, however, expressed by the Gəᶜəz verb ወሰነ (*wässänä*, 'he delimited'; s. LesCDic 620), hence the name Asfa Wäsän ('he became broad', or 'widened the borders'; s. KaneDic 593, 1177), an appellation perhaps most appropriately applied to a king or great lord. Ideas of territoriality among nomadic peoples in the lowlands were, on the other hand, sometimes based on the location and ownership of wells or water-holes. Customs posts in the highlands played an important role in economic life, but tended to be

located at places through which traders were obliged to pass and where they could therefore be most conveniently taxed, rather than at the confines of any specific political polity (Pankhurst 1961:188f.).

The borders of Ethiopia and of its provinces were determined partly by the political and military power and astuteness of the rulers, but partly also by the natural configuration of the land. B. were thus in many cases influenced or determined by the location of rivers, mountains and torrid desert lowlands difficult to traverse. Such inaccessible areas were at times occupied by ↗*šəfta*, or rebels, owing only limited allegiance to any authority. The first known Ethiopian maps, produced under the auspices of the Ethiopian Church, indicated districts, centred around the holy city of ↗Aksum, without any reference to B.

An idea of the area covered by the Aksumite kingdom in the early centuries of the Christian era, and hence in a sense of the B. of the State, can be gleaned from the map of Ancient Sites in Northern Ethiopia reproduced in Sergew Hable Sellassie (1972:32), as well as from the same author's map of the Ethiopian empire [situated between the Red Sea and the Nile] (ibid. 64), which was based on the famous early inscription at ↗Adulis copied by Cosmas Indicopleustes. The area covered, between the 12th and 16th cent., by the medieval Christian state, in mountainous country between the coastal land of the ↗*baḥər nägaš* in the north and Bale in the south, and its principal Muslim neighbours to the east are the subject of a series of maps in TadTChurch (65, 183, 204, 298). The subsequent early 19th-cent. B. of the principal Christian kingdoms, including Təgray, Goǧǧam and Šäwa, as well as Harär in the east, are the subject of a map in Salt (1814:137). The political configuration of the country later in the century can be seen in Rubenson (1976), where maps also indicate areas of Egyptian and later Italian penetration. The coming of these two powers, in the 1870s and 1880s respectively, marks a major development in the history of Ethiopian B., leading in due course to more formal frontier demarcation.

↗Cartography

Src.: LesCDic 620; KaneDic 593, 1177.

Lit.: HuntGeogr; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1965; RICHARD PANKHURST, *An Introduction to the Economic History of Ethiopia*, London 1961, 188f.; STEPHANOS PIERRE PÉTRIDÈS, "The Empire of Ethiopia in the XVth and XVIth Centuries: its Power, Grandeur and Extent as Recorded by Arab, Italian and Portuguese Travellers and Cartographers", *Ethiopian Geographical Journal* 1, 2, 1963, 39–43; *ibid.* 2, 2, 1964, 15–27; ALULA PANKHURST, "An Early Ethiopian Manuscript Map of Tegré", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 73–88; SVEN RUBENSON, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, London 1976, 31, 39, 216, 291, 316, 339, 387 [maps]; SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270*, Addis Ababa 1972, 32, 64; TadTChurch 65, 183, 204, 298 [maps]; HENRY SALT, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, London 1814, 137 [map]; PAUL NUGENT – ANTHONY IJAOLA ASWAJU (eds.), *African Boundaries. Barriers, Conduits and Opportunities*, London – New York 1996; JACQUES ANCEL, *Géographie des frontières*, Paris 1938; GILLES SAUTTER, *Quelques réflexions sur les frontières africaines*, Pluriel 1982; MICHEL FOUCHER, *Fronts et frontières*, Paris 1988; DONALD DONHAM, "Old Abyssinia and the New Ethiopian Empire: Themes in Social History", in: DONALD DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia*, Cambridge 1986, 3–48.

Richard Pankhurst

Boundary with the Sudan

Different political entities have been interacting along the Ethio-Sudanese B. over the centuries. In ancient times, the rivalry between Aksum and ↗Meroë culminated in an Aksumite military expedition in the early 4th cent. A.D. that administered the *coup de grâce* to the declining Sudanese kingdom. In the 18th cent., ↗Sinnār and the Gondärine kingdom competed for gold and slaves. In 1744 *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II led a military campaign into Sinnār which ended in his defeat. In the early 19th cent., a reinvigorated Egypt pressed on up the Nile and into the Ethiopian borderlands. While Ethiopia was able to establish a permanent hold over the gold-rich districts of ↗Beni Šangul, Egypt's incursions in the northern section of the B. were checked by Ethiopia's B. governors. In 1837, for instance, *däǧǧazmač* Kənfu of Dämbəya scored a decisive victory over the Egyptians at the Battle of Wad Kaltabu. These B. skirmishes were inherited by the state of the ↗Mahdists in the Sudan (1881–98), leading to a number of clashes both along the Mätämma-Gallabat frontier and in the Beni Šangul front. One of these battles, at ↗Mätämma in 1889, actually claimed the life of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV of Ethiopia.

The British occupation of the Sudan in 1898 was immediately followed by negotiations to delimit the Ethio-Sudanese B. Both sides had earlier laid exaggerated claims, *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II through his famous April 1891 circular to the European powers and the British through the

A historical French map (reproduced in Petrides 1983:76) showing the boundaries of Ethiopia at the end of Mənilək II's reign according to the relevant treaties and agreements (for the treaties of 15 May 1902 s. the subarticle related to the Sudan; the treaties of 15 May 1902, 10 July 1900, 16 May 1908 s. Eritrea; the treaties 10 July 1901, 20 March 1897, 8 February 1888 s. Djibouti; treaties of 14 May 1897, 5 May 1894, 16 May 1908 s. Somalia)

Anglo-Italian Protocol of the same year, for the delimitation of their respective spheres of influence. After four years of protracted negotiations, *aṣe* Mənilək II and the British minister, John ↗Harrington, finally signed the B. delimitation agreement on 15 May 1902. The section of the B. stretching from the ↗Setit river to the ↗Baro-Akobo junction was "demarcated" in 1903 by Major Charles Gwynn of the Sudan government. Although this action was claimed to have had the sanction of *aṣe* Mənilək II, this was subsequently disputed by the Ethiopian government. The section of the B. south of that junction was actually defined by the Ethio-British Treaty of 1907 delimiting the B. between Ethiopia and British East Africa (Kenya).

In addition to defining the B., the 1902 Treaty granted hydraulic, commercial and railway-construction rights to the British. Thus, the ↗Gambella trading post, which served as an important conduit of trans-frontier trade throughout the colonial period, arose directly out of the treaty. Not content with this, the British sought with remarkable persistence, if ultimately in vain, a "rectification" of the B. that would secure what they called the "Baro Salient" to the Sudan in return for cession of what was known as the "Illemi Triangle" to Ethiopia. Like all colonial B., this one too gave scant regard to the territorial rights or transhumance needs of border peoples. Successive administrations thus had to contend with the activities of these frontier peoples as they continued to operate independently of the two governments.

Lit.: MORDECHAI ABIR, "The Origins of the Ethiopian-Egyptian Border Problem in the Nineteenth Century", *JAH* 8, 3, 1967, 443–61; BAHRU ZEWDE, *Relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan on the Western Ethiopian Frontier 1898–1935*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1976; FAISAL ABDEL RAHMAN ALI TAHA, *The International Legal Aspects of the Boundaries of the Sudan with Ethiopia,* Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge 1973; CHARLES WILLIAM GWYNN, "The Frontiers of Abyssinia: a Retrospect", *Journal of the Royal African Society* 36, 1937, 150–61; DAVID HAMILTON, *Ethiopia's Frontiers: the Boundary Agreements and their Demarcation, 1896–1956*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford 1974; MERID WOLDE AREGAY – SERGEW HABLE SELASSIE, "Sudanese-Ethiopian Relations before the Nineteenth Century", in: YUSUF FADL HASAN (ed.), *Sudan in Africa,* Khartoum 1971; "The Sudan-Abyssinian Frontier", *Geographical Journal* 21, 1903; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "The Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1902", *BSOAS* 30, 3, 1967; ZERAI BOCURAZION, *Qañ̃azmach Majid's "The Legal Settlement of Western Ethiopian Boundary (Gambella)"*, B.A. thesis, Haile Sellasie I University 1971; DONALD DONHAM, "Old Abyssinia and the New Ethiopian Empire: Themes in Social History", in: DONALD DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia*, Cambridge 1986, 3–48; STEPHANOS PIERRE PETRIDES, *The Boundary Question between Ethiopia and Somalia: a Legal and Diplomatic Survey with 20 Maps*, New Delhi 1983.

Bahru Zewde

Ethiopian boundary with Kenya

The border with ↗Kenya, then British East Africa, was primarily delineated by the Kenyan-Ethiopian Treaty of 6 December 1907. The alignment had been a matter of contention since 1891. The line described in the treaty corresponded to the limit of Ethiopian expansion in the years up to 1902. However, no joint demarcation of the line took place and some points remained in dispute.

On the occasion of the transfer of the Somali Jubaland to Italy (↗Italian Somaliland) after World War I, England carried out a minor modification of the border, consolidating the possession of the "triangle" around ↗Moyale. A re-definition of the border with Kenya was included in the talks which brought about the agreements known as the "Pact of Easter", signed on 16 April 1938 by Italy and Great Britain. Italy believed the existing confines had been traced to the advantage of Britain and requested a revision of all the previous accords concerning the B. of Ethiopia with the British territories of the region.

The Protocol of 1938 committed the two Governments to open immediate negotiations "with a view to a definitive agreement on the B. between the Sudan, Kenya and British Somaliland on the one side and Italian East Africa on the other". Italy proposed to respect the unity of some divided ethnic groups and to satisfy her economic and strategic needs (i.e. facilitate trade between Kisimayo and the Boorana territories), while Britain intended to obtain territories with water and grazing rights in order to avoid more unrest and clashes of nomads across the border. An exchange of notes on 29 September 1947 approved minor amendments of the existing boundary, agreeing the appointment of a mixed commission to carry out the final demarcation. After the independence of the former British colony, the Empire of Ethiopia and the Republic of Kenya, sought to bring effect the principles of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity; on 9 June 1970 they conduded a treaty that endorsed the demarcation performed from

The three main interpretations of the boundary between Somalia and Ethiopia as shown by Mesfin Wolde Mariam 1964:36 (map III). The "Habe[r]nicht map" line refers to the map edited by Hermann Habenicht, on which a line was drawn in 1897 during the negotiations, but which got lost later.

1951–55 (with three successive adjustments in 1963–64) that was recorded in a series of 30 maps settling the entire boundary line with the exception of a very small section. "The issue resolved in 1970 is an example of a situation in which the distinction between delimitation and demarcation, if not lacking altogether, is of no great significance" (Brownlie 1979:824).

In recent times, the risk of new conflicts was balanced by the common interest of Ethiopia and Kenya to oppose and resist Somalia's claims over part of the respective territories.

Lit.: IAN BROWNLIE, *African Boundaries: a Legal and Diplomatic Encyclopaedia*, London 1979, 775–825.

Giampaolo Calchi Novati

Boundary with Somalia

After a series of treaties of "protection" with Somali groups on the northern Somali coast between 1884 and 1886 and the establishment of the British Protectorate Jubaland in 1895, an agreement on the new B. was signed on 14 May/4 June 1897 between Ethiopia and Britain (the Rodd-Mäkʷännan-Agreement; "Menelik-Line", s. map above). In the same year Italy, acting since 1887 as the protector of several Somali groups, concluded a provisional agreement with Ethiopia (the Manilak–Nerazzini Cartographic Agreement). It was only on 16 May 1908 that a convention was signed, after which a small section of the B. was delimited and demarcated by a joint Ethio-Italian border commission in 1910–11. However, the work ceased due to different interpretations of the agreements of 1908 and 1897 (Italy argued that the B. line ran 180 miles from the coast, while Ethiopia claimed that it ran 140 miles). In 1925 Jubaland was ceded to Italy, without involving a further change of B. The

inner-Somalian border was demarcated by the British and Italians in 1929–31, followed by the demarcation of the B. between ↗British Somaliland and Ethiopia in 1931–35.

The vague definition of the B. between ↗Italian Somaliland and Ethiopia was used by Italy to start a full-scale war against Ethiopia in 1935, as a reaction to the so-called ↗Wälwäl incident in 1934. Italy claimed this well, which clearly lay on Ethiopian territory, and thus underlined that the Somali groups under Italian rule should use their traditional grazing grounds and wells.

After the foundation of ↗Africa Orientale Italiana in 1936 the B. were radically reshaped and the Somalian territories under Italian rule unified in one *governo* Somália Italiana (↗Administrative division). Because this violated existing treaties, these new internal B. were not recognized by the powers and given up, when Italy lost her colonies in 1941/47.

However, a British Military Administration was set up in the Somali territories, including those in Ethiopia (the Reserved Area), to prepare a possible reshaping of the B. In 1946 Great Britain suggested the unification of the Somali territories, a suggestion that met fierce resistance by the Ethiopian government. After the subsequent return of the Reserved Area (later "Haud and Reserved Area") and the Ogaden in 1944/48/54 to Ethiopia, the unsettled B. between Italian Somaliland and Ethiopia had to be clarified. Discussions took place during 1952–59, but without a lasting result. The "Provisional Line" (s. Brownlie 1979:846ff.) set up by the British remained the de facto territorial division. One of the major problems in the delimitation was that the artificial B. did not respect the traditional wandering routes of the nomads, nor the rights over grazing grounds and water holes and the divisions between the Somali clans.

On 26 June 1960 British Somaliland became independent. On 1 July, as soon as Somalia (the United Nations Trust Territory under Italian administration) also became independent, both merged. The Somali-Ethiopian B. were not recognized, as Art. VI (4) of Somalia's new constitution demanded the "union of Somali territories" and the government stated that all five territories with Somali majorities (which meant Djibouti, Italian and British Somaliland, Ogaden or "Western Somalia" and the Northern Frontier District of Kenya) were to be reunified. This was based upon the principle of self-determination, and marked a fundamental rejection of the colonial territorial order. Thus, the ethnically motivated nationalism of Somalia from now on opposed the territorially defined nationalism of Ethiopia. The chiefs of states and governments of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), however, declared against Somalia's claims that the colonial B. were binding for the African states (s. OAU resolution 1964 AHG Res 16[1]). First border clashes took place during 1960–63, followed by the first border war of 1964 and the conflict over Djibouti in 1967. Then, after a period of reconciliation, in the summer of 1977 (during the deep internal crisis of Ethiopia of the 1970s) Somalia quickly occupied the Ogaden and further territories in Ethiopia. Somalia's claim was not recognized by the international community and the troops were repulsed with Soviet help in 1978. Since then, the 1,600 km long B. remained unchanged.

Lit.: EDWARD HERTSLETT, *The Map of Africa by Treaty, Revised and Completed to the End of 1908 by R.W. Bryant and H.L. Sherwood*, vol. 2: *Abyssinia and Great Britain and France*, London 1967; IAN BROWNLIE, *African Boundaries: a Legal and Diplomatic Encyclopaedia*, London 1979, 827–51 (Lit.); NEGUSSAY AYELE, "The 1952–1959 Ethio-Italian Boundary Negotiations: an Exercise in Diplomatic Futility", *JES* 9, 2, 1971, 127–48; MESHN WOLDE MARIAM, *The Background of the Ethio-Somalia Boundary Dispute*, Addis Ababa 1964; DAVID HAMILTON, "Schedule of International Agreements Relating to the Boundaries of Ethiopia", *EthObs* 16, 2, 1973, 58–69; ALEXANDER CAMPBELL MCEWEN, *International Boundaries of East Africa*, Oxford 1971, 114; VOLKER MATTHIES, *Der Grenzkonflikt Somalias mit Äthiopien und Kenya. Analyse eines zwischenstaatlichen Konflikts in der Dritten Welt*, Hamburg 1977 (Hamburger Beiträge zur Afrika-Kunde 21), 42–56, 61ff., 65–132; STEPHANOS PIERRE PETRIDES, *The Boundary Question between Ethiopia and Somalia: a Legal and Diplomatic Survey with 20 Maps*, New Delhi 1983.

Wolbert Smidt

Boundaries of Djibouti

After the French had established a Protectorate over the territories at the Gulf of Tağūra in 1884–85, an agreement with the British separated their respective spheres of influence on the Somali coast on 2/9 February 1888. A Franco-Ethiopian convention of 20 March 1897 established the B. of the Côte française des Somalis to Ethiopia, Ethiopia keeping her access to the now French salt lake Assal, a traditional source of salt for Šäwa. The B. to Eritrea were described in general terms in a French-Italian protocol of 24 January 1900, and clarified in a further protocol of 10 July 1901; the B. started

from the Ras Dumera, half way between ᶜAsäb and Tağūra. The sultanate of ↗Raḥayta was thus divided between Italy and France.

The French-Italian project to change the borders in that area, signed on 7 January 1935 by Benito Mussolini and Pierre Laval, was never ratified (s. Brownlie 1979:757; but cp. Hamilton 1973:67). A tiny strip of Djibouti's territory was to be ceded to Eritrea, this would have straightened the B. and Eritrea's southernmost B. would extend as far as the Bāb al-Mandab at Dār Elwa. Such an adjustment would have considerably increased Eritrea's influence on the shipping routes, because no ship may pass without the permission of the states bordering this strait. However, in 1940 Mussolini entered into World War II and by 1941 had already lost Eritrea, therefore the cession was never realized. Only a few half-official maps of the new State of Eritrea after 1993 showed this straight border, which, however, had been corrected after 1995 by the Eritrean government. Eritrea has never officially claimed the territory.

The Djibouti B. to British Somaliland was demarcated on the grounds of the treaty of 1888 during 1932–34. However, the entire B. to Ethiopia still lacked demarcation after World War II. The B. to Ethiopia and Eritrea was then more precisely delimited by a Franco-Ethiopian B. Commission in agreements made between 1947–54 (and demarcated during 1945–55). These agreements, however, have not been published in any official French source (Brownlie 1979:758–63). When the Republic of Djibouti gained its independence on 26 June 1977, it adopted the colonial B. as its international B., as did its neighbours, without formal agreement.

Lit.: EDWARD HERTSLETT, *The Map of Africa by Treaty, Revised and Completed to the End of 1908 by R.W. Bryant and H.L. Sherwood*, vol. 2: *Abyssinia and Great Britain and France*, London 1967; DAVID HAMILTON, "Schedule of International Agreements Relating to the Boundaries of Ethiopia", *EthObs* 16, 2, 1973, 58–69; IAN BROWNLIE, *African Boundaries: a Legal and Diplomatic Encyclopaedia*, London 1979, 753–65, 766–74 (Lit.); GIDEON BIGER, *The Encyclopedia of International Boundaries*, Jerusalem 1995, 191ff.

Wolbert Smidt

Colonial boundaries of Eritrea

In 1890 the Italians created the colony of ↗Eritrea as a distinct territorial entity. Following the Italian defeat at ᶜAdwa in 1896, the expansionist policy was relinquished and the Eritrean land B. were progressively defined by treaties and maps drafted with the neighbouring powers.

The north-western Eritrean border – from Ras Kasar, latitude 18°2' N, to Ḫor ᶜOm Ḥağer (Khor Um Hagar), on the river Setit – was delimited and demarcated with Anglo-Egyptian Sudan through a series of agreements (25 June and 7 July 1895, 7 December 1898, 1 June 1899, 22 November 1901 and 18 February 1903).

The French-Italian treaties of 24 January 1900 and 10 July 1901 settled the south-eastern Eritrean frontier, facing the colony of ↗Djibouti, 60 km inland from Ras Dumera, latitude 12°42' N. These superimposed frontiers unequally divided the Moslem semi-nomadic communities of the borderlands.

The southern limits of Eritrea were under discussion with the Ethiopian empire since the end of the Italo-Ethiopian war. Following difficult diplomatic negotiations, the treaty of July 1900 delineated the border-line starting from Tomat, on the Atbara river, to "Todluc", on the Gaš river, and then running along the watershed of the rivers ↗Märäb, ↗Bäläsa and Muna. This political border basically followed the "intra-Tigrinnic" administrative borderline that in pre-colonial times had separated ↗Märäb Mällaš from Təgray.

In May 1902 the tripartite treaty between the United Kingdom, Italy and Ethiopia pushed southward the B.'s starting point to Ḫor ᶜOm Ḥağer; the line then joined the Märäb River at May ᶜAnbäsa, thus allocating the entire ↗Kunama region to Eritrea. As some limited sectors of the Eritrean-Ethiopian border were ill defined, Italy encroached upon them until 1935. The border was therefore never fully demarcated on the ground, despite Ethiopian efforts.

Demarcation neither occurred along the ᶜAfar lowlands, where the alignment of this border's segment was drawn in the May 1908 Eritrean-Ethiopian B. agreement as a conventional line parallel to the coast at a distance of 60 km. The Eritrean southern frontier lost its status of international B. between 1936 and 1941, when Eritrea became a province of the newly created ↗Africa Orientale Italiana. During the ↗British Military Administration, which ruled Eritrea until 1952, the colonial boundaries were temporarily re-established.

Lit.: IAN BROWNLIE, *African Boundaries. A Legal and Diplomatic Encyclopaedia*, London 1979; GABRIELE CIAMPI, "Componenti cartografiche della controversia di

confine eritreo-etiopica", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 12, 3 1998, 529–50; ID., "Cartographic Problems of the Eritreo-Ethiopian Border", *Africa* 56, 2, 2001, 155–89; GHIDEON ABAY ASMEROM – OGBAZGY ABAY ASMEROM, "A Study of the Evolution of the Eritrean-Ethiopian Border through Treaties and Official Maps", *Eritrean Studies Review* 3, 2, 1999, 43–88; FEDERICA GUAZZINI, *Le ragioni di un confine coloniale, Eritrea 1898–1908*, Torino 1999; ID., "La geografia variabile del confine eritreo-etiopico tra passato e presente", *Africa* 44, 3, 1999, 309–48; HABTU GHEBRE-AB, *Ethiopia and Eritrea. A Documentary Study*, Trenton 1983; DAVID HAMILTON, "Schedule of International Agreements Relating to the Boundaries of Ethiopia", *EthObs* 16, 2 1973, 58–69; EDWARD HERTSLET, *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, London 1909; CARLO ROSSETTI, *Storia diplomatica dell'Etiopia durante il regno di Menelik II*, Torino 1910; PHILIP WHITE, "The Eritrea-Ethiopia Border Arbitration", *Review of African Political Economy* 29, 2002, 345–56.

Federica Guazzini

Maritime boundaries

Ethiopian assertions of maritime rights on the east coast of the ↗Red Sea did not attempt to set boundaries, but rather described the limits of the coastal state's sovereign authority.

In 1914 Italy adopted a six-mile territorial sea limit for its colonies, which included Eritrea.

On 25 September 1953 Ethiopia, newly federated with Eritrea, issued a Maritime Proclamation that extended the empire's territorial sea limit to twelve miles, a distance to be measured from the high-water mark of the continental coast and of Ethiopian islands.

In December 1982 Ethiopia responded to the ↗Yemen Arabic Republic's ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) by objecting to the Yemen's claim to certain Red Sea islands, stating that "the declaration by the Yemen Arab Republic cannot in any way affect Ethiopia's sovereignty over all the islands in the Red Sea forming part of its national territory". If this claim was meant to apply to the ↗Ḥaniš Islands, it was later rejected by an arbitration tribunal.

Finally, in 1991, the provisional Eritrean Legislature adopted the existing maritime laws of Ethiopia, including the 1953 Proclamation.

After Eritrea achieved independence from Ethiopia in May 1993, the issue of Ethiopia's maritime boundaries became moot, as Ethiopia was thereafter a land-locked country. Ironically, it was only after Ethiopia lost its coastline that the boundaries of its former maritime interests in the Red Sea were clearly delineated. On 17 December 1999 an international arbitral tribunal, convened by Eritrea and the Republic of Yemen, issued an award on the maritime boundaries between the two states. This award was the tribunal's second, the first having related to sovereignty over the Ḥaniš Islands in the southern Red Sea.

The maritime boundary as decided by the Court of Arbitration in 1999

Although both Eritrea and the Yemen presented arguments to the tribunal about the importance of Ethiopian (and pre-Ethiopian) governmental practice in maritime matters, the tribunal took no account of these official acts in its final opinion. Instead, it demarcated a line roughly equidistant between the east and west coasts of the Red Sea, based primarily on principles set out in UNCLOS. While Ethiopia had never ratified UNCLOS (it became a signatory in December 1982), the agreement establishing the tribunal provided that the Convention would apply to the delimitation question.

Src.: PERMANENT COURT OF ARBITRATION, *Award of the Eritrea-Yemen Arbitration Tribunal in the Second Phase*, London, 17 December 1999; "Notificazione con Regio Decreto No. 6798", *Bollettino ufficiale della Colonia Eritrea* 34, Attorney General-Eritrea, 20 August 1914; "Maritime Proclamation of Ethiopia", *Nägarit gazeta* 13, 1, 25 September 1953 [Proclamation no. 137/1953]; *The Transitional Maritime Code of Eritrea*, Asmara 15 September 1991 [Proclamation no. 7]; *United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, Opened for Signature Dec. 20, 1982, Entered into Force, November 16, 1994*, U.N. Doc. A/CONF. 62/122 [repr. in: *International Legal Materials* 21, 1261, 1983].

Gregory Fox

Bourg de Bozas, Pierre Marie Robert du

Vicomte B. (b. 1870, d. 24 December 1902, Amadi) was a French aristocrat and traveller of Africa. At the age of 30, he decided to lead a scientific expedition through Somaliland and Ethiopia to Lake Rudolf (Turkana), the Nile and

the Congo. Although intent on gathering zoological, botanical and ethnographic collections for museums, he was also keenly interested in hunting big game and in making new geographic discoveries.

He put together an impressive group of scientists and sailed with them from Marseilles on 10 January 1901. They arrived in Djibouti and during the following year travelled on foot through Ethiopia and Somaliland, arriving in Addis Abäba on 28 December 1901. From there, B. and his caravan set out for Lake Rudolf on 4 March 1902, with 20 mules and 110 donkeys. He followed the chain of the Ethiopian ↗Rift Valley lakes, crossed over the mountains and finally reached the ↗Omo River on 2 June. It was while exploring the lower Omo River that he found large numbers of fossils and noted for the first time the highly fossiliferous nature of the entire Lake Rudolf basin. On reaching the northern end of the lake, B. moved on to the Nile, which he reached in September at Nimule.

With this phase of the expedition completed, B. repatriated his Ethiopian, Somali and Swahili men via the British East Africa Protectorate and prepared for his trip through the Congo. He left Nimule on 16 October 1902 and by December reached the headwaters of the Uele river. Ill with malaria, B. also contracted tetanus and died at a newly established Catholic mission in Amadi. He was buried on the grounds of the mission, in 1905 his remains were exhumed and returned to France.

Src.: PIERRE MARIE ROBERT DU BOURG DE BOZAS, *Mission scientifique du Bourg de Bozas: de la mer Rouge à l'Atlantique, à travers l'Afrique tropicale (octobre 1900–mai 1903). Carnets de route*, 2 vols., Paris 1906 [ill., maps].

Bourg de Bozas welcomed by Labouko, the "king" of the Karo, June 1902, photo by Emile Brumpt, courtesy Museum d'histoire naturelle, Paris (Boîte 6 no. 320)

Lit.: MONTY BROWN, *Where Giants Trod: the Saga of Kenya's Desert Lake*, London 1989, 257ff., 266f., 278; PASCAL JAMES IMPERATO, *Quest for the Jade Sea. Colonial Competition Around an East African Lake*, Boulder, CO 1998, 242f.

Pascal James Imperato

Božžä

B. is one of the three main deities or spirits of the autochtonous ↗Gurage folk-religion (↗Däm^{w}am^{w}it, ↗Waq and B.). His symbolic animal is the cock. According to the religious tradition, B. is a thunder-god, who keeps guard over moral behaviour and social order. B. punishes violation of the ethical laws by starting fires through lightning, but also by allowing theft or misfortune. His faithful followers he protects from these dangers. The decreasing number of B. cult adherents is mainly found in Geto, Ǝnor, Ǝža and to a lesser extent in Muḫər and Mä^{w}qorqor. The Ǝndägañ form of the cult has almost vanished during the last two generations.

Religious functionaries of B. are the high priests, the *magga* and the *Saʾamar dam*. The high priests are possession mediums and direct representatives of B. The most important of them is the *G^{w}etak^{w}əyä* in Yənangara (Ǝnor). The *magga* are ritual assistants who serve as heralds and interpreters of the high priests while B. is speaking through them. The *magga* provide magical tools to the people for ensuring B.'s protection. It is forbidden to extinguish a house on fire as a result of B.'s action, and the *magga* are called to sing praises of B. and sacrifice milk and honey, for a place struck by lightning becomes a sanctified place in possession of the deity.

The *Saʾamar dam* is a representative of *Awaqa* (also called *Saʾamar*), a deity who combines characteristics of B. and Waq that has later been syncretized with the Archangel Gabriel. The *Saʾamar dam* is a decendant of a ↗Mäsmäs clan, his shrine (*gənnəna*) being in Šawia (Ǝndägañ). The *Saʾamar dam* confirms the authority of the *G^{w}etak^{w}əyä* in a certain ritual called *šəndar*.

The main festival of B. (*nup^{w}aa^{c}ar* or *nəp^{w}är*) takes place in *Ṭərr* at the Yənangara shrine. During the celebration, B. is praised in songs (s. Shack – Habte-Mariam Marcos 1974:24–37) and he, or rather the *G^{w}etak^{w}əyä*, receives gifts like bulls and honey from pilgrims fulfilling vows made in the previous year.

The senior branch of the G^{w}etak^{w}eyä clan converted to Islam in the 19th cent., while the office shifted to the junior branch. The head of the senior branch, the *Šayḫočč*, achieved a central socio-political role among the Gurage Muslims and beyond.

Src.: interviews with *Sa'amar dam* Garammo Ermanččo, Šawia; Ergada *Sa'amar dam* Ordammo, Barče, December 1999.

Lit.: JEAN-FRANCOIS PRUNET – BERHANU CHAMORA, "A History of the Thunder-God Cult in Central Ethiopia, with a Text Analysis", in: *Langues Orientales Anciennes. Philologie et Linguistique*, vol. 5–6, Louvain – Paris 1995, 53–77, here 54–63; WORKU NIDA, "The Traditional Beliefs of the *Sebat-Bet* Gurage, with a Particular Emphasis on the Bozha Cult", in: *PICES* 14, 109–26; WILLIAM A. SHACK, *The Gurage People: a People of the Ensete Culture*, London 1966, 109, 159, 175f.; WILLIAM A. SHACK – HABTE-MARIAM MARCOS, *Gods and Heroes: Oral Traditions of the Gurage of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1974, 24–37.

Dirk Bustorf

Brancaleone, Nicolò

B., a Venetian painter who worked at the court of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, is the most thoroughly documented of the European artisans working in Ethiopia during the 15th and early 16th cent. The earliest mention of his presence in Ethiopia dates to ca. 1482 when Giovanni Battista Brocchi, an Italian traveller at the Ethiopian imperial court, met a small group of Italians; among those recently arrived was "miser Nicolo branchalion, venetiano" (CrawItin 44f; Tedeschi 1994:55). Father Francisco ↗Alvares wrote that B., also known as Marqoryos, was a painter at the court of Ləbnä Dəngəl, noting that B. "was a much respected person, and a great lord with many vassals" (BeckHuntAlvar 279, 313).

When B.'s career in Ethiopia began to flourish is unclear. In December 1520 Alvares visted the royal church of ↗Atronsä Maryam, where his Ethiopian hosts showed him murals which had been painted and signed by B. (BeckHuntAlvar 332f.). Because Atronsä Maryam was founded and endowed by *aṣe* Bä'ədä Maryam (r. 1468–78) and B. did not arrive in Ethiopia until ca. 1480, the murals could not have been commissioned by Bä'ədä Maryam. It is not known whether the murals were commissioned by Ləbnä Dəngəl or his predecessor.

That B. served as painter for the ruling elite class is revealed by several accounts in a manuscript of the Miracles of Mary (*↗Tä'ammərä Maryam*) copied for the Hagärä Maryam church of Prince Səm^{c}on, son of Nägädä Iyäsus, *^{c}aqqabe sä^{c}at* of ↗Däbrä Ḥäyq. According to this literary source, "Märqorewos Afrəngawi" (i.e. Mercurius the European), as B. was known in Ethiopia, executed several commissions for Səm^{c}on (s. EMML vol. 9, 191, 199).

Fragment of a large icon by Brancaleone, originally from the Monastery of Gätäsämane Maryam in Goğğam, now in the IES collection, photo courtesy of Paul Henze

Several works signed by B. have come to light in recent years. Diana Spencer came upon and photographed a picture-book of about 50 miniatures preserved at the church of Wafä Iyäsus in Goğğam, founded, according to oral tradition, by a brother of Ləbnä Dəngəl. The book is signed in Latin beneath the miniature of the Baptism: *Opus meus Nicholasv Brãcale Venetis*. At the nearby church of ↗Gätäsämane Maryam, is a triptych of the Dormition signed *NIC BRA* on the reverse of the central panel. A triptych of St. George (Heldman et al. 1993:188f.), presently in the collections of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies, is signed in Gə^{c}əz beneath the dragon of the central panel: "I, Mercurius the European [Märqorewos Afrənği], painted this picture". The provenance the triptych and the patron for whom it was painted are unknown. A number of unsigned painted panels and miniatures, including a manuscript of the Miracles of Mary illustrated with line drawings, have been attributed to B. (Spencer 1974; Chojnacki 1983:390–95; Mercier 2000:105, 110ff.).

The work of B. reflects the artistic cross-fertilization which is characteristic of Ethiopian painting of the 15th and early 16th cent. B. combined Italian Quattrocento treatment of drapery and a simple drawing style with the neutral spatial backgrounds and decorative colour of contemporary Ethiopian style, thus creating paintings stylistically compatible with the Ethiopian aesthetic. This explains, in part, the evident popu-

larity of his work. On the other hand, Lǝbnä Dǝngal's patronage of this Venetian painter was not unique, for employment of resident foreign artisans and craftsmen at the royal court had become not uncommon by the late 15th cent. The works produced by these foreigners were regarded by Ethiopia's ruling class as symbols of elite status.

↗Painting

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 279, 313, 332f.; CrawItin 40–45; EMML vol. 9, 191–99, ms. 3872.

Lit.: STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Major Themes of Ethiopian Painting*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 10), s. index; MARILYN HELDMAN, *Nicolò Brancaleon. A Venetian Painter at the Ethiopian Court*, forthcoming; MARILYN HELDMAN et al., *African Zion: the Sacred Art of Ethiopia*, ed. by RODERICK GRIERSON, New Haven – London 1993, 188f.; JACQUES MERCIER, *L'Arche éthiopienne, art chrétien d'Éthiopie*, Paris 2000; DIANA SPENCER, "Travels in Gojjam: St. Luke Ikons and Brancaleon Rediscovered", *JES* 12, 2, 1974, 201–20; ID., "The Discovery of Brancaleon's Paintings", in: *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art*, London 1989, 53–55, 152–53, fig. 85–94 (ill.); SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "La première description de l'Éthiopie imprimée en Occident", in: *PICES* 10, 155–64.

Marilyn E. Heldman

Brandeis, Friedrich Wilhelm

B. (originally Elazarus Brandeis; b. 6 April 1835, Baiertal, Baden, d. 9 August 1920, Männedorf near Zürich) was born of a Jewish family. As a youth he converted to Christianity, changed his first name, and, by the age of 23, joined the seminary of the ↗St. Chrischona Pilgermission near Basel. In 1860, as a missionary of the Church of Scotland, he was sent first to Jerusalem and then via Egypt to Ethiopia, where he was to work among the "Fälaša" (Betä Ǝsraʾel) in Dämbǝya. B. and his fellow missionary Staiger reached Ethiopia in May 1862, eager to take up their mission, which, however, never achieved much. In 1863, only a few months after opening their station in Darna, the two missionaries were taken prisoners by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. Together with a handful of other Europeans (among them the British Consul ↗Cameron), they were used as hostages by Tewodros in his controversy with the British government. In 1867 they were brought to Mäqdäla and finally were freed by the British military expedition under Sir Robert Napier.

After his liberation in 1868 B. took up missionary work among the Spanish Jews in Constantinople for seven years before returning to Europe. There he entered the service of the Urban Mission in Zürich.

Src.: SEKRETARIAT DER EVANGELISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT ZÜRICH (ed.), *Friedrich Brandeis, einst Judenmissionar in Abessinien und Konstantinopel und dann während 32 Jahren Stadtmissionar in Zürich*, Zürich 1926; BARBARA STREBEL, "*… den blinden Abessyniern die Augen aufzuthun*". *Chrischona-Pilgermissionare in Äthiopien (1856–1868)*, Licentiatsarbeit, Universität Zürich 1999.

Lit.: GUSTAV ARÉN, *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia: Origins of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus*, Uppsala 1978; DONALD CRUMMEY, *Priests and Politicians: Protestant and Catholic Missions in Orthodox Ethiopia 1830–1868*, Oxford 1972, 99–103.

Barbara Strebel

Brava

B. (Barawa) lies on the southern coast of ↗Somalia, about 200 km south of Mogadishu. The town is part of the Benadír coastal area where the earliest Swahili settlements on the east coast of Africa are believed to have been built around the 9th or 10th cent. (s. Chittick 1975:41; Cerulli 1957:37; Beckingham in EI²; for more information on early settlements, the sequence of migrations on the Somali peninsula and the early establishment of the East African coastal cities, cf. Cerulli 1957; Lewis 1960; Turton 1975; Lewis 1966; also Allen 1992; Wilson 1992). The Islamic urban civilization may have spread southwards from this area to the rest of the East African coast (Pouwels 1979:46; Trimingham 1964:6). The native inhabitants of B. speak Chimbalazi, which is classified as a northern Swahili dialect (Nurse-Spear 1983:136f.).

The town's economic prosperity was based on its geographical location, which linked the caravan trade routes along the ↗Wabi Šäbälle and Juba rivers from Ethiopia to the Indian Ocean mercantile trade. It had strong trade connections to many Ethiopian trade centres as far as ↗Harär (Pankhurst 1968:435–43). The town was allied to several hinterland dynasties that helped in building a regional economy based on trade and tribute that linked the coast to the interior (Cassanelli 1982:92f.). Most of the trade between B. and southern Ethiopia passed through the towns of Lugh and Bardera near the Ethiopian border. Trade mainly focused on livestock, ivory, spices, ambergris, skins and slaves (Pankhurst 1968:443; Molon-Vianello 1990:212). Between the 19th and early 20th cent. the caravan route from B. to these towns was considered much safer and shorter than routes to other coastal towns (Molon-Vianello 1990:213). It was also used by Italian explorers and military as a port of disembarkation

in their excursions into Ethiopia (Hess 1966:57).

In the beginning of the 16th cent. the town was attacked and ravaged by the Portuguese. The Āl Bū Saʿīd dynasty from Oman drove the Portuguese out of the area in the middle of the 17th cent. and established nominal control. Throughout most of the Omani rule, the town was semi-independent. B. had traditionally a joint chieftaincy system that was comprised of seven groups made up of two confederacies at the core (Guillian 1856). When *sulṭān* Saʿīd moved his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar, B. became a dominion of Zanzibar. In 1889 the whole Benadir coast was ceded to Italy and in 1905 direct Italian colonial rule was established (Hess 1966:212).

Lit.: HUBERT NEVILLE CHITTICK, "The Peopling of the East African Coast", in: HUBERT NEVILLE CHITTICK – ROBERT I. ROTBERG (eds.), *East Africa and the Orient: Cultural Syntheses in Pre-Colonial Times*, New York – London 1975; ENRICO CERULLI, "Inscrizioni e documenti arabi per la storia della Somalia", *RSO* 11, 1926 [1928], 1–24 [repr. in ID., *Somalia: Scritti vari editi ed inediti*, vol. 1: *Storia della Somalia. L'Islam in Somalia. Il Libro degli Zenghi*, Roma 1957]; CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM, "Barawa", in: *EI*², vol. 1, 1038 (Lit.); IOAN MYRRDIN LEWIS, "The Somali Conquest of the Horn of Africa", *JAH* 2, 1960, 213–29; HERBERT SAMUEL LEWIS, "The Origins of the Galla and Somali", *JAH* 7, 1, 1966, 27–46; E. R. TURTON, "Bantu, Galla and Somali Migrations in the Horn of Africa: a Reassessment of the Juba/Tana Area", *ibid.* 16, 4, 1975, 519–37; JAMES DE VERE ALLEN, "The Peopling of the Lamu-Southern Benaadir Hinterland in the 14th–17th Centuries", in: HUSSEIN MOHAMED ADAM – CHARLES LEE GESHEKTER (eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress of Somali Studies*, Chico, CA 1992, 3–24; THOMAS H. WILSON, "Settlement Patterns of the Coast of Southern Somalia and Kenya", *ibid.*, 74–109; RANDALL LEE POUWELS, *Islam and Islamic Leadership in the Coastal Communities of Eastern Africa, 1700 to 1914*, Ph.D. thesis, Univeristy of California, Los Angeles 1979, 46; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in East Africa*, Oxford 1964, 6; DEREK NURSE – THOMAS T. SPEAR, "A Linguistic Reconsideration of Swahili Origins", *Azania* 18, 1983, 127–50; RICHARD PANKHURST, *Economic History of Ethiopia: 1800–1935*, Addis Ababa 1968, here 435–43; LEE CASSANELLI, *Shaping of Somali Society: Reconstructing the History of a Pastoral People, 1600–1900*, Philadelphia 1982, 92f.; MARINA MOLON – S. VIANELLO, "Brava, città dimenticata", *Storia Urbana* 53, 1990, 212f.; ROBERT LEE HESS, *Italian Colonialism in Somalia*, Chicago 1966, 57, 212; CHARLES GUILLAIN, *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique Orientale*, Paris 1856; DAVID LAITIN – SAID SAMATAR, *Somalia: Nation in Search of a State*, Boulder 1987.

Mohammed Kassim

Bread

B. made from a wide variety of cereals and prepared in a number of different ways has since time immemorial been a staple ↗food throughout the Ethiopian region and has also played an important role in Christian and social ritual.

There are two basic types of B. in the region: (1) thin pancake-like bread, recalling the *chappati* of India; and (2) thicker and more solid loaves, somewhat more reminiscent of European B.

The best known B. in the first category is እንጀራ (*ənǧära* in Amh. or ጣይታ, *ṭayta* in Tgn.), a slightly sour, soft and porous substance, usually about 18 inches in diameter and a quarter of an inch thick. *Ənǧära* is the daily staple food chiefly for the Təgrəñña- and Amharic-speaking people of the Ethiopian and Eritrean highlands. *Ənǧära* is supposed to have originated among the Amhara and is prepared and consumed throughout the Horn of Africa nowadays. Other ethnic groups such as the Kunama, Beni ʿAmer, Bilin, Nara, Hadaareb and Oromo, have either adopted *ənǧära*, or prepare and eat a similar flat cake (Arab. *kisra*) which differs slightly in its ingredients (millet, ↗sorghum), preparation and consumption.

The most popular, expensive and highly desired ingredient for *ənǧära* is ↗*ṭef* (*Eragrostis teff*), although various other grains, especially sorghum, are also often used. Better quality *ənǧära*, as eaten by the aristocracy, tends to be very light grey, while that of the common people is generally of a darker hue and sometimes gritty. The grains are ground, in the past on a traditional stone grinding-mill, but today more often in a mechanical mill, and mixed with water, to form a thin paste. A fermented agent, often a bit from the previous batch, is added. The mixture is then left to ferment over night or for as long as three days. The liquid, known as ሊጥ (*liṭ*), is then poured by hand, in a rotating manner from the outside towards the centre, on to a large round earthenware or iron pan called a ማጎጎ (*magogo*; s. diagram in Parkyns 1831, vol. 1, 364; Tgn. ሞጎጎ, *mogogo*), which has previously been rubbed with crushed oil seeds to prevent the paste from sticking to the pan. The latter is heated over an open fire, in modern times often made by burning eucalyptus leaves. When holes begin to form on the top of the *ənǧära*, it is covered with the griddle lid and baked for 2–3 minutes (cf. Doggett 1988:433). The whole mixture is then allowed to stand until bubbles form freely. When a cooked *ənǧära* has many visible bubbles, the cook is praised highly for her skills. After the process is

finished, the cakes are put in a pile. No more than eight *ənǧära* are put one on top of the other on one eating plate (Tgn. ማአዲ, *maʾadi*) or the traditional B. baskets with an apron and a lid (መሶብ, *mäsob*). *Ǝnǧära* loses its consistency after three or four days, thus necessitating frequent baking.

Ǝnǧära is used to pick up the traditional ወጥ (*wäṭ*; Tgn. ጸብሐ., *ṣäbḥi*), or stew, a variety of meat and vegetable sauces. The following ingredients may be used: chicken, lamb, mutton, beef, eggs or, especially during the Christian fasting period around Easter, vegetables such as lentils, chick peas, potatoes, carrots, cabbage, beans, onions, garlic, okra and ↗*ənsät* (cf. Weikenmeier et al. 1998:98–101). A hot spice mixture called ↗*bärbäre* is part of almost all sauces and stews.

Ǝnǧära is eaten with the right hand only. Small pieces of the layered B. are torn off and held between the fingers. The sauce is then scooped up in the bread and put into the mouth. *Ǝnǧära* and *wäṭ* are traditionally eaten daily as lunch and dinner; however, leftovers may be served as breakfast, too. Other pieces may be put aside to dry and in this form be used as a base for ስዋ (Tgn. *səwa*), the local fermented beer made by women. In the past, at ordinary meals husband and wife sat together and took rolled up *ənǧära* with sauce and reciprocally fed it into each others' mouth. When this was not the case and each served himself or herself, it was a sign that they were not on good terms (Pankhurst 1990:256; Gobat 1850:192, 474, 476). Nowadays, guests are integrated and welcomed into a community with this specific gesture.

Ǝnǧära which, together with *wäṭ*, is popularly taken to symbolize Ethiopian cuisine, was served, historically, at all the great banquets of the imperial state, and was so important in Amhara society that the word was not infrequently used to signify "wages", or "livelihood". A job-seeker may likewise be referred to as an *ənǧära fällagi*, or person who wants *ənǧära*, and a step-child, an *ənǧära ləǧ*, literally '*ənǧära*-child', a step-mother, an *ənǧära ənat*, or *ənǧära*-mother, and a close friend, a *balənǧära*, or person who shares *ənǧära* (Levine 1965:236).

A thick type of *ənǧära*, eaten in monasteries, is known as ዳቦ (*dabbe*), a word derived from the word ዳቦ (*dabbo*, s. below), while a kind of *ənǧära* furbished with local cheese and *bärbäre* is called አንባበሮ (*annäbabäro*).

Preparing *ənǧära* in Baḥər Dar, June 2000, photo courtesy of Clare de Wet

One of the best-known representatives of the second type of bread referred to above is a much thicker and more solid loaf, known as *dabbo*. Fully leavened it is oven-baked, and circular in shape, though generally cut and served in squarish chunks. This type of bread is in some cases flavoured, and coloured with red *bärbäre*, and other spices, and/or pieces of chicken or other meat, and even hard-boiled eggs. *Dabbo* is often served on ceremonial and/or religious occasions, when, unlike *ənǧära*, it is eaten, almost independently of the stew.

Another distinct type of bread, to some extent associated with Ethiopia's northern provinces, is ሃምሻ (*hambaša*), which is generally made of wheat, in some cases leavened with ↗*ṭäǧǧ*, or mead. Likewise baked in a *magogo*, it is also round in shape, usually around nine inches in diameter and an inch thick, and often decorated with ornamental devices incised in the dough with a knife, prior to baking. Yet another type of bread, called *berkutta*, traditionally eaten by the nomads of the Red Sea coastal areas (Parkyns 1853, vol. 1, 103–41), is made by mixing flour and water into a thick paste, balls of which are then stuck on an earthenware jar filled with burning charcoal or on stones heated in a fire. Quite different again is the renowned ቆጮ (*qoččo*), a bread made in some southern parts of the country, notably Gurageland, where ↗*ənsät* is cultivated. This bread, which is gelatinous in consistency and sour in taste, is made of the fermented starch of the plant and is often eaten, on ceremonial occasions, with ክትፎ (*kətfo*), or raw meat.

B. plays a major ritual role in Ethiopian society. The day before a wedding, the bride's family, in many parts of the country, will bake B., which will be taken to the bridegroom's house. There it will be broken into pieces for all to

share, on which occasion the bridegroom's mother may give the bride a new name, known as a ዳቦ፡ ስም (*dabbo səm*, 'B. name'). B. will likewise be baked on Easter Saturday by priests in the *betä laḫem*, or church kitchen and by nuns and old women in their homes, for distribution to the faithful on the morrow. B. known as ቂጣ (Amh. *qiṭṭa*; Tgn. ቒጻ, *qiṭṭa*) is likewise served for *Lədäta Maryam*, the birthday of the Virgin Mary, as well as at ↗*maḫbär*, or traditional religious associations. It is also eaten by the Betä Ǝsraʾel during the celebration of ↗*Fasika*.

The communion service of the Ethiopian Orthodox church, like that of many other churches, also involves the distribution of Eucharistic B., called ጨው·በሶብ· (*čebset*). Usually about four inches in diameter and a quarter of an inch thick, it is almost invariably stamped with a cross, divided into nine squares, the central, or *asba diyaqon*, being the priest's host (Hyatt 1990:93, 138).

Src.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Dictionnaire de la langue amariñña*, Paris 1881, 347, 420, 470, 536, 770, 1263; SAMUEL GOBAT, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia. Preceded by an Introduction Geographical and Historical, on Abyssinia*, New York 1850, 192, 474, 476; NATHANIEL PEARCE, *Life and Adventures in Abyssinia*, London 1831; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia*, London 1853, vol. 1, 103–41, 364; BassDic 318; KaneDic 121, 347, 1129, 1243, 1773.

Lit.: CRAVEN HOWELL WALKER, *The Abyssinian at Home*, London 1933; AKLILU HABTE, "Ethiopian Food: Engära", *Ethnological Society Bulletin* [University College of Addis Ababa] 1, 2, 1953, 16; DONALD NATHAN LEVINE, *Wax and Gold: Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture*, Chicago 1965, 236; PAUL BERNARD HENZE, *Ethiopian Journeys: Travels in Ethiopia 1960–72*, London 1977; HARRY MIDDLETON HYATT, *The Church of Abyssinia*, London 1928, 93, 138; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "Ethiopian Good Food Guides", in: BARRY BLOOMFIELD, *Middle East Studies in Libraries. A Celebration Volume for Professor J.D. Pearson*, London 1980, 217–24; RICHARD KEIR PANKHURST, *A Social History of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1990, 254 (ill.), 256; HUGH DOGGETT, *Sorghum*, New York 1988, 433; JOSEPH H. HULSE – EVANGELINE M. LAING – ODETTE E. PEARSON, *Sorghum and the Millets: their Composition and Nutritive Value*, London 1980.

Ill.: PETER WEIKENMEIER – DIETER STADTFELD – VERONIKA DIETZ-STADTFELD, *Äthiopien. Kultur, Religion, Geschichte*, Stuttgart 1998, 98–101; CAROL BECKWITH – ANGELA FISHER, *Unbekanntes Afrika*, Köln 1990, 73.

Richard Pankhurst – Kerstin Volker-Saad

Brehm, Alfred Edmund

B. (b. 2 February 1829, Renthendorf, d. 11 November 1884, Renthendorf), a leading German natural scientist of the 19th cent., was a son of the well-known ornithologist, pastor Christian Ludwig Brehm. B. was only 18 years old when he left for his first expedition to Egypt and the Sudan along the Blue Nile (1847–52), at the expense of Baron John W. von Müller. When his sponsor became bankrupt, B. continued his journey in spite of great difficulties and also reached regions bordering Ethiopia.

He presented his travel report *Reiseskizzen aus Nordostafrika* as his doctoral dissertation in natural sciences in Jena (1855), which is also ethnographically interesting. He made further travels in Europe and in 1862 went back to north-east Africa, still largely undiscovered from a zoological point of view. He lead the hunting expedition of Duke Ernst II of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, a brother-in-law of Queen Victoria, and was accompanied by the popular novelist Friedrich Gerstäcker and the painter Robert Kretschmar. Starting from Massawa, they explored the coastal plains of Sämhar province and the "Bogos countries", described in his *Ergebnisse einer Reise nach Habesch*, which contains a wealth of rather dry data, interesting for the ecological history of Eritrea.

In 1863 B. was nominated Director of the first zoo in Hamburg and later founded the Berlin Aquarium in 1867. He became very popular in Germany due to his six-volume *Thierleben* ('Life of the Animals', 1864–69), which also includes a number of data and illustrations from his journeys to north-east Africa. As a zoologist he was a precursor of ethological studies. Animals were described not as anatomical objects but as beings acting in a complex environment.

Src.: ALFRED BREHM, *Reiseskizzen aus Nordostafrika, oder den unter ägyptischer Herrschaft stehenden Ländern Ägypten, Nubien, Sennahr, Rosseeres und Kordofahn*, 3 vols., Jena 1853–55; ID., *Ergebnisse einer Reise nach Habesch im Gefolge Seiner Hoheit des regierenden Herzogs von Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha, Ernst II.*, Hamburg 1863; ID., *Illustrirtes Thierleben*, 6 vols., Stuttgart ²1979 [facsimile]; HORST BREHM (ed.), *Vom Nordpol zum Äquator: Populäre Vorträge von Dr. A.E. Brehm*, Stuttgart – Berlin – Leipzig [1890]; ERNST II VON SACHSEN-COBURG UND GOTHA [– FRIEDRICH GERSTÄCKER – GUSTAV FREYTAG et al.], *Reise des Herzogs Ernst II von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha nach Ägypten und den Ländern der Habab, Mensa und Bogos*, Leipzig 1864.

Lit.: W. HESS, "Alfred Brehm", in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 47, Leipzig 1903, 214–16; SIEGFRIED SCHMITZ, *Tiervater Brehm: Seine Reisen, sein Leben, sein Werk*, München 1984.

Wolbert Smidt

Breydenbach, Bernhard von

B. (b. ca. 1440, d. 1497), was a prebendary at the cathedral of Mainz. His fame rests on a printed report of his pilgrimage to ↗Jerusalem and Mount Sinai in 1483 and 1484. His *Peregrinationes in Terram Sanctam* was originally published in Latin and German edition (both 1486) and found wide circulation in several re-editions and translations into Flemish, French and Spanish during the following decades. In his report, B. gives short descriptions of the nations living in Jerusalem: the Saracens, the Jews, the Greeks, the Abyssinians ("Abbassini sive Indiani"), the Syrians, the Armenians etc.

He describes the Abyssinians from the land of ↗Prester John as black-skinned and wearing no shoes, as pious people, but, just as other nations of the East, struck with errors, e.g., in practicing circumcision like the Saracenes or trying to overcome original sin by burning a cross on to the cheeks or chins of their children. B. created a wood-cut picture of two "Abyssinians" and a table of the Ethiopic alphabet consisting of 47 (sic!) letters, obviously gained by dictating the Syriac alphabet to an Ethiopian (for the analysis of this table s. Cerulli 1943, vol. 1, 299–307). The table is probably drawn from another manuscript that was also used by Paul Walther von Guglingen in his pilgrimage report (Bobzin 1994:92–95). B.'s alphabet is the first Ethiopic alphabet occurring in a printed book.

Src.: BERNHARD VON BREYDENBACH, *Peregrinationes in Terram Sanctam*, Mainz 1486, ²Speyer 1490, ³1502; *Die heyligen Reyßen gen Jherusalem*, Mainz 1486, ²Augsburg 1488, ³Speyer 1505.

Lit.: HISTORISCHE KOMMISSION BEI DER BAYERISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN (ed.), *Neue deutsche Biographie*, Berlin 1955, vol. 2, 571; HUGH WILLIAM DAVIES, *Bernhard von Breydenbach and his Journey to the Holy Land 1483–84. A Bibliography Composed by Hugh Wm. Davies*, London 1911; HARTMUT BOBZIN, "Miszellen zur Geschichte der Äthiopistik", in: WOLFHARD HEINRICHS – GREGOR SCHOELER (eds.), *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beirut 1994 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 54), vol. 1, 82–101; ENRICO CERULLI, *Etiopi in Palestina. Storia della communita etiopica di Gerusalemme*, 2 vols., Roma 1943, 1947, vol. 1, 299–307, s. index.

Stefan Weninger

Gəʿəz alphabet in Breydenbach's 1486 edition, courtesy of the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg

Brigade d'Orient

The B.O. was a Demi-Brigade comprised of the Troisième Battalion de Marche (Tchad), which was also known as the "Battalion Garby", and the 13ème Battalion Étranger (Foreign Legion). Some identify the latter unit as the 14ème Battalion Étranger. Actually, the 13th had been renamed the 14th in 1940. By the time the unit saw action in Eritrea, it had reverted to its original unit designation.

Colonel Raoul Magrin-Vernerey, who served in East Africa under the nom de guerre of Colonel (later General) Monclar, commanded the B.O., which served under the 7th Indian Infantry Brigade. After the capture of Massawa on 1 April 1941, the B.O. received orders to deploy to ʿAylät via K̲äntibay and then to the Asmära-Massawa road between Ginda ʿ and Dogʿali. On 8 April 1941 the allies attacked Massawa to prevent Italian troops from sabotaging the town before they evacuated. Shortly after the B.O. captured Fort Vittorio Emanuele, Massawa surrendered and Mondar entered the town and accepted the Italian surrender. The Eritrean campaign cost the B.O. 18 non-commissioned officers and légionnaires.

↗World War II

Lit.: A.J. BARKER, *Eritrea 1941*, London 1966, 216; DOUGLAS PORCH, *The French Foreign Legion: a Complete History of the Legendary Fighting Force*, New York 1991, 473f.; BISHESHWAR PRASAD (ed.), *East African Campaign 1940–41*, Agra 1963, 127–30.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

British and Foreign Bible Society

The aim of the BFBS, founded in 1804, was to supply Bibles, or parts of the ↗Bible, without notes or comment, world-wide. Editions on the basis of manuscripts, or completely new translations were prepared with the help of qualified scholars from home or abroad and often in co-operation with other societies. More recently, the translation and publication of Biblical literature has been internationalized under the umbrella of the United Bible Societies (UBS).

In the course of its history, the BFBS published and revised separate books of the Bible as well as complete Bibles in several Ethiopian languages: Gəᶜəz (since 1815; Zuurmond 1989:226–34), Amharic (since 1824), Təgrañña (since 1866), Oromo (since 1872). Among those involved, Thomas Pell Platt and Johann Ludwig ↗Krapf were particularly notable.

In the 20th and 21st cent. activities of the BFBS were carried out in Ethiopia through the Bible Society of Ethiopia (**የኢትዮጵያ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ማኅበር**, *Yäʾityopya mäṣḥaf qəddus maḫbär*). In this period, portions of (or the whole of) the ↗New Testament were translated into Aari, ᶜAfar, Añwaa, Benç, Burği, Gideʾo, Gofa (only Mark), Gurage (only Acts), Hadiyya, Käfa, Kambaata, Konso, Sidama, Təgre and Wälaytta. Translations in other languages (among them Allaaba, Berta, Dizi, Gawwada, Səlṭi, Konso, Gumuz, Mağang, Meʾen, Šakačo etc.) are planned or in the process of being made.

The archives and library of the BFBS are presently deposited in the Cambridge University Library. They comprise committee minutes and correspondence from all parts of the world. The Society maintains a 75-year closure period on its archives. Among its vast collection of printed Bibles, the library contains many Bibles in Ethiopian languages. There is also an impressive collection of Ethiopic biblical manuscripts.

Src.: archives in the Library of the BFBS; web sites *http://www.biblesociety.org/bs-eth.htm*; *http://www.biblesociety-ethiopia.org*.

Lit.: GEORGE BROWNE, *The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society from its Institution in 1804 to the Close of its Jubilee in 1854*, London 1859; WILLIAM CANTON, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, London 1904–10; JAMES MOULTON ROE, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society 1905–1954*, London 1965; THOMAS HERBERT DARLOW, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 2 vols., London 1903–11 [rev. ed. 1968]; GERALDINE ELISABETH COLDHAM, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages*, London 1966; ID., *Supplement (1964–1975)*, London 1975; ROGER COWLEY, "Ethiopic Manuscripts", in: MARIA ROSARIA FALIVENE – ALAN F. JESSON (eds.), *Historical Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Bible House Library*, London 1982, 66–121; UNITED BIBLE SOCIETIES (ed.), *Scriptures of the World*, 1969ff. (Lit.); ID., *World Translations Progress Report*; ROCHUS ZUURMOND, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: the Synoptic Gospels*, part 1: *General Introduction*, Stuttgart 1989 (AeF 27).

Rochus Zuurmond

British Library

The B.L., until 1973 the British Museum Library, is the principal repository of Ethiopian manuscripts, as well as of printed literature on Ethiopia in Britain.

At the time of its foundation in 1753 the British Museum had three departments. The least important was the Department of Artificial Productions, which later developed into departments of antiquities, coins and medals, prints and drawings and ethnography – all of which have some material of interest to the scholars of Ethiopian studies. The second department, the library of the British Museum, dealt with printed books. Because of the efforts of Antonio Panizzi, Chief Keeper of Printed Books from 1837–56 and Chief Librarian from 1856–66, the law requiring the deposit in the British Museum library of a copy of every work published in the United Kingdom was strictly enforced, so that all works on Ethiopia published in England, apart from those lost through bombing during World War II, were to be found in the British Museum collections, which included maps and government publications.

The third department comprised the manuscript collections. As these grew, they became of particular interest to Ethiopicists. The first major deposit was of manuscripts collected by the Protestant missionaries Karl Wilhelm ↗Isenberg and Johann Ludwig ↗Krapf, who were in Ethiopia in the early 1840s. These formed part of 82 Ethiopian manuscripts meticulously catalogued by August Dillmann (DillmLond).

The India Office Library, set up in 1801, and Records, which date back to 1601, were absorbed into the British Museum Library in 1882, and contain important archival material dealing with the Red Sea area, including Aden, as well as extensive material on the ↗Harris Mission to Šäwa in the 1840s and the ↗Napier Expedition to Mäqdälä in 1867–68.

The bulk of Ethiopian manuscripts in the British Museum was acquired in 1868 as a result of the British expedition of 1867–68 against *aṣe* Tewodros II. After his mountain fortress of Mäqdälä had been stormed, the soldiers looted the citadel, including the fine manuscripts collected by the Emperor for the great church he intended to build. The loot was then collected and sold by auction. The main bidder for manuscripts was Richard Holmes, the representative on the expedition of the British Museum, which

thus obtained 350 of the highest-quality manuscripts (mss. Orient. 480–829). One of these, a *Kəbrä nägäśt* ('Glory of the Kings', ms. Orient 819) was returned to Ethiopia by Queen Victoria at the behest of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV. The collection was catalogued by William ↗Wright (WrBriMus), together with 36 other volumes, as well as some miscellanea acquired since the preparation of the Dillmann catalogue, totalling 408 items. At that time the British Museums's collection of Ethiopian manuscripts was the richest in Europe. Half the manuscripts are biblical texts or service books, while 78 are lives and miracles of saints. Of particular interest are those of *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot, of King ↗Lalibäla (ms. Orient. 719; 15th cent.), and of *abba* ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus (ms. Orient. 711; 15th cent.). There are also a small number of manuscripts on history and medicine. Most of the manuscripts in the Wright catalogue are from the 17th and 18th cent. Of the seven earlier dated manuscripts, all but one came from Mäqdälä. More than a quarter of the manuscripts carry some form of decoration, and over 30, mainly from the 18th cent., are profusely illustrated. A little over a hundred manuscripts, added in the subsequent 100 years, were catalogued by Stefan ↗Strelcyn (StrBritLib). About a quarter of these were also believed by Strelcyn to have come from Mäqdälä.

All the collection belonging to the original second and third departments of the British Museum, and the India Office Library and Records, as well subsequently acquired printed books, records, archives and manuscripts, became part of the B.L. when this was established as a separate institution in 1973.

↗Manuscripts

Src.: DillmLond; WrBriMus; StrBritLib; WILLIAM WRIGHT, "List of the Magdala Collection of Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum", *ZDMG* 24, 599–616.
Lit.: RITA PANKHURST, "The Library of Emperor Tewodros at Mäqdälä (Magdala)", *BSOAS* 36, 1, 1973, 15–42.

Rita Pankhurst

British Military Administration

The B.M.A. was the caretaker government of Eritrea (and ↗Italian Somaliland) from 1941 to 1952 (during the first two years Eritrea was administered by the Occupied Enemy Territory Administration [OETA]). Mussolini's entry into ↗World War II in June 1940 was a major setback for the British in the Mediterranean, but it gave them also the first opportunity to taste victory. ↗Africa Orientale Italiana was now exposed, besieged by the British on all sides. In May 1941 the Fascists' empire in the Horn of Africa collapsed. Somewhat earlier, in February, Anthony Eden, Britain's Foreign Secretary, declared that Britain was committed to Ethiopia's sovereignty and integrity. This declaration was not applicable to the pre-1936 Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somalia, whose future was to be decided in the aftermath of the war. As *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I reentered Addis Abäba, Eritrea was put under the B.M.A. and it was administered by the British War Office and its officers until 1952.

The period, mainly due to British policy, proved formative for the histories of both Ethiopia and Eritrea. It can be divided into two phases. The first, still during the war and up to 1944, was more determinant to Ethiopia proper and to the relations between the central government and the province of Təgray. The second, beginning with the establishment of the ↗United Nations in 1945, was more formative for Eritrean society and politics.

Like elsewhere, British policy was not uniform. While the Foreign Office and their men in Addis Abäba had to remain loyal to Eden's declaration, the military officers in Asmära differed. Led by the Chief Administrator of Eritrea, Brigadier-General Stephen ↗Longrigg, they wanted to promote British regional interests at the expense of Ethiopian integrity. According to their way of thinking (fostered also by the Colonial Office) the Muslim-inhabited regions of Eritrea, including the vital Massawa-Käräñ-Kassala route, linking the Red Sea to Khartoum, should be annexed to the Sudan. The Christian Təgrəñña-speaking parts of Eritrea, they envisioned, should remain united, as under Mussolini, and together constitute a Təgrayan entity. The British thought such an entity would be an expression of "Təgrayan nationalism" and an ideal buffer between northern Sudan and Ḫaylä Śəllase's regime. They also conceived it as a means facilitating their indirect control over Addis Abäba. They prescribed for the reannexation of this "Greater Təgray" to Ethiopia, but put it under their own direct influence.

Indeed, in early June 1941 the British from Asmära proclaimed *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša the governor of Təgray, without even consulting the Emperor. Ḫaylä Śəllase, with the help of his Addis Abäba-based British advisers, protested to Winston Churchill and London reaffirmed its

commitment to Ethiopia's integrity. Later in the same month, Śəyyum Mängäša hurried to Addis Abäba to swear allegiance to Ḫaylä Śəllase. However, the Asmära officers did not despair, they continued recommending their Greater Təgray ideas and pulling strings in Təgray. In the autumn of 1943, when a popular revolt (which had little to do with Asmära's involvement), the ↗Wäyyane rebellion, erupted in Təgray, they hoped the rebels would help their scheme. But it was British bombers, rushed in by the London government from Aden to support Ḫaylä Śəllase, which helped quel the revolt. Relations between the imperial regime and Təgray's elite remained influenced by these developments to the end of Ḫaylä Śəllase's reign.

Perhaps even more significant was British policy in the inner Eritrean context. On the one hand, the Foreign Office went along with the United Nations deliberations on the future of the ex-Italian colony. These deliberations led to the 1950 resolution to federate Eritrea with Ethiopia, implemented in 1952. On the other hand the B.M.A. authorities in Asmära continued with their plans to dismember Eritrea. They worked to promote it by encouraging the politicization of Eritrea's social and religious diversity. Even during the war they had fostered Islamic education and brought Arabic books and teachers from Egypt. They did the same with the Christian population, introducing in 1942 the first Təgrəñña-language newspaper, the ↗Eritrean Weekly News. They also allowed the beginning of political organization, which, as the UN discussions heated and UN missions toured Eritrea to gauge public opinion, developed along these divisive lines. During the second half of the 1940s, political parties, trade unions, an active press and other related institutions were introduced. The most important ones were the ↗Muslim League, advocating annexation to the Sudan, the pro-Ethiopian ↗Unionist Party and the mostly local Christian ↗Liberal Progressive Party, which stood for independence. As young Muslims began travelling to Cairo for higher education and young Christians began to pursue opportunities in Addis Abäba, the scene was set for the struggle over Eritrea in the post-British periods.

For the B.M.A. activities in Somaliland s. ↗Italian Somaliland.

Lit.: GERALD KENNEDY NICHOLAS TREVASKIS, *Eritrea: a Colony in Transition, 1941–1952*, Oxford 1960; SHUMET SISHAGNE, "Notes on the Background of the Eritrea Problem", in: BAHRU ZEWDE (ed.), *Proceedings of the Annual Seminar of the Department of History*, Addis Ababa 1984, 180–213; STEPHEN HEMSLEY LONGRIGG, *A Short History of Eritrea*, Oxford 1945; LLOYD ELLINGSON, "The Emergence of Political Parties in Eritrea, 1941–1950", *JAH* 18, 1977, 261–81; LLOYD ELLINGSON, "The Origins and Development of the Eritrean Liberation Movement", in: *PICES* 5, 613–28; HAGGAI ERLICH, *Ethiopia and the Challenge of Independence*, Boulder 1986; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia, the Federal Experience*, Transaction 1997; RUTH IYOB, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence, Domination, Resistance, Nationalism, 1941–1993*, Oxford 1995; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *The Two Zions*, Oxford 1988, 135–91 [the author, a British officer in Eritrea at that time, offers a somewhat different assessment].

Haggai Erlich

British Reserved Area ↗ Ogaden

British Somaliland

B.S., which became a protectorate in 1887, lay in the north of the Somali region of the Horn of Africa. The main interest of the British government in Somalia was to secure the shipping routes to India. B.S. was used to supply the military base in Aden, which had already been occupied in 1839/40. Aden grew even more important with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which secured a direct route to India.

Increasing trade, as well as the political influence of the British administration, which grew stronger over decades, had a vast impact on the social structure of the ↗Somali people. Livestock became the main export by the end of the 19th cent., providing the traditional Somali intermediaries with a more important political role. By the middle of the 20th cent., livestock had almost replaced all other export goods.

Because of the acephalous structure of Somali society, the British had no direct political intermediary to translate their political ambitions into action. Thus, they turned to the traditionally politically insignificant clan-representatives and made them representatives of the British administration, thereby strengthening their political power. The discourse of power during the decades of British administration reduced the Somali social structure to that of a patrilinear clanship system. Structures like cross-clan marriage, religion and regional solidarity were minimized.

Open resistance against the colonial power began at the beginning of the 20th cent. and found its embodiment in the person of *mullā sayyid* ↗Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh Ḥasan. He succeeded in initiating a religiously motivated resistance move-

ment, the Dervishes, as he named them. It was organized in a theocratic-centralistic system of rule and he set up state-like institutions. It was not until 1920 that the British administration succeeded in crushing the Dervishes.

These clashes were followed by the consolidation of British rule over B.S. At that point the administration controlled most of the hinterland, while in the beginning the British rule was concentrated on the coast. Resistance in general was crushed because Somali society needed years to recover from the losses sustained through the fighting. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia (↗Italian war, 1935–36) changed the economic development of B.S. to the better. B.S. was able to reap the benefits from the bitter fate of Ethiopia. In the year 1938, the budget of B.S. was balanced for the first time. During ↗World War II Italy occupied B.S. (1940) and stayed for several months, until the British attacked and successively occupied the whole of ↗Africa Orientale Italiana in 1941. In the 1940s, the British administration initiated a co-ordinated development program reinforcing the changes of Somali society even further.

By the middle of the 1930s, the members of the middle class, which had been established during the economic development, started to articulate their political interests. In 1946 the Somali National League (SNL) was founded, the first, and in the continuing history of Somalia, most important political party of the north. It was not until 1957 that the first legislative council was founded. This was the first time Somalis got the chance to participate in the government of their own territory. Two years later, the first election for an enlarged legislative council took place, which was won by the SNL.

When the United Nations set the date of independence for Italian Somaliland for 1 July 1960, the political groups in the north strengthened their efforts to make B.S. independent, in order to facilitate unification with the south. After two months of negotiations, Somaliland became independent on 26 June 1960, five days before the south. The history of B.S. ends with the signing of the Law of Union of State of Somaliland and Somalia by the transitional president Aden C. Usman, sealing the unification of the two regions. However, it was not ratified by either parliaments in the north or in the south.

Lit.: CHARLES LEE GESHEKTER, "Anti-Colonialism and Class Formation: the Eastern Horn of Africa before 1950", *IJAHS* 18, 1, 1985, 1–32; PATRICK KAKWENZIRE, "Resistance, Revenue and Development in Northern Somalia, 1905–1939", *IJAHS* 19, 4, 1986, 659–77; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *The Modern History of Somaliland: from Nation to State*, London 1965; LIDWIEN KAPTEIJNS, *Women's Voices in a Man's World: Women and the Pastoral Tradition in Northern Somali Orature, c. 1899–1980*, Portsmouth 1999; ABDI ISMAIL SAMATAR, *The State and Rural Transformation in Northern Somalia 1884–1986*, Madison 1989; SAID SHEIKH SAMATAR, *Poetry in Somali Politics: the Case of Sayyid Mahammad ᶜAbdille Hasan*, Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern University, Evanston 1979 (University Microfilms International); ᶜABDI SHEIK-ᶜABDI, *Divine Madness. Mohammed ᶜAbdulle Hassan (1856–1920)*, Atlantic Highlands – New York 1993.

Carsten Heeger

Broadcasting

There have been three major forces involved in the evolution of B. in Ethiopia: (1) the need to communicate information about Ethiopia to the external world in order to create an international awareness of Ethiopia and its leaders, (2) the need for internal communication to provide information and to develop a sense of national identity and, later, (3) the need to utilise media for education and the development of a healthy and literate work force. The first two of the three forces came into play in the late 1920s when it was decided that Ethiopia should have a radio system. *Ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) was especially interested at this time in the new technology of wireless communication and "initiated many radio projects with the object of establishing suitable links both inside and outside Ethiopia as rapidly as possible (…) it was decided that a radio station should be built permitting direct communication with Europe" (s. Yä'ityopya nəguśä nägäśt mängəśt yätelekomunikešən bord 1962:17f.).

A tender was granted to the Ansaldo Corporation of Italy in 1928 for the construction of a one-kilowatt station; the formal contract was signed in 1931. The station would facilitate wireless "telegraphy and telephony at Akaki [where] the foundation was laid on July 21, 1931" (Pankhurst 1957:2). The Ethiopian Government took formal possession of the radio station on 31 January 1935; on 13 September 1935 the Emperor's first appeal to the world was broadcast.

The Italians took over the station in 1936 and planned to develop it into a communications centre for their new empire, joining those already established in Somalia and in Asmära (Radio Marina). A more powerful radio station

of seven kilowatts was started by the Italians in 1937 and taken over by the British in 1941. The British returned the one-kilowatt station to the Ethiopians but maintained the seven-kilowatt station. In 1942, the Press and Information Department in the Ministry of Pen assumed responsibility for broadcasting.

During the period of 1941–45, the seven-kilowatt station was not in operation; this created a point of contention between Ḫaylä Śəllase and the British authorities. Radio broadcasts began "in 1941 on the one kilowatt station with a staff of seven, broadcasting four hours a day" in Amharic, Arabic and English (Ethiopian Ministry of Information 1966:2).

In the 1950s, the Imperial Bodyguard operated its own station, broadcasting from a one-kilowatt short-wave transmitter. Also during the period, an agreement was signed with the World Lutheran Foundation in 1959 that led to the establishment of Radio Voice of the Gospel in the 1960s. The main activity during this period, however, was planning.

The role of broadcasting in national development and the media's role in creating an educated labour force grew out of the activities of the "Point Four Program" and were also a feature of the $2.5-million technical assistance agreement signed in 1957. The Ethiopians installed a one-kilowatt transmitter in 1961 "followed by its first high-power short wave facility in 1964" (Head 1974:38). A further plan evolved to build high-power medium wave transmitters in Addis Abäba, Asmära and Harär.

Television was first broadcast in 1962 during the initial meeting of the ↗Organization of African Unity. Regular broadcast television started in November 1964 with the original transmitter and studio located in the City Hall. Broadcasts of news, locally produced and imported programming started at about 5:30 p.m. and lasted until 11:00 p.m.

Governed by the Ministry of Education, Ethiopian Educational Television (EET) went on the air in October 1965. Programming during the morning hours, the service grew to 15 programs a week to 50 schools with a total student population of 48,000. Along with educational radio (EER) in 1968, radio and television production facilities were added and/or expanded and the name was changed to the Ethiopian Mass Media Centre (EMMC). It primarily serviced in-school education; some adult education programs were added in 1970.

The topography of Ethiopia was an especially difficult impediment to developing a broadcasting system that could offer programming to the entire population of the country. Not only internal, but also external communication to the rest of the world was difficult because of distance. In addition to this, language differences as well as language policies had a significant impact on programming. One last significant element in describing Ethiopian broadcasting is its commitment to the use of media for both formal and non-formal education.

The Ethiopian Broadcasting Service (EBS) included Radio Ethiopia and Ethiopian Television. The Imperial Board of Telecommunications (IBTE) was established in 1952 to install and maintain telecommunications facilities. An Imperial Order declared the Ethiopian Broadcasting Service "an autonomous public Authority within the Imperial Ethiopian Government" and, while operating under the "direction, control and supervision of the Ministry of Information", it is subject to IBTE's licensing and authorization powers (s. *Nägarit gazeṭa* 1966:135). In 1974, the government was involved in both radio and television broadcasting.

Radio had already started in 1935, whereas television began broadcasting in 1962. Radio Ethiopia's main transmissions were broadcast simultaneously on both short and medium wave. There were three main stations: a 100 kW station in Harär, a 50 kW station just outside of Asmära and a 100 kW station in Addis Abäba. Programs were also broadcast from a 10 kW station in Addis Abäba. Short Wave services were broadcast from a station in Suggosa. The Home Service broadcast in Amharic, Təgrəñña, English, ᶜAfar, Arabic, French and Oromiffa. The two regional stations rebroadcast the programmes from Addis Abäba every night except for 15:00–17:00. During that two hour block, the following was transmitted: Harär broadcast in Oromiffa from 15:00 to 16:30 and Somali from 16:30–17:00; Asmära broadcast in Təgre from 15:00–15:45 and Təgrəñña from 15:45–17:00 (*World Radio and Television Handbook* 1975:133).

In 1974 the Ethiopian Television Service broadcast black and white programmes from two studios in the City Hall in Addis Abäba to approximately 25,000 sets (*World Radio and Television Handbook*, 1975:316). Evening programmes started at 7:00 p.m. with educational

programming which was followed by imported syndicated shows such as "Star Trek" and "The Donna Reed Show". A majority of the time was taken up by news in Amharic, English and French and to locally produced programming (Gartley 1974:41). Regular in-school broadcasts were broadcast from 9:00–11:40 a.m.

In Ethiopia, educational programming is independent and programming is produced and broadcast by the Ministry of Education. Both radio and television programmes are produced at the Mexico Square facility of the EMMC. In 1972 the decision was made in the Educational Sector Review to maintain television but to emphasise radio as an educational tool.

The television section produced ten programmes a week which were broadcast in the morning for elementary and junior secondary students in grades three to eight by the Ethiopian Television Service from their central transmitter as well as the translator stations at Nazret (Adaamaa) and Däbrä Zäyt. Programmes were 20 minutes in length and covered subjects such as social science, geography, English, general science and mathematics. Programmes were originally broadcast from the EBS low power transmitter on the Ǧimma Road then, utilizing the EBS main transmitters, programmes were transmitted to Addis Abäba, Harär and Asmära. In 1973 the government of the Netherlands gave funds for a transmitter dedicated to educational programming in Wälaytta Soddo. The Ethiopians built another in Laga Dadi, near Addis Abäba.

Two outside broadcasting entities were Radio Voice of the Gospel and the ↗Qañňäw Station in Asmära (closed in 1969). Qañňäw Station was a military communications installation in Asmära operated by the American Armed Forces Radio and Television service. Radio Voice of the Gospel, operated by the Lutheran World Broadcasting Service, was an international broadcasting station located just outside Addis Abäba. It utilized two 100 kW short wave transmitters to broadcast to Africa, China, India, Sri Lanka and the Middle East. Some limited programming produced in Amharic, English and French was broadcast to local audiences utilizing a 1 kW medium wave transmitter.

Lit.: ETHIOPIAN MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, *Mass Communications in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1966; YÄ³ITYOṖYA NəGUśÄ NÄGÄśT MÄNGəśT YÄTELEKOMUNIKEŠEN BORD [Imperial Board of Telecommunications] (ed.), *Telecommunications in Ethiopia: an Historical Review, 1894-1962. Written and Compiled by Members of the Staff. Issued to Commemorate the 10th Anniversary of the Board. 1 January 1963*, Addis Ababa 1962; SYDNEY W. HEAD, *Broadcasting in Africa: a Continental Survey of Radio and Television*, Philadelphia 1974; JOHN GARTLEY, "Case History: Ethiopia's Mass Media Center", in: *ibid.*, 309–15; SYLVIA PANKHURST, "The Initiation of Ethiopia's Wireless Communication", *EthObs* 2, 1, 1957, 2; *Nägarit gazeta* 1966; *World Radio and Television Handbook*, Amsterdam 1975, 133f., 316, 432.

John Gartley

Brockelmann, Carl

B. (b. 17 September 1868, Rostock, d. 5 June 1956, Halle) was a German semitist and orientalist. A scholar of encyclopaedic knowledge and a productive author, B. published on a wide range of topics (including, e.g., Central Asiatic Turkic languages). Semitic Studies were, however, at the centre of his scholarly activities. While within this field he devoted most of his efforts to Arabic and, next to that, Syriac, on several occasions he dealt also with Ethiopian languages and literature. In 1908 B. described, alongside with other codices, the Ethiopic manuscripts of Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek. B.'s monumental comparative Semitic grammar of 1908/1913 systematically took into account available Ethio-Semitic data (mostly from Gəʿəz, Amharic, Təgrəñña), at the time rather limited. Finally, in 1950, B. published a small monograph containing two *Abessinische Studien*, in both of which he transcended the limits of Semitics.

Src.: CARL BROCKELMANN, *Katalog der orientalischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg mit Ausschluss der hebräischen*, Teil I: Die *arabischen, persischen, türkischen, malaiischen, koptischen, syrischen und äthiopischen Handschriften*, Hamburg 1908, ²1969; ID., *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin 1908/13; ID., *Abessinische Studien*, vol. 1: *Kuschitische Lehnwörter in den neuabessinischen Sprachen*, vol. 2: *Zur Grammatik der Kafasprache*, Leipzig 1949/50 (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse 97, 4); for the full bibliography s. Lockot I, index; Lockot II, 339, 352, nos. 11934, 12390.

Lit.: JOHANN FÜCK, "Obituary on Carl Brockelmann", *ZDMG* 108, 1958, 1–13; RUDOLF SELLHEIM (ed.), "Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen und Erinnerungen von Carl Brockelmann", *Oriens* 27–28, 1981, 1–65.

Michael Kleiner

Bruce, James

B. (b. 1730, Stirlingshire, d. 26 April 1794, Stirlingshire, Scotland) was perhaps the most important foreigner to visit Ethiopia between the

Map of Bruce's *Travels in Northeast Africa*, from Bruce 1964:283

expulsion of the Jesuits in 1632 and the visit of Henry ↗Salt in 1810. Born at Kinnaird House from an old family related to the Scottish kings, he embarked, in 1752, on an extensive European tour, during which he purchased books on Oriental studies, enabling him to study Arabic and Gəᶜəz. Later appointed British Consul-General in Algiers, he studied medicine, with a local British surgeon Richard Ball. This subsequently gained him influence in both Ethiopia and Sinnār.

Motivated by an ambition to discover the source of the ↗Nile, he sailed to the Red Sea port of Massawa in September 1769, and proceeded via Aksum to ↗Gondär, the then Ethiopian capital, where he spent most of his time in Ethiopia. He commissioned copies of many Ethiopian manuscripts, including the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, several Ethiopian royal chronides, and the Book of ↗Enoch, which was preserved only in its Gəᶜəz version (Dillmann 1848, nos. 26–32). Such works later had a major impact on Ethiopian studies in Europe.

On 4 November 1770 he achieved his quest by reaching the source of the Blue Nile (↗Abbay). Returning to Gondär a few weeks later he began his journey home, via Sinnār, at the end of December 1771. He arrived at Marseilles in March 1773, but did not return to Britain until June 1774.

B., whose account of his travels was popularly regarded as largely imaginative, did not attempt to write his memoirs until 1786 – 15 years after his departure from Ethiopia – when he began dictating what he remembered of his journey to a secretary. This dictation was published, in 1790, in five large volumes, entitled *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (BruNile). These were immediately translated, and published in both French and German, and were twice reprinted, with important critical notes by Alexander Murray, in 1804–05 and 1813. Though marred by factual errors, it was valuable in introducing the Ethiopian chronicles to English-speaking readers, and constitutes a unique description of 18th-cent. Ethiopia.

B. died at Kinnaird House, where his tele-

scope and some personal effects can still be seen. His papers are, however, deposited at the Yale Center for British Art.

Src.: BruNile; AUGUST DILLMANN, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis, Pars VII: Codices aethiopici*, Oxford 1848, 68–82; for the full bibliography of James Bruce s. Lockot II, index.

Lit.: CHARLES FRAZER BECKINGHAM, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile by James Bruce*, Edinburgh 1964 [abbreviated edition, with index]; JAMES MACARTHUR REID, *Traveller Extraordinary: the Life of James Bruce of Kinnaird*, London 1968; MILES BREDIN, *The Pale Abyssinian: a Life of James Bruce, African Explorer and Adventurer*, London 2000; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Medical Activities in the Eighteenth Century of James Bruce the Explorer", *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 17, 1982, 256–76.

Richard Pankhurst

Brzuski, Witold Kazimierz

B. (b. 6 September 1935, d. 13 November 1987) was a Polish Semitist specializing in Ethiopian studies. In 1953–58 he studied at the Department of Semitic Studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies of Warsaw University and was a student of Stefan ↗Strelcyn. Under Strelcyn's direction in 1958 he wrote his Master's thesis on the causative and factitive form in Amharic and in 1969 his Doctoral thesis devoted to the analysis of the language of the Ethiopian royal chronicles in view of the influence of the Amharic language. In 1984 he defended his habilitation thesis on the ↗Arabic loanwords in old and contemporary Amharic. As a philologist with an interest in linguistic science, he researched on Gəᶜəz, Amharic and Epigraphic South Arabian. He was particularly interested in the origin of the South-Arabic epigraphic alphabet, the influence of Amharic on the language of the royal chronicles written in Gəᶜəz and also Arabic loanwords in Amharic. His translations of ↗Taddäsä Libän's short stories were the first examples of contemporary 20th cent. Ethiopian literature translated from Amharic into Polish (Brzuski 1974; 1976). He also published the first Polish handbook of the Gəᶜəz language (1972).

Src.: WITOLD KAZIMIERZ BRZUSKI, "Note sur les thèmes à seconde radicale grafiquement redoublée en sudarabique", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 20, 1, 1961, 127–31; ID., "Les verbes amhariques en contexte guèze dans les chronicles royales étiopiennes", *ibid.* 30, 2, 1967, 19–26; ID., "Constructions amhariques à valeur génetivale dans les chronique royales étiopiennes", *ibid.* 31, 1, 1968, 29–38; ID., "L'influence de la langue amharique sur l'emploi des verbes auxiliaires 'nabbara' et 'hallawa' dans les textes de chroniques royales écrites en guèze", *African Bulletin* 12, 1970, 27–31; ID., *Gramatyka języka gyyz (etiopskiego klasycznego)*, Warszawa 1972; ID., *Zapożyczenia arab-skie w dawnym i współczesnym języku amharskim*, Warszawa 1983 (Rozprawy Uniwersytetu Warszaw-skiego 182); ID., "Dwie nowele ze zbioru 'Inny sposob'", *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 1974, 4, 349–65; ID., "Abonesh", *ibid.* 1976, 1, 61–67.

Lit.: JOANNA MANTEL–NIEĆKO, "Witold Kazimierz Brzuski (6 września 1935 – 13 listopada 1987)", *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 1, 1988, 79–80 (Lit.).

Joanna Mantel–Niećko

Buda

B. (ቡዳ), the mythical being that figures centrally in Ethiopian supernatural cosmology, is popularly believed to possess the power of the evil eye. Cannibalistic and malevolent, a B. spirit takes control of the human body, using it as a vehicle for its evil activities. The word B. can also refer to the persons possessed by B. powers, often members of landless groups who make their living as skilled artisans, such as ↗tanners, weavers (↗Weaving) and especially ↗blacksmiths and potters (↗Pottery), whose work involves the shaping of materials by using fire. These "B.-people" are widely believed to have the power of turning themselves into animals at night, mainly hyenas.

The pan-Ethiopian myth regarding the origin of the B. is tied to a creation story, according to which Eve had 30 children. When Eve hid the 15 most beautiful of these children because God was searching for them, God cursed them and turned them into animals, leaving the others in their human form to become B.-people (Griaule 1928).

The word B. is found in many languages of Cushitic origin in north-eastern Africa, having the general meaning of 'witchery', and in particular the 'evil eye', or a person with the 'evil eye' (Oromo, Saho, Təgrəñña and Amharic languages preserve the form B., Somali *bida* and ᶜAfar either B. or *buta*). Leslau (LesCDic 86) mentions that *būdo* in Käfa means 'potter' and in Šilluk *būdo* means 'ironsmith'. Although the etymology of the word is not absolutely certain, it may derive from a root *bd* with the meanings 'take possession of', 'take hold of' and 'fill with'. These etymological affinities parallel similarities in supernatural belief among neighbouring cultures.

Henry Salt, the first foreign traveller to take note of the B. belief, reported in 1810 that a very strange superstition, "inconceivably strong

throughout the country", held that all iron-craftsmen were regarded as B., capable of transforming themselves into hyenas and "preying on human flesh" (quoted after Pankhurst 1990:223). The prevalence of this belief was confirmed by Pearce, who noted that blacksmiths were thought, "even by their nearest neighbours", to be capable of turning themselves into hyenas or other beasts and that their evil eye was responsible for "all convulsions and hysteric disorders", which were far from uncommon. For B. beliefs as mentioned in travellers and missionaries accounts see Pankhurst (1990:203f., 223, 263f.) and Quirin (1992:141–45, 269ff.).

In theory, anyone is potentially subject to becoming a B., though, as mentioned above, certain groups are believed to be more susceptible to this transformation. The power of the B. is present in select persons, male or female, from birth on, and is not contagious, though it may pass from one generation to the next. The B. is believed to possess special powers that endow his work and products with exceptional quality. However, the perceived possession of B. powers has far-reaching negative consequences for a person believed to be a B.

The evil eye, via the B., is widely blamed for illness or other misfortunes. The B. is believed first to strike its victim ill and then, upon the victim's death, take the victim's soul for its own benefit. The B. presents a constant fear, unpredictable to the extent that the B. himself may be unaware of his powers. As hyena-people, the B. are feared for their "eating" – that is, the sucking of ↗blood from living victims or from recently buried cadavers in order to satisfy their nutritional and ritual needs. The "eating" is done by casting an evil eye on the victim, who feels as though his blood has been sucked from him.

Most likely to be attacked by the B. are those who possess exceptional qualities. Very handsome children, over-zealous farmers, prolific mothers of healthy children and extraordinarily skilled or talented people are all likely victims. Furthermore, one who becomes too friendly with the dreaded B. is also tempting an undesired fate. The B. is believed to attack in two major ways in addition to the blood-sucking mentioned above: by fixing his gaze upon the victim, or by twisting the root of a special plant. In any case, the victim falls ill and succumbs to a slow degenerative death, unless either preventative or curative counteractive measures are taken. A major curative step is revealing the B.'s identity and forcing him to leave the victim.

There is a general lack of detailed research concerning the variations in perception of the B. from group to group. From what is known, it is clear that, while the general perception of B. as hyena-man is pan-Ethiopian, extending even beyond the borders of Ethiopia, its concrete cultural construction differs from case to case as the idea of the B. is intertwined with different Ethiopian religious cosmologies. This is demonstrated by the case of the Christian perception of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel as B.-people. This perception was based not only on the large number of smiths and potters in the group, but also on the Betä Ǝsraʾel's religious tradition and on the conceptual differences between Judaism and Christianity in Ethiopia.

The accusation that the Betä Ǝsraʾel possessed magical powers had a strong influence on the relations between the two groups and moved the Christians to maintain a distance from the Betä Ǝsraʾel. The specific content of the accusations against the Betä Ǝsraʾel combines the occupations typical of the group and their unlanded status with their religious belief. Religious-historical tales were cited as proof of the Betä Ǝsraʾel's supernatural power and of the manner in which they employed it against the Christians. The Jewish smith is regarded as a descendent of the Jew who forged the nails for Jesus's crucifixion. Because it was set down in the Holy Scripture, the accusation was viewed as incontrovertible. As the progeny of the Jews who crucified Jesus, the Betä Ǝsraʾel were accused of a continuing intent – an intent which passed from generation to generation. It was "in their blood", even without their being aware of it.

In the same fashion, the sacrifice of sheep – a rite central to the Betä Ǝsraʾel celebration of Passover – was interpreted by the Christians as the annual re-enactment of the crucifixion. In this way, anti-Jewish accusations, familiar in other cultural contexts, were woven into a prevalent magical cosmology, confirming scripture-based Christian attitudes regarding Jewish-Christian relations and thereby creating a multi-leveled system of confirmation.

The B. concept demonstrates affinities with other supernatural concepts, among them the *zar* (↗Possession cults). It is worth noting, however, the significant differences between

them, in particular the ever-present quality of the B. and its inseparability from the human vessel it permanently masters. The B. attacks its victims without warning, making them physically and fatally ill. In contrast, after the *zar* first possesses a body, it becomes predictable and may even be negotiated with to leave the body or perform other deeds.

↗Diseases; ↗Magic; ↗Magic scrolls

Src.: MARCEL GRIAULE, "Mythes, croyances et coutumes du Bègamder (Abyssinie)", *JA* 212, 1928, 19–123; ID., *Le Livre de recettes d'un dabtara abyssin,* Paris 1930, 139–42; LesCDic 86.

Lit.: KENNETH HONEA, "Buda in Ethiopia", *Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen* 4, 1, 1956, 20–24; RONALD A. REMINICK, "The Structure and Function of Religious Belief among the Amhara of Ethiopia", in: *USCES* 25–42; HAGAR SALAMON, *The Hyena People: Ethiopian Jews in Christian Ethiopia,* Berkeley – Los Angeles 1999, 35–39; RICHARD PANKHURST, *A Social History of Ethiopia,* Addis Ababa 1990, 203, 223f., 263f. (Lit.); JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920,* Philadelphia 1992, 141–45, 269ff. (Lit.).

Hagar Salamon

Budge, Ernest Alfred Wallis

B. (b. 23 July 1857, d. 27 November 1934) was one of the leading figures in British Oriental Studies of the late 19th and 20th cent. Best known today for his popular books in the field of the language, literature and culture of Ancient Egypt, during a prodigious publishing career he also produced well over a dozen translations of Ethiopic texts.

The childhood study of Hebrew led him into an early interest in oriental languages and in particular into the then new subject of Assyriology. He went up to Christ's College, Cambridge in 1878, where he was elected Scholar three years later, studying under William ↗Wright. In 1883 he was appointed to the Oriental Antiquities Department at the ↗British Museum, where his focus shifted from Assyriology to Egyptology. During his tenure at the British Museum he made 16 visits to Egypt and the Sudan, both conducting archaeological digs and purchasing antiquities for the Museum, most notably perhaps the famous series of tablets from Amarna in 1897. By 1892 he had been put in charge of what was to become known as the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, and in 1894 was appointed keeper.

B. was a man of great energy, spending much of his time at the British Museum cataloguing and ordering the extensive collections of Egyptian and Assyrian materials. He also undertook a steady programme of editing and translating volumes of cuneiform and hieroglyphic texts, as well as making the history and cultures of ancient Assyria and Egypt accessible to a wider public both through the preparation of guide books to the museum's collections and the publication of popular books.

B. was a man of wide learning and wide interests, and extended his scholarly purview to other oriental cultures and languages including the publication of editions and translations of Syriac, Coptic and Ethiopic (Gəʿəz) texts relating to the legend of ↗Alexander the Great (1896). This was followed two years later by a translation and edition of the Contendings of the Apostles (1898a; s. *Mäṣḥafä gädlä ↗ḥawaryat*). The same year also saw the appearance of *The Lives of Mabâ' Sĕyôn and Gabra Krĕstôs* (1898b). Other translations include *The Life of Takla Hâymânôt in the version of Dabra Libanôs …* (1906), *The Queen of Sheba and Her Only Son Menyelek* (1922), being an edition of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*; *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church* (1928b), being an edition of the ↗*Sənkəssar*, *The Bandlet of Righteousness* (1929), that is the ↗*Ləfafä ṣədq*, and *Baralâm and Yewâsef* (1923). B. also published several books on the legend and miracles of the Virgin Mary in the Ethiopian tradition: *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Life of Hannâh …* (1900), *Legends of Our Lady Mary …* (1922), and *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary* (1923).

The major source of Ethiopic manuscripts that provided B. with his primary material was, of course, the collections of the British Museum, though at times he also used manuscripts in other public collections and some in private hands, most notably the manuscripts owned by Lady Meaux. Editions of her manuscripts of the Life of Mäbaʾa Ṣəyon and the Miracles of the Virgin Mary were published for private circulation (1898b, 1900, respectively). This rapid publication of editions and translations under pressure, and in some haste, naturally and rightly received scholarly criticism at the time. However, more than one of B.'s Ethiopic volumes were deemed worthy of reprinting during his lifetime, and several have been published in more recent years, bearing witness to his continuing popularity. The publication of texts was, after all, a priority instilled in him early in his

career by William Wright, and it was his expressed purpose to make the literature of Ethiopian and other oriental cultures available to a wide readership, and in this he succeeded.

B. was knighted in 1920 for his service to the British Museum and his contribution to Oriental studies.

Src.: ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great, being a Series of Ethiopic Texts*, London 1896; ID., *The Contendings of the Apostles, being the History of the Lives and Martyrdoms and Deaths of the Twelve Apostles and Evangelists*, London 1898a; ID., *The Life of Mabâʾ Sĕyôn and Gabra Krĕstôs*, London 1898b; ID., *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Life of Hannâh <Saint Anne> and the Magical Prayers of ʿAhĕta Mikâĕl*, London 1900; ID., *The Life of Takla Hâymânôt in the Version of Dabra Libânos, and the Book of the Riches of Kings*, London 1906; ID., *The Queen of Sheba and Her Only Son Menyelek*, London 1922; ID., *Legends of Our Lady Mary, the Perpetual Virgin, and Her Mother Hannâ*, London 1922; ID., *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary*, London 1923a; ID., *Baralâm and Yewâsef*, Cambridge 1923b; ID., *History of Ethiopia: Nubia and Abyssinia*, London 1928a; ID., *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, Cambridge 1928b; ID., *The Bandlet of Righteousness*, London 1929; ID., *George of Lydda: the Patron Saint of England. A Study of the Cultus of St. George in Ethiopia*, London 1930; ID., *The Alexander Book of Mysteries of the Heavens and the Earth*, London 1935; for complete bibliography s. Lockot II, index.

Lit.: SYDNEY SMITH, "E.A.W. Budge", in: *The Dictionary of National Biography. The Concise Dictionary*, London ²1961.

David Appleyard

Bugna

B. (**ቡግና**) is located in north-western ↗Wällo, in the present-day administrative region of ↗Lasta. It was the power stronghold of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty and from here they administered the rest of the country from around 1150 to 1270. The court of the Zagʷe dynasty was at Adafa or Roḥa, the present-day ↗Lalibäla, in B., named after one of the Zagʷe kings.

B. lies within the ↗Täkkäze drainage system and is characterized by rugged terrain. Climatically, it is largely a low land region with severe cold weather in the mountain ranges. It is a highly eroded region with farmlands becoming infertile and vulnerable to drought.

Christianity reached the area in the reign of ↗Kaleb, an Aksumite ruler of the 6th-cent. A.D. A number of rock-hewn churches in B. are attributed to him and to his son and successor ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl. In the period of the Zagʷe dynasty a large number of rock-hewn churches were built. Most of them were constructed in their political capital by ↗Lalibäla.

The Chronide of *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I mentions a regional army contingent known as *särawitä Bugna*, posted to eastern Ethiopia in 1332. Francisco ↗Alvarez, a member of the Portuguese embassy in 1520, indicates that the title of the regional governor of the area was *Bugna ras*. It seems that the territory of B. included larger regions that later travellers indicate in their works. In the period of *aṣe* ↗Susanyos and his successors, the regional governors of Wag and Lasta staged major political rebellions from their mountain strongholds in B., particularly ↗Əmäkina, and forced the kings to undertake several expeditions to the heartland of B.

In the 18th and 19th cent., the ↗Yäğğu dynasty and the local rulers of Wag and Lasta contended over part of B. While a portion of eastern B. was under the influence of the Yäğğu dynasty much of western B. remained under the ↗*wag šum* family. Political rivalry between the governors of Lasta and Wag for control of B. continued into the early part of the 20th cent. In 1919 the court of *ras* Täfäri, later *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I, decided in favour of *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu making B. an integral part of Lasta, and the Mari river the boundary between Wag and Lasta.

Src.: PerChron 301f., 308f., 314f.; PerrAmdS; BeckHuntAlvar vol.1, 135ff., 200–05, 227, 246, vol. 2, 424, 495, 572.

Lit.: JAMES CRAIG MCCANN, *Households, Peasants, and Rural History in Lasta, Northern Ethiopia 1900–35*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University 1984; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Political Geography of Ethiopia at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 613–31; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Wag and Lasta: An Essay in the Regional History of Ethiopia from the

14th Century to 1800", in: *PICES 7*, 213–31; WUDU TAFETE KASSU, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, ca. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 18f., 39–44, 80–86, 95–98, 101f., 122, 160–68.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Bukko

Däğğazmač B. (perhaps from Oromo *buqqaa* 'expelled, uprooted') was one of the first ↗Oromo war leaders recruited in ca. 1617 to royal service by *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. B. proved to be indispensable as general for the Emperor whose territories were endangered by regular Oromo raids and whose Amhara warriors were unaccustomed to Oromo warfare. So he was appointed both *däğğazmač* and *šäḥafe lam* of ↗Damot, where his main duty was to repel regular Oromo raids into the province under his government. B, being rather detached from the burning conflict between Catholic converts and Orthodox Christians in the country, was often sent by *aṣe* Susənyos to render military assistance to his staunch Catholic half-brother *ras* ↗Sə'ălä Krəstos, the governor of ↗Goğğam, much hated by Orthodox Christians. B. served his King loyally until he was killed on 25 September 1627 in an encounter with a raiding Oromo tribe.

Src.: PerChron 191, 257, 277; BassÉt I, 28; BegCron 46; DombrChron 195, n. 319.

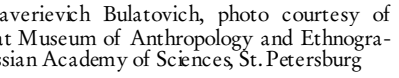
Lit.: MOHAMMED HASSEN, *The Oromo of Ethiopia, 1500–1850: with Special Emphasis on the Gibe Region*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1983, 353; BTafA 896.

Sevir Chernetsov

Bulatovich, Aleksandr Ksaveryevich

B. (b. 1870, Orel, d. 5 December 1919, Kharkov province, Ukraine) was a Russian officer, traveller, religious figure and publicist. He graduated from Emperor Alexandre I Lyceum in St. Petersburg in 1891 and enlisted in the Life-Guard Hussar regiment of the 2nd Cavalry division (cornet in 1892, lieutenant in 1897, staff-captain in 1899).

In 1897 B. was attached to the Russian Red Cross Detachment to Ethiopia and proved to be a fearless and quick courier. He was distinguished by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II who wanted to use Russian officers as foreign witnesses of his wide conquests. In his three expeditions with Mənilək's armies, B. made geodesic surveys of the territory, for which he was awarded a Minor Silver Medal from Imperial Russian Geographic Society. He also published the diaries of his travels in Ethiopia.



Aleksandr Ksaverievich Bulatovich, photo courtesy of Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg

Retiring in 1903 from the army, in 1907 he took monastic vows at the monastery of Athos, Greece, in 1910 being ordained priest as "Father Anthony". At the very beginning of 1911 he made his fourth and the last voyage to Ethiopia.

In 1913 B. became involved in religious controversies on Athos before being evicted from the monastery.

During World War I, he was chaplain to the 16th Vanguard Red Cross Detachment and was awarded a Pectoral Cross on St. George's Order Ribbon for leading the assault. After the revolution he returned to his patrimony in Kharkov province, Ukraine, where he was killed by marauders who believed the absolutely groundless rumours of immense treasures brought from Ethiopia.

↗Russia

Src.: ANTONIY BULATOVICH, *Moya borba s imyabortsami na Svyatoy Gore* ('My War against the *Imyabortsy* on the Saint Mountain'), Petrograd 1917; ALEXANDER BULATOVICH, *Ethiopia through Russian Eyes: Country in Transition, 1896–98*, tr., ed. by RICHARD SELTZER, Oxford – New York 2000; ALEKSANDER BUŁATOWICZ, *Z wojskami Menelika. Zapiski z podróży do Etiopii*, ed., tr. by GRAŻYNA PODESZWA, Warszawa 2000.

Lit.: I.S. KATZNELSON – G.I. TEREKHOVA, *Po neizvedannym zemlyam Efiopii* ('Over the Unknown Lands of Ethiopia'), Moscow 1975; GEORGIY FLOROVSKIY, *Puti russkogo bogosloviya* ('The Ways of Russian Theology'), Paris ⁴1988, 571f.; CZESLAW JESMAN, *The Russians in Ethiopia: an Essay in Futility*, London 1958 [repr. Westport 1975]; RICHARD SELTZER, *Name of Hero*, Los Angeles 1981; CARLO ZAGHI, *I Russi in Etiopia*, Napoli 1972–73; LEV KOUBEL, "Données sur les rapports socio-économiques chez les peuples de l'Éthiopie dans les oeu-

vres de A.K. Boulatovitch (voyages des années 1896-1899)", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 3, 160–66.

Sevir Chernetsov

Bulbula

The B. (ቡልቡላ) river is located in the central Ethiopian Rift. It connects lakes ↗Z^{w}ay and ↗Abyata.

The small town also called B. and the surrounding rural community use the river water for various domestic purposes. During dry season, they get water from shallow hand-dug wells in the B. river-bed. Unlike many other rivers in the ↗Rift Valley, it is high in alkaline; the total dissolved solids content is around 370 ml per litre (Tesfaye Chernet 1982; Tenalem Ayenew 1998). It has almost the same chemical composition as the source lake Z^{w}ay. The lake level of Z^{w}ay is maintained by a lava threshold at 1,636 m A.S.L. The B. is the only river that flows from the lake; its course runs for 37 km to the terminal lake Abyata situated at an altitude of 1,580 m A.S.L. The river-bed is thus a descending one. The river water is used for irrigation in the upstream area close to lake Z^{w}ay. This has substantially reduced its long-term average annual discharge, which is 184 million m^3 (Makin et al. 1976; Tenalem Ayenew 1998). Water from the river is also diverted for the livestock of the near-by Abernossa Dairy Farm. The upstream irrigation and diversion for livestock has resulted in the reduction of the level of lake Abyata (Ethiopian Valleys Development Studies Authority 1989). The river is basically perennial. However, due to recent human intervention, it has occasionally dried up during extremely dry years.

Src.: ETHIOPIAN INSTITUTE OF GEOLOGICAL SURVEYS (ed.), *Geological Map of Ethiopia* (*at the scale of 1:2,000,000*), Addis Ababa, no date.

Lit.: ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *Atlas of Ethiopia* (*with Maps and Descriptions*), Addis Ababa, no date; ETHIOPIAN VALLEYS DEVELOPMENT STUDIES AUTHORITY (ed.), *Rift Valley Lakes Integrated Natural Resources Development Master Plan,* unpublished report, Addis Ababa 1989; M.J. MAKIN – T.J. KINGHAM – A.E. WADDAMS et al., *Land Resource Development*, part 26: *Prospects of Irrigation Development around Lake Ziway*, Tolworth 1976, 270; PAUL A. MOHR, *Geology of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1970; TENALEM AYENEW, *The Hydrogeological System of the Lake District Basin, Central Main Ethiopian Rift*, Ph.D. thesis, Free University of Amsterdam 1998, 259; TESFAYE CHERNET, *Hydrogeologic Map of the Lakes Region* (*with Memo*), Ethiopian Institute of Geological Surveys, Addis Ababa 1982.

Tenalem Ayenew

Bulga

B. (ቡልጋ) is an area in Eastern Šäwa, about 40 km north-east of Addis Abäba. It has a rugged topography with 1,000 m variation in altitude between the highlands and the lowlands, where the rivers Kässäm, Qärsa and Aleltu provide some vegetation before they erode its alluvial soil and transport it first to the ↗Awaš and then to the Awsa desert. Deforestation in the last century has caused the flight of its wild animals including elephants, lions and buffalos. The main vegetable crops along the Kässäm are onions and green pepper with ↗*ṭef*, wheat, barley, corn, peas and beans growing in the highlands. Oxen are the main farming animals while mules and donkeys are used for transport. Cows, goats and sheep are raised on typical farms.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church has been established there for at least seven centuries: *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, who is believed to be a native of B., is highly revered and commemorated in the famous monastery of ↗Ǝtissa. Christian moral permeates the entire social life of the people including birth, upbringing, marriage, work, songs, games, settlement of disputes and other social activities. Neither the population nor the area of B. are accurately known. In 1967, 110 churches were identified.

B. was originally ruled by *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase. Now it comprises one *awraǧǧa* together with Tägulät (Tägulät-Bulga *awraǧǧa*), which in its turn has six *wärädas*. The capital of B. is Q^{w}ärämaš, formerly the site of an important

government warehouse. The communities of B. are known as *amba*. Most *amba* proper names are meaningful: Ǝllih Amba ('land of the stubborn'), Wäyyan Amba ('land of wine'), Goš Wəha ('buffalo water').

Most Ministers of Pen (↗*Ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz*) and many well-known writers have their origin in B. The valleys and gorges of B. were also the site of a violent resistance of Ethiopian patriots against the Italian occupation.

Lit.: *blatten geta* MAḤṬÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL (ed.), **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ባህል፡ ጥናት፡ ቡልጋ** (*Yäʾityopya bahəl ṭənat*: *Bulga*, 'Ethiopian Cultural Studies: Bulga'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.].

Tadesse Terrefe

Bume ↗ Ñaŋatom

Bunna ↗ Coffee

Buno Bädelle

Before the Italian war of 1935–36, B.B. (**ቡኖ፡ በደሌ**, or Bädälle, Oromo: Buunoo Beddellee; located 2,162 m A.S.L.) was only a modest stop along one of the caravan routes linking the coffee-plantation areas with Addis Abäba, Gore and Gambella. Later, it became the capital of B.B. *awraǧǧa* (now belonging to Illubabor administrative zone, Oromiyya *kəlləl*) and grew to a significant regional crossroads. Here the road from Gore and Mättu divides into two sections, one heading northwards to Neqemte through ↗Arǧo and the other southwards to ↗Ǧimma via Agaro.

Besides coffee, the trucks from B.B. transport beer to Addis Abäba, because after the Revolution of 1974, under Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam, the Ethiopian Government built a modern brewery in B.B.

This mushroom town, promoted capital of the *wäräda* of Bädelle, can today boast of over 16,000 inhabitants and has become an important provincial centre, with many schools and administrative buildings. As B.B. evolved at a road junction, one can find there hotels and garages. Its important position will certainly be enhanced with the foreseeable rise of the north-south exchange between Ǧimma, Illubabor, Wälläga and Goǧǧam.

Src.: *Guida* 504; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *Ethiopia. Statistical Abstract 1999*, Addis Ababa 2000; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, *Etiopia occidentale: dallo Scioa alla frontiera del Sudan*, 2 vols., Roma 1933; ALAIN GASCON, "Les 'bastides' d'Éthiopie. Les villes fortes de Menilek dans le sud de l'Éthiopie et l'urbanisation contemporaine", in: BENOÎT ANTHEAUME – FLORENCE PINTON (eds.), *Tropiques. Lieux et liens*, Paris 1989, 435–44; ID., *La Grande Éthiopie, une utopie africaine. Éthiopie ou Oromie, l'intégration des hautes terres du Sud*, Paris 1995; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Galla of Ethiopia. The Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero*, London 1955 (Ethnologic Survey of North-East Africa 2); HERBERT SAMUEL LEWIS, *A Galla Monarchy, Jimma Abba Jifar (1830–1932)*, Madison 1965; MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *An Atlas of Ethiopia*, Asmera 1971 [revised edition]; ID., *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972.

Alain Gascon

Bur

B. (**ቡር**) was a large (vaguely delimited) historical region, across the present-day Ethio-Eritrean border. As happened with other regions, it was divided into Upper B. and Lower B. Its territory covered parts of ↗ʿAgamä, the entire ↗Akkälä Guzay and lands further to the east, including perhaps even the ↗Buri peninsula.

The hagiography of ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi narrates the people of B.'s rebellion against Kaleb (Guidi 1895:19f.). The same rebellion is recalled by the hagiographic tradition of the ↗Ṣadqan, the "Righteous ones", who, before going to Mäṭära, Bäräknaha, Sorya etc., together reached the "desert of B." (Conti Rossini 1903:12f., 22; cp. Schneider 1963:167ff.). Later, some other hagiographies indicate that from the 14th cent. B. fell into the sphere of the ↗Ewosṭateans' religious movement.

In the first half of the 15th cent. B. seems to have been ruled by a *śəyyum* (↗*Šum*), whom *aṣe*

Zärᵊa Yaᶜəqob put under the supremacy of the ↗*baḥər nägaš*, along with the governors of Šire, Ḥamasen and Säraye (PerrZarY 47f.). In the time of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl, the office of *śəyyum* was occupied by ↗Zəmal, who, being a favourite of the Emperor, fought with him against Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī and was killed on 11 March 1529 in the battle at ↗Šämbəra Kʷəre.

After the defeat of *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq in 1578, B. fell under the rule of the ↗*təgre mäkʷännən*. The Turks, who tried to invade B., were beaten back and the head of their commander was sent to *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos (Conzelman 1895:75). During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, however, challengers of the central secular and ecclesiastic authorities and "pretenders to the throne", such as ↗Yaᶜəqob, and the false "Melkite" metropolitan, appear to have found some support among the ethnically and religiously heterogeneous population of B. As a result, the Emperor sent punitive expeditions against B.

As a coastal region, B. was obviously of some economic importance for the emperors. B. appears in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II as a part of Təgray, called "the land of B. which brings [the tribute of] 20 shekels of gold" (GuiIyas 36; cp. Pankhurst 1970:54). In the later periods some smaller territorial units appeared in the area of B. and the name of B. fell out of use.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Ricordi di un soggiorno in Eritrea*, Asmara 1903, 12f., 22; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Il «Gadla 'Aragâwî»", *MRALm* ser. 5, 2, 1, 1894, here 19, 39f.; WILLIAM ELIOT CONZELMAN, *Chronique de Galâwdêwos* (*Claudius*) *roi d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1895 (Bibliothèque de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences Philologiques et Historiques 104), 75; DombrChr 315; PerrZarY 47f.; GuiIyas 36 (text); PerChron, s. index; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Une page du Gadla Ṣādqān", *AE* 5, 1963, 167–69.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "A Preliminary History of Ethiopian Measures, Weights and Values (Part 3)", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 45–85, here 54; LusStud s. index; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yoḥannes di Dabra Bizan", *RRALm* ser. 5, 8, 1901, 61–170, here 127, 168; ID., "Aethiopica [1]", *RSO* 9, 1923, 365–468, here 458ff. [17. "Gimèl capo del Bur (+11 marzo 1529)"]; HuntGeogr s. index, esp. 95–100 (Lit).

Denis Nosnitsin

Buraayuu Abbaa Ḍaasaa

B. (b. ca. 1837 A.M. [1844/45 A.D.], Sayyoo) was a renowned cavalryman. Although B. had no modern education, he was an intelligent person and was appointed the first administrator of the Sayyoo *wäräda*, present-day ↗Dambi Doolloo in western Wälläga. B. ruled the peoples of ↗Gambella from the southern side of his domain of rule, Sayyoo. He also went as far as Ǧimira in Käfa province, fighting alongside his local followers. After his participation in the ↗ᶜAdwa battle, *aṣe* Mənilək II rewarded him with the rank of *fitawrari* and a large number of firearms. Subsequently, B. took to conferring the Emperor on matters of administration. B. took part in the resistance against the infiltration of the British army into Wälläga from the Sudan. He is said to have fought along with the army of *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaᵊel, campaign locally known as *duula biṣhaan adii*, 'an expedition to the white water', which probably refers to an incident at the source of the White Nile.

As an old man, B. gradually lost control over the territory of Sayyoo and shot himself. He was buried at the Qəddus Mikaᵊel church in Ǧaalallee in Sayyoo.

Src.: "Buraayyu Abbaa Gosaa", *Qelləm tarikawinna bahəlawi mäṣhet* ('Qelləm Cultural and Historical Magazine' [by Ethiopian People's Workers Party Committee]), Dambi Dolloo 1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.].

Kebede Hordofa Janko

Bure

B. (ቡሬ) is a town and area in the ↗Damot region of southern ↗Goǧǧam, south of Agäw mədər, and site of thermal baths. The settlement, which was visited by the Emperors Susənyos, Yoḥannəs I and Iyasu I, was on an

important caravan route to Dangəla, 60 km to the north, as well as in the late 19th and 20th cent. to Addis Abäba.

Src.: BegCron 73; ARNAULD D'ABBADIE, *Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute Éthiopie* (*Abyssinie*), Città del Vaticano 1980, vol. 2, 157, 259; ROBERT ERNEST CHEESMAN, *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile: an Abyssinian Quest*, London 1936, 389, index; *Guida* 373.
Lit.: HuntGeogr 282, s. index; BTafA 898.

Richard Pankhurst

Bureau, Jacques

B. (b. 7 February 1946, Marseilles, d. 11 April 1998, Paris) was a lawyer and anthropologist. Having completed his higher education in law and political studies in Paris, went to Ethiopia in 1969 for military service. He taught at the Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (↗Addis Ababa University) as a visiting lecturer and it was there that he wrote his first work *Lexique juridique français-anglais-amharique* (1971).

From that time on, B. developed a keen interest in Ethiopia and started research in the field of ethnology. On return to Paris in 1971, he took up ethnology studies at the Université Paris X – Nanterre, which he completed in 1979 with a thesis on the ↗Gamo (1981). Soon afterwards, in 1984, B. became a member of Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS).

B. went back to Ethiopia several times. During 1981–84 and 1988–94 he returned to Addis Ababa University as a visiting professor in anthropology. In 1991 he co-founded and took over the directorship of the Maison des études éthiopiennes in Addis Abäba (now Centre français d'études éthiopiennes), which succeeded the old Section française des antiquités éthiopiennes (created in 1952). As of December 1992, he edited the *Bulletin de la Maison des Études Éthiopiennes*. The eleventh and last issue of this review, devoted exclusively to Ethiopia, appeared in summer 1997, shortly before B. left Ethiopia for good.

Soon after his return to France in October 1997, and to his post with the CNRS, B. died of cancer. He left more than 40 publications, of which two important works: *Éthiopie: un drame impérial et rouge* (1987) and, in collaboration with Eshetou Wonbera, *Le verdict du serpent, mythes contes et récits des Gamo d'Éthiopie* (1994).

Src.: JACQUES BUREAU, *Lexique juridique français-anglais-amharique*, Ḫaylä Śəllase I University, Faculty of Law, Addis Ababa 1971; ID., *Les Gamo d'Éthiopie. Étude du système politique*, Paris 1981; ID., *Éthiopie. Un drame impérial et rouge*, Paris 1987; ID. – ESHETOU WONBERA, *Le verdict du serpent, mythes contes et récits des Gamo d'Éthiopie*, Paris – Addis Abeba 1994.
Lit.: ALAIN ROUAUD, "In memoriam Jacques Bureau (1946–1998)", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 201–05.

Alain Rouaud

Burği

Burği language

B., spoken south of Lake Čamo (but also in Kenya), belongs to the Highland East ↗Cushitic languages. Its affiliation to this subgroup of East Cushitic was a topic of discussion in the first half of the 20th cent. (cf. Hudson 1976:236ff., Sasse – Straube 1977:262ff.) and up to now the exact position of B. is unclear. According to a census published in 1998, native speakers of B. number 35,731 (Grimes 2001).

The phonemic system comprises five phonemically short and long vowels (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*) and 24 consonants, of which four are ejectives (*p̓*, *t̓*, *č̓* and *q̓*) and one is a voiced retroflex implosive. B. probably distinguishes two tones, a high tone and a neutral tone. Within the verb paradigms, numerous morpho-phonological processes occur, such as assimilation, metathesis and epenthesis.

B. is a marked-nominative language, i.e. the citation form of nouns is used with direct objects and a further form is used only for the subject.

In the pronoun system two basic forms occur: the citation form and the subject form. Personal pronouns in subject position are, sg. *ani* 'I' and *ašı* 'you', *isi* 'he' and *iši* 'she', and pl. *naanu* 'we', *ašinu* 'you' and *isinu* 'they'. The citation forms are, sg. *ee* 'I', *šee* 'you', *isi* 'he' and *išee* 'she', and pl. *nınsi* 'we', *šınsi* 'you' and *isınoo* 'they'. The direct and the indirect object are marked by *-sa* and *-ga*, respectively. They are suffixed to the citation form and in some persons cause morphophonological changes. The morpheme *-na*, which is also suffixed to the citation form, marks focus.

B. has two genders, masculine and feminine. They are morphologically marked in the case paradigms and in syntax by means of agreement with modifiers and the selection of verb forms and pronouns. The plural of nouns is marked by a suffix or suppletive forms.

In the verb morphology, two main paradigms, called simple perfect and simple imperfect, can be distinguished. Further verb paradigms are

composed-perfect forms (present perfect, pluperfect and continuous), composed-imperfect forms (future/intensive, imperfect/future, with subject focus and progressive present), jussive and imperative (C. Wedekind 1985:114ff).

The word order in declarative sentences is Subject-Object-Verb. All modifiers, induding relative clauses precede their head noun. The indirect object precedes the direct object.

The ten-word list for B. is: *míčča* 'one', *láma* 'two', *fadíya* 'three', *ğíira* 'fire', *wáa* 'water', *hiʾíččo* 'sun', *agunčóo* 'moon', *čéeği* 'blood', *arráaba* 'tongue', *irqa* 'tooth' (Sasse 1981).

Src.: BARBARA F. GRIMES (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas [14]2001; HANS-JÜRGEN SASSE, *Etymological Dictionary of Burji*, Hamburg 1981 (Cushitic Language Studies 1); personal communication from Alexander Kellner.

Lit.: GROVER HUDSON, "Highland East Cushitic", in: *BendNonSLang* 232–77; ID., "The Highland East Cushitic Family Vine", *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 3, 1981, 97–124; ID., *Highland East Cushitic Dictionary*, Hamburg 1989 (Cushitic Language Studies 7); HANS-JÜRGEN SASSE – HELMUT STRAUBE, "Kultur und Sprache der Burji in Süd-Äthiopien: Ein Abriss", in: WILHELM J. G. MÖHLIG – FRANZ ROTTLAND – BERND HEINE (eds.), *Zur Sprachgeschichte und Ethnohistorie in Afrika: Neue Beiträge afrikanistischer Forschungen*, Berlin 1977, 239–66; CHARLOTTE WEDEKIND, "Burji Verb Morphology and Morphophonemics", in: ABEBE GEBRE-TSADIK et al. (eds.), *The Verb Morphophonemics of Five Highland East Cushitic Languages including Burji*, Köln 1985 (Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere 2), 110–46; RICHARD HAYWARD, "Is there a Language with an Indefinite Nominative – Burji?", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 679–91; ALEXANDER KELLNER, "'The Lazy Baboon'. A Linguistic Analysis and Anthropological Interpretation of a Burji Tale", *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 65, 2001, 41–69; KLAUS WEDEKIND, "Sidamo, Gedeo (Derasa), Burji: Phonological Differences and Likenesses", *JES* 14, 1980, 131–76; ID., *Generating Narratives: Interrelations of Knowledge, Text Variants and Cushitic Focus Strategies*, Berlin – New York 1990 (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 52), 461–602.

Joachim Crass

Burği ethnography

The original homeland of the B. is the southern part of the Amarro mountains on the eastern side of Lake ↗Čamo. They speak an East Cushitic language, also called B. The B. are traditionally excellent agriculturalists, who have much in common with other various ethnic groups located to the west of Lake Čamo, such as the ↗Konso, the ↗Dullay and the ↗Ðiraaśśa. The term "Burği-Konso cluster" has been established to refer to these groups as a single entity. Relatively little has been published to date on the B.

The number of people considering themselves B., now approximately 70,000 (cp. Amborn – Kellner 1999, n. 2), is increasing. According to oral tradition, which is supported by calculations of the ↗*gadaa* cycles, they inhabited this area exclusively from the 17th cent. to the middle of the 20th cent. Since the Ethiopian conquest at the end of the 19th cent., an increasing number of B. have migrated. Nowadays, the majority live outside their home-country. There are many B. communities at various places along the route reaching from Addis Abäba in the north through southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya to Nairobi and Mombasa in the south. One of the largest centres is found in Marsabit (northern Kenya).

The question, whether it is still possible to refer to the B. as an "ethnic group", is being discussed today by both scholars and the B. themselves. There is no doubt that most B. regard themselves as belonging together, but they no longer live together. In our days, one may regard the B. rather as a complex, differentiated modern society, having ethnic *Gemeinsamkeit* (≈ common features) rather than being an ethnic *Gemeinschaft* (≈ community).

Before their integration into the Ethiopian empire at the beginning of the 20th cent., the B. had an acephalous social order. This is still true today as far as internal issues are concerned, although, of course, they are now citizens of Kenya or Ethiopia. Even though there have been a number of hereditary titles up to the present time, B. society has a sufficient number of regulative institutions to prevent the accumulation of power by title-holders.

In their homeland, B. society is organized in complementary fashion, with a northern and a southern branch. In the north (a highland area), settlements are mainly scattered, while in the south, compact villages and an urban settlement are the dominant pattern. This complementary organization can be understood as a dual social organization with mutual rights and duties, within which rivalry between the two sections was and is still possible. It is not static, but is the result of long processes of fission and fusion, with varying borders and alliances. Only in the south borders with the pastoralists (↗Guğği and ↗Booraana) are more stable.

Territorial organization fulfils an important function, especially in daily life. In agriculture, and especially in assessment of soil quality, the division into right and left (east and west) sides plays an important role. Significant for the southern B. (and for some other groups of the B.-Konso cluster) are densely populated towns where the idea of territorial organization culminates. The urban centres are divided into town wards (*géere*), which are subdivided into neighbourhoods (*ólla*). Outside of towns, a *géere* can also be a village. *Géere* and *ólla* are corporative units with their own communal facilities such as assembly- and threshing-grounds and sacrificial places. *Géere* and *ólla* possess delimited plots of land in the outer cultivation zone. Their members must carry out certain economic, social and religious tasks together. In daily life it is important that the members can rely on mutual aid. The ward leaders (who are dependent on the consensus of their cohabitants) are responsible for peaceful cohabitation and the performance of communal tasks. The wards, inhabited by various clans, can therefore be considered territorial units without kinship ties.

One of the most important institutions in the ritual and political life of the B. was the generation-grading system *gáda* (cp. ↗*Gadaa*, ↗Age group system). It is a special case among comparable systems in the Horn of Africa. For example, it does not have the combination of generation sets and age grades which is typical for the Oromo, but a structure based on formal links between two generation-set cycles *hági* and *gáda*. One cycle is composed of eight generation sets known as *hági*, which succeed each other at intervals of 18 years. Today, however, the time-frame of this cycle is no longer adhered to. ↗Circumcision, which confers nubility, is performed on the occasion of entering a *hági*. The candidates (living in seclusion) are divided into groups on a regional basis. Each territorial unit chooses its own chairman (*háyyu*). Today, the actual practice of the *hági* system varies from region to region, but it is still particularly widespread in the highlands.

Entrance to a Burği compound, 1950s, photo by Helmut Straube

In the second cycle there were five generation sets known as *gáda*, each covering a period of six years. This system was abandoned at the end of the 19th cent., but is still used for the periodization of B. history. While entry into a *hági* was obligatory, membership of a *gáda* set was passed down through the lines of the eldest sons. The decisive point, however, was that the generation sets in the two cycles fulfilled different functions. The *hági* sets were mainly important on the socio-political level, while the *gáda* had ritual significance. During these three years they were sacred and feared persons who had the entire religious and social life of the population under their control.

The second most important institution which affected the whole society was and still is the clan system. Membership and descendance are regulated on a patrilinear basis. Here the *amš* and the *gosánga ana* should be mentioned. The first of these is a clan leader, elected for life, who is responsible for all non-religious tasks, while the *gosánga ana* is more of a religious functionary. At the annual clan-sacrifice festival he asks the ancestors and God for the fertility of the people, crops and animals. Some clan leaders performed rain ceremonies and sacrifices against epidemics.

The most important religious dignitaries are the *gánni*. Their power is subject to control by society, so that they can be driven out if they fail. The *gánni* have special abilities which they

inherit from their clan forebears. Their essential task is to ensure the success of crops and domestic animals. They are responsible for warding off danger and for the welfare of the community as a whole. Although today almost all B. accept one of the main monotheistic religions, the influence and significance of the *gánni* remain.

The B. have a temporarily elected chief. Until recently there were two such chiefs, the *wóma* for the southern B. and the *dayna* for the northern. Only wealthy people, who could afford costly feasts and gifts for the clientele in order to be elected, had access to these offices (*halaka*, cp. also the *halaqa* of the ↗Dorze). Their political influence must have been considerable. But, like all dignitaries, they also had religious duties. *Wóma* and *dayna* were dependent on each other. Nevertheless, rivalry between the two was not uncommon, especially before and after the turn of the century during the "frontier situation" in southern Ethiopia. Moreover, at this time one particular *wóma* succeeded in bypassing and claiming the chiefdom for life (as a kind of "big man"). It suited him very well that the north-Ethiopian Empire was striving for indirect rule, i. e. the use of paramount chiefs (here ↗*balabbat*). With this backing, the *wóma* increasingly succeeded in withdrawing themselves from the original jurisdiction of the big judicial council. The latter body heard only serious cases affecting the existence of B. as a whole.

Some of the B. living in the original area still practise a highly developed form of agriculture which is characteristic of the whole B.-Konso cluster. Here, the typical elements of agrarian intensification can be found, such as terraced fields with artificial irrigation and intensive fertilization. Together with co-operative labour, they make permanent cultivation possible. Zonal division of the cultivated land and mixed-crop cultivation ensure a broad range of crops: ↗*ənsät* and ↗barley predominate in the highlands, while wheat and sorghum species are more important in the southern part. The cultivated land can be divided into three zones (or rings), which were ideally situated concentrically around the settlements. In each zone different crops are cultivated depending on the soil and climate conditions. Until recently these zones differed in the degree of intensification and yields. The outer zone allowed extensive use and pasturing, but agriculture may become intensive if needed. There, the common land which is under the control of the clans, is located. The overall economic aim is not a bumper harvest, but long-term economic security, which even included planning over several generations.

Even though these elements of agrarian intensification are not as consistent in B. today, many still contribute strongly to the ideal image of being agriculturalist. Trade has become the main source of wealth. Modern trade is rooted in the formerly distinctive full-time crafts, which today are practised by a few individuals only.

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN, "History of Events and Internal Development. The Example of the Burji-Konso Cluster", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 751–61; ID., "Von der Stadt zur sakralen Landschaft. Bóohee Burji. Eine städtische Siedlung in Südäthiopien", *Tribus* 44, 1995, 65–99; ID., "Die zerfranste Ethnie. Zum analytischen Umgang mit komplexen Gesellschaften", *Anthropos* 93, 1998, 349–61; HERMANN AMBORN – ALEXANDER KELLNER, "Burji Vocabulary of Cultural Items – an Insight into Burji Culture. Based on the Field Notes of Helmut Straube", *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 58, 1999, 5–67; HANS-JÜRGEN SASSE – HELMUT STRAUBE, "Kultur und Sprache der Burji in Süd-Äthiopien: Ein Abriß", in: WILHELM J. G. MÖHLIG – FRANZ ROTTLAND – BERND HEINE (eds.), *Zur Sprachgeschichte und Ethnohistorie in Afrika: Neue Beiträge afrikanistischer Forschungen*, Berlin 1977, 239–66.

Hermann Amborn

Buri Peninsula

Most traditional Arab scholars assume that the name B. (ᶜAfar: Bôri) derives from the ancient ↗ᶜAfar tribe who lived in the area and it is believed to be the grand father of Bellasowa groups of Afar. They were a fishing community

and were also involved in trade with the Yemen and the hinterland. However, other scholars say that the name comes from the ancient province of ↗Bur, which included the ↗Akkälä Guzay highland ("Upper B.") and the coastal plains of northern ↗Dänkäl ("Lower-B."). The volcanoes at the base of the peninsula were mined for obsidian in ancient times and the area was an elephant-hunting ground for the port of ↗Adulis. It is also believed that B. represented a link in trade relations connecting the two shores of the Red Sea up until the fall and the abandonment of Adulis (Killion 1998:129f.). According to Pollera (1996:158), the ↗Saho were original inhabitants of the area before the migration of the ᶜAfar (↗ᶜAdohyammára) to the region in the 15th cent. Later, the B. was populated, in addition to the Saho, by ᶜAfar speaking groups.

The main settlements in B. are the fishing villages of Genfore, Ingal and Doläh and the inland village of Bordole. Geraylo Lake was the main ↗salt-mine. From there and Bordole, salt was exported along long caravan routes to Akkälä Guzay, Säraye in the Eritrean highland and Ḥawzen and Aksum in Təgray province. The merchants were Saho and ᶜAfar from the clans Bellesowa, Waddu and Dammohoytá. Later on, the Dammohoytá clans dominated the trade activity and they taxed the salt-caravan trade in the name of the Italian administration (Ǧamāladdīn aš-Šāmī — Hāšim Ǧamāladdīn aš-Šāmī 1997:262ff.). The coastal villages, besides their trade activities, are involved in fishing, while the interior is semi-desert grazed by pastoralists from ᶜAfar and Saho clans. It also has a rich variety of wildlife.

Politically, B. was an independent entity, like most ᶜAfar and Saho groups in the area, but in the 16th cent., when the ↗Ottoman Empire controlled the Red-Sea coast, B. was nominally ruled by the *nāʾib* of Ḥərgigo, who governed Massawa and its surroundings on behalf of the Ottoman Empire in ↗Massawa. In 1868 Egypt attempted to exercise more direct control during the era of Khedive ↗Ismāᶜīl Bāšā. But neither the Egyptian nor the *nāʾib* of Massawa could protect the local ᶜAfar and Saho population from raids by highland groups, especially from Təgray. During the Italian colonial administration, B. reverted again to Massawa. However, the Italian's administrational presence was negligible, because the ᶜAfar fought against the Italian presence under their leader *šum* Bilāl ᶜAbdallāh. He was jailed by the Italians at Nuḫra on the Dahlak island and died there. However, the ᶜAfar elders in the absence of the Italian administration took the initiative to settle local problems, e.g., to see the local justice, cultural and clan affairs, tax collection and traditional Qurʾān schools.

The peninsula's physical isolation and proximity to Massawa made it an ideal guerrilla base for the Eritrean Liberation Front from the mid 1960s. In 1977 the Eritrean People's Liberation Front also made a stronghold there. As a result, Ethiopian naval actions around the peninsula intensified in the late 1980s (Killion 1998:129f.). Today, the B. fishing villages are regaining their prosperity as tourist centres, especially the small islands; these villages also engage in boat-building, trading with the Arabian coast and smuggling goods from Yemen and Saudi Arabia.

Lit.: *aš-šayḫ* ĞAMĀLADDĪN AŠ-ŠĀMĪ B. IBRĀHĪM B. ḪALĪL AŠ-ŠĀMĪ — *ad-duktūr* HĀŠIM ĞAMĀLADDĪN AŠ-ŠĀMĪ, *Al-manhal fī taʾrīḫ wa-aḫbār al-ᶜAfar* (*ad-Danākil*) ('The Source on the History of ᶜAfar/Danākil and the Information about them'), Cairo 1997; OSMAN MOHAMAD ABUBAKER, *The Afar Triangle*, Cairo 1996 (Arabic); KilHDic 129f.; ALBERTO POLLERA, *The Native Peoples of Eritrea*, tr. by LINDA LAPPIN, Lawrenceville ²1999; GERALD KENNEDY NICHOLAS, *Eritrea: a Colony in Transition 1941–1952*, London ²1977.

Abdulkader Saleh Mohammad

Burial

Death is one of the most important social events in Ethiopia, forming and expressing the link between the individual and his/her social community. Funerals are usually large-scale events, attended by more people than ↗marriages and carrying far greater obligations. The makeup of the funeral party and the behavior expected of its members usually reflected important features of the group's social organization. In addition, ritual usually revealed the individual society's conception of the afterlife.

In Ethiopia, the pattern — separation, transition, and return — found in many rites of passage is commonly found in B. ceremonies. Despite these underlying structural similarities, there are often significant differences in the meanings assigned to such rituals and the exact details of their performance. Although the basic pattern of the service is usually uniform, the degree of elaboration is influenced by the social standing of the deceased, more important figures usually accorded a more elaborate and impressive send-off.

Although it is possible, in some cases, to offer rather detailed descriptions of B. customs, the overall ethnographic picture is far from satisfactory. Only in unusual cases is it possible to supplement recent accounts with historical data, and the anthropological record is itself, rather uneven.

Among Christians living in the Ethiopian highlands the B. association is an important social institution. The Amharic term **ቂሬ** (*qire*) has a variety of meanings: a B. association, the gathering at the funeral, and the contributions made by the members to the society. Attendance at funerals and the payment of regular contributions were compulsory.

When a person feels that his death is approaching, a priest (↗*Qäsis*) is summoned to hear his ultimate confession. During the death process prayers (e.g., ↗*mängädä sämay*) are recited. When a person dies, men and women lament and cry, recite dirges and sing the praises of the departed (Amh. **ለቅሶ**, *läqso*). This is accompanied by the shrill notes of ululating women. Relatives tear their clothes, throw themselves to the ground and wear sackcloth and ashes. Messengers are sent out to announce the death. The body of the deceased is washed, wrapped in a white sheet, and taken to church. The pallbearers walk at mournful pace, until they reach the church, where the corpse receives the blessing of the priest. The B., usually in rather shallow graves, takes place a few hours after death has occurred. The grave is generally dug by the deceased's neighbours and is located in a graveyard near the church. Although the B. takes place quickly, the performance of the funeral rites and prayers may be prolonged (↗*Fəṭḥat*). Immediately after B. arrangements are made for requiem masses. These are said daily for 40 days if the deceased was wealthy, but if the family is poor it is sufficient that five masses be said on the 3rd, 7th, 12th, 30th and 40th and 80th days. In addition, a yearly mass is said upon the anniversary of the death. The mass after three days is called **ሰልስት** (*säləst*), after 40 days **ተዝካር** (↗*täzkar*) — which is after 80 days in the case of a woman —, after one year **ሙት፡ ዓመት** (*mut ʿamät*), after seven years **ሰባት፡ ዓመት** (*säbat ʿamät*). There are generally no inscribed headstones and graves are marked by small piles of stones or by one large stone or even by outlining the grave by a near row of stones.

The ↗Beta Ǝsraʾel attribute great importance to the proper execution of funeral rituals. The pattern is similar to that of the Christians: a priest is summoned to the dying person, messengers are sent out, women lament etc. Four villagers wash the corpse, and it is then wrapped in a red bordered shroud and taken from the house. The same men usually carry the body to the graveyard. Since contact with the body renders people impure, they must remain outside the village for seven days. If possible, the body is buried the same day, if not on the morrow (bodies are not buried on the ↗Sabbath). Psalms are recited as the body is carried to the cemetry.

Unlike Christians, the Betä Ǝsraʾel do not bury their corpses near their prayer houses, but generally in cemeteries at the fringe of their villages. Cemeteries are divided into sections for priests, elders, and others. Children are buried in a separate section and ↗*barya* are usually not buried within the cemetery. The grave may be dug by Betä Ǝsraʾel or outsiders (usually Christians), and members of either group carry the body and place it in the grave. The grave is covered with dirt and stones and later a tree may be planted. Psalms and *fəṭḥat* prayers are recited and lamentations (*läqso*) are chanted. ↗*Motä Muse* is read at the grave. The family of the deceased abstain from work for seven days, after which a *täzkar* is performed. A sheep or goat is sacrificed. Those who have become impure, purify themselves. A *täzkar* is recited every year. The uncircumcized, excommunicated and adulterers are not buried in the cemetery, but where they died. *Fəṭḥat* prayers are not recited for them.

Among the ↗Oromo a dying person's mouth is filled with curdled milk or butter as a sign of honor and wealth. Upon his death, relatives and friends rush to his homestead, lamenting, beating their hands together, scratching their cheeks and singing praise songs. The body is wrapped in a toga and taken away on a bamboo litter as the women feign resistance. Honey, beer, bread, milk, cloth and wax are put in the grave. Ethnographic reports differ regarding the positioning of the body. A sacrifice is performed and meat is distributed to the poor and strangers, but not to kin and friends. Blood is poured on the deceased's face. After the grave is filled, a mound of stones ranging from a few feet to ten feet is erected. More elaborate memorials are set up for leaders and other important people.

↗Gurage B. are organized to reflect the kinship ties and distance between the deceased and the

mourners. Age, sex, status, character and reputation all play a role in determining the range and degree of participation in the B. rituals. Traditionally a Gurage is buried near his house, in his ↗*ənsät* garden. Although male kin symbolically assist in preparing the grave, the major work is done by an occupational caste known as ↗Fuga. Women fall to the ground or strike their breasts, men strike their hips with their elbows and scratch their faces with thorns. While all those present engage in lamentations, close relatives are the loudest. Remote kin are more restrained, occasionally omitting loud cries. All close kin, both men and women, perform the funeral dance. Ever year family members and other kin pore beer on the grave. Muslim and Christian Gurage have separate B. grounds. When an important chief or dignitary dies, this is publidy announced and funeral obligations extend beyond the family and clan, to include the entire tribal grouping. A *täzkar* is held after 30 days.

Among the ↗Konso, when a person dies he or she is carried out into the fields and buried the same day. In the case of the death of a young person, which is considered particularly horrific, he is buried as soon as possible. The relatives take no part in the actual B. and remain in the house, weeping and lamenting. The body is put in a crouching position, wrapped in a blanket and sleeping skin. Preparation is the responsibility of the deceased's neighbourhood, who prepare the body, carry it to the graveside and dig the grave. Only men dig the grave, while women weep. A rhythmic funeral chant is song as the body is carried to grave. Large quantities of beer and other alcohol are consumed at the grave. Most bodies are placed in the grave in an extended position, although those of old people are put in a *fetal* '(crouching) position'. The corpse is placed in the grave facing in the direction from which his ↗ancestors came. Nothing is usually placed in the grave. The earth is poured back into the grave and the earth is pounded down with a heavy rock to prevent hyenas from digging it up. A bull is killed several weeks or months after the B. and sticks are placed to indicate the site. Funeral dances are also held on such occasions, although not when the victim was particularly young. Memorial statues (↗*Waakaa*) are sometimes erected at the site. Although located in fields, graves are not the subject of special avoidance. Special B. are held for priests. In this case the body is eviscerated and covered with butter and honey and left unburied for nine days. After this it is buried in a basket in a temporary grave with the viscera in a jar underneath. Only after three years is it exhumed and placed in a regular grave. A child who dies before his coming out (*sogeda*) ceremony is buried without formality.

Among the ↗Kəmant death requires two observances: a rite of lamentation *läqso* to usher the deceased out of human society and a rite of commemoration called a *täzkar*. A person who commits suicide or a woman who dies during menstruation are not given rites of lamentation or interred in sacred ground. They are placed outside the boundaries of the cemetery. When a person dies in the morning, they are usually buried the same day, otherwise B. takes place the next day. Relatives and friends are summoned. Relatives (both consanguineal and affineal) demonstrate extreme grief and may cut their hair and slash their skin with their fingernails. The body is prepared by tying the hands to the thighs and binding the thumbs and big toes together. Religious officials (↗*Wämbar*) are placed in a wooden box made from trees of the sacred grove, others a wrapped in a white cloth and then a mat of grass. The remains are taken to the sacred B. grove. The deceased is buried in a shallow grave on its right side with the soles of the feet facing eastward, the direction towards which they pray. The grave is covered with dirt and stone. Priests pray and after the B. bless the grave and pour sacred beer over it. After the B., the mourners return to the houses and may stay for several days. The *täzkar* is held within a few months of the funeral. The Kəmant say this rite is for commemoration of the deceased and allows a person to enter heaven and be content in the grave. Almost everyone in the community attends a *täzkar*. Cattle are sacrificed for a feast. The *wämbar*, priests and elders enter a special hut. Large quantities of beer, mead and bread are also consumed.

Among the ↗Somali funerals are confined to men, although women follow the corpse to the grave. Food and clothes are provided for the dead by sacrifices, and gifts to the poor are often provided for by the last will. Somali funeral rites are based on Islam, induding mourning by the bereaved family, washing the corpse, bearing the corpse to the grave on a simple litter, and prompt B. When he dies, a man is turned on his right side facing Mecca, while kin

and friends pray; the body is wrapped in a shroud. While the grave is dug, a funeral feast is conducted by the *wadad* (ritual expert). Food is sent to the gravediggers. Another feast for them is held after seven days. The grave is a trench dug in an east-west direction. The body is laid on the right side, the head facing east and the face towards Mecca. It is covered with a cloak. The crypt is closed with pieces of wood and stone, so no earth touches the body. All those present fill in the grave. A deceased man has two gravestone at the head and foot, a woman has a third in the middle. It has the appearance of a tumulus surrounded by stones. If a father and son die at the same time they share a grave. Only the widow engages in mourning, wearing a white headdoth, and abstains from butter unguents and dancing. She is also obliged to stay at home for four months.

Among the ↗Mao, B. takes place immediately after death. The body is washed, greased with butter and wrapped in a cloth by a person of the same gender. The corpse is placed in a hollowed-out tree, covered with palm-leaf mats and dirt. Nine days after a man's death his son presents gifts to a ritual expert and inquires as to the cause of his death. The deceased's hut must be purified before it can be occupied again. Trees are planted on hunters' graves and shrub's on those of others.

The funeral is the single most impressive cooperative event among the ↗Sidama. A Sidama does not have the option of arranging an inconspicuous funeral. He must stage an impressive ritual with the full participation of his *olla* (a territorial-based group whose largest unit of action is the local community). Indeed, funerals are in some sense the ritual which defines the borders of the *olla*. The death of an elder mobilizes the *olla* in the management of a ritual of majestic proportion. Even the death of a younger person calls for a large ritual, only in the case of children is this scaled down to a family event.

When a person dies, the fact is not made public for several days, or even more than a week, and is announced on an odd numbered day. Only dose relatives gather in the hut of the deceased; this group is called a *hove* and is defined by friendship and neighbourhood. They busy themselves ordering the house, mending the garden and decorating in a quiet and peaceful manner. When the preparations are completed and a B. site has been selected, the news is made public. The leading elder of the *hove* initiates the crying and the virtues of the deceased are presented. The performance of this litany requires careful training. The mourners begin to arrive, single file in order of age and begin ritual crying as they approach. Men and women approach in separate lines, women scratch their cheeks until they bleed. In the afternoon, the men dig the grave at the sight chosen by the *hove* leaders. The first spadeful is dug by the eldest son of the deceased or another close male relative. The body is carried from the hut to the grave in a vigorous display of grief. Honey is poured in the grave and the first soil is placed in by the eldest son or another male relative. A B. mound is built up, with the size dependent on status. The distant members of the *olla* depart, but most of the *hove* remains wailing for three days.

After an interval an even bigger ceremony known as the great funeral (*willa*) is announced. A tree is cut down, branches cut off, except at top, and bark is stripped and carried to the site of the big funeral. The pole is a symbol of the dead, shields and other personal effects such as a spear are put at the foot of the grave. In the case of an important woman a vase is draped with cotton and her ornaments are placed on its neck and handles. Songs and dances then commence. After three days, the pole is taken down in a frenzy. Daughters and wives tear off braids, men cut themselves with knives. Bulls are slaughtered and given to clean and unclean castes. Elders eat last.

The ↗ʿAfar observe various degrees of Islam. Death is announced by crying and wailing of the family and paid mourners. The deceased is laid out in a hut, sown into a shroud and carried to the grave by friends and relatives reciting from the Qurʾān. The corpse is laid out according to the prescriptions of Islam, with a stone at each end. Animals are sacrificed. Many ʿAfar build elaborate tombs and memorials of stonework which dominate the hilltops. Memorials (*das*) are separate from the grave and are elaborate stone mounds that are erected one to twelve months after the death. Tree trunks or branches can also be used.

↗Funeral; ↗Grave

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, *A Social History of Ethiopia,* Addis Ababa 1990, 195–99; STEVEN KAPLAN, *Les Falashas,* Turnhout 1989, 147–50; CHRISTOPHER ROBERT HALLPIKE, *The Konso of Ethiopia: a Study of the Values of a Cushitic People,* Oxford 1972, 156–63; WILLIAM

ALFRED SHACK, *The Gurage: a People of the Ensete Culture*, London 1966, 128ff.; FREDERICK CHARLES GAMST, *The Qemant: a Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia*, Prospect Park, IL 1969, 111–15; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London – Oxford – New York 1952, 265; ALULA PANKHURST, *Resettlement and Famine in Ethiopia*, Manchester 1992, 185–92; JAN BRØGGER, *Belief and Experience among the Sidamo*, Oslo 1986, 98–105; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar, Saho*, London 1969, 138f., 171; ERNESTA CERULLI, *Peoples of South-West Ethiopia and its Borderland*, London 1956, 33–36, 80, 131f.; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Galla of Ethiopia: the Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero*, London 1955, 86f., 118f., 134; VSAe I, 38ff., 42f., 116ff., 120f., 149–57; VSAe II, 241ff., 493–500; VSAe III, 67–71, 135–40, 211–14, 249–54, 349ff., 370ff.; LOUIS-VINCENT THOMAS, "Funeral Rites", in: MIRCEA ELIADE (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 5, New York – London 1987, 450–59; HAGAR SALAMON, *The Hyena People: Ethiopian Jews in Christian Ethiopia*, Berkeley 1999, 48ff., 78ff.; FASSIKA BELLETE, "The Death Customs Among the Amharas of Säwa", *Ethnological Society Bulletin* 7, 1957, 17–28; ANDARGATCHEW TESFAYE, "The Funeral Customs of the *Kottu* of Harar", *ibid.* 35–40.

Steven Kaplan

Burree Waaqa

B.W. (possibly from Oromo *buree* 'multi-coloured', *waaqa* 'god'; s. TilDic) is the name of a crater lake located at approximately 36°E, 7°N, about 20 km north-west of the town of ↗Tepi. B.W. is the only lake in the entire area and is thought by many to be the site of evil, supernatural forces. It is less than 1 km in diameter and is said to be deep, though its depth has not been accurately measured.

Local fishermen unanimously report that there is absolutely no fish in the water, though fish eagles are seen there. The lake water undergoes significant colour changes through the year, presumably due to plant life. The lake is now within a government coffee plantation. In the 1990s, studies began for the introduction of fish.

Peter Unseth

Burton, Richard Francis

B. (b. 1821, Elstree, d. October 1890, Trieste) was a noted British Orientalist and scholar-explorer. The son of an army officer, he spent two years at Oxford University, but was basically self-educated. He joined the British Indian Army in 1842.

B. was an academically gifted man with tremendous physical stamina and an unusual gift for languages and for observation of people and places. After serving as a soldier, travelling and researching in British India, he journeyed to Goa, Arabia, the Middle East, and later Ethiopia, originally at the request of the London Royal Geographical Society, to explore the Somali lands. Later in his career, B. was side-lined by his superiors in the army and in the Foreign Office, who feared his great knowledge and independence of mind. In 1872 he was sent to Trieste as British consul. He did a lot of writing there but deeply resented the place.

B. was intensely interested in the cultures, languages and customs of non-Western peoples and recorded these in great detail, including much on gender and sexual relations. During his travels he often disguised himself as a non-European to increase rapport with the local population and leaders (e.g. when visiting Mecca in 1853). In Ethiopia he became the first European to gain access to the then independent walled Islamic city of ↗Harär in January 1855 and was received by its *amīr* ↗Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr. In his book *First Footsteps in East Africa* (1856) B. not only describes this ten-day visit with observations on the town as a trade centre (for slaves, ivory, coffee, cloth and gums) but also provides a detailed and pioneering description of northern Somali society during that period (ᶜIssa, Gadabuursi, Isaaq). His account gives information on Somali history, clan genealogy, religion, marriage and other customs, in addition to economic life, such as cattle-herding and trade. The book remains a classical piece of

travellers' and explorers' literature on pre-modern Somalia and Ethiopia. Travellers after him have often lauded the accuracy of his descriptions.

A restless traveller and prolific author of dozens of books and several hundreds of articles, B. shared many of the views and biases of his (Victorian) age, but – in contrast to the simple stereotypes of many other European "Orientalist" scholars of that time – he had a great respect for the languages, literatures and history of the Near and Far East and Africa, including Ethiopia. His approach was marked by a discontent with his own Western-British civilization and its supposed "superiority"; his work revealed an attempt, if not entirely successful, to evaluate and understand non-Western cultures in their own terms.

Src.: RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON, *First Footsteps in East Africa; or, an Exploration of Harar*, London 1856; ID., *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Mecca*, London 1855–56.

Lit.: NORMAN MOSLEY PENZER, *An Annotated Bibliography of Sir Richard Francis Burton*, London 1923 [²1967; ³1970]; FAWN MCKAY BRODIE, *The Devil Drives. A Life of Sir Richard Burton*, London 1967; MICHAEL HASTINGS, *Sir Richard Burton: a Biography*, New York – London 1978; BROWNLEE JEAN KIRKPATRICK, *Catalogue of the Library of Sir Richard Burton K.C.M.G., held by the Royal Anthropological Institute*, London 1979; JAMES A. CASADA, *Sir Richard F. Burton. A Biobibliographical Study*, London 1990; MARY S. LOVELL, *A Rage to Live. A Biography of Richard and Isabel Burton*, New York 1998.

John G. Abbink

Buruk Amlak

The monk B.A. (**ቡሩክ፡ አምላክ**) of ↗Däbrä Kol (Eritrea) lived in the 14th cent. and was a member of the monastic movement known as *däqiqä Ewosṭatewos* (↗Ewosṭateans). He is still venerated as a saint in southern Eritrea. According to his Acts, B.A. was born in Mayä Ḥəywät and baptized by the Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Qerəllos. He was initiated into the monastic life by ↗Absadi, during his stay with Ewosṭatewos in the lands of Zabyat and Marya, in northern Eritrea. After the two saints separated (1337), B.A. followed Absadi to Səbʾä (Säbʾa) and was still with him during the foundation of the monastery ↗Däbrä Maryam in Qʷäḥayn, Säraye (1374). Having received the holy orders, B.A. left Absadi's community and settled in a place called ʿAd Ḥäywa in the Märagʷəz district of Säraye province (Eritrea). His death is attributed to a band of rebels who attacked and murdered the saint and his fellows, not far from ʿAd Ḥäywa, during the reign of *aṣe* Dawit I (1382–1412). On the place of their martyrdom, the monastery of Däbrä Kol (or Ənda Abba Buruk) was established at an uncertain date.

The *Gädlä Buruk Amlak* was published by Carlo Conti Rossini in 1938 from the 20th-cent. ms. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Rome), Fonds Conti Rossini no. 8.

Src.: KinBibl 68, no. 35; StrANL 27f., no. 8; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Un santo eritreo: Buruk Amlāk", *RRALm* ser. 6, 14, 1938, 3–50.

Lit.: LusStud 113ff.; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5-36, here 11f.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Bushland

B. in various forms is one of the most prominent vegetation types in Ethiopia and Eritrea. The other major natural vegetation types are forest, various kinds of woodland, wooded grassland, and semi-desert grassland.

The definition of B. that is generally accepted in African vegetation science is a vegetation type where bushes cover 40 % or more of the land. A bush is usually a multiple-stemmed woody plant, lower than a tree, and usually between three and seven meter high. The two major types of B. in Ethiopia are evergreen and deciduous. They are very different with regard to the plants they contain and the ecological condition they occur under.

Evergreen B. covers extensive areas in the highlands of Ethiopia, chiefly between 1,200 and 3,500 m A.S.L. The evergreen B. is naturally very extensive at the highest altitudes, for example above 3,000 m, where species of heather (mainly *Erica*) are very frequent. In some places, especially in the ↗National Parks on the Səmen and the Bale Mountains, evergreen B. can cover very extensive areas and grow to such a height that it approaches forest.

At altitudes between 1,500 m and 3,000 m, evergreen B. is usually a secondary vegetation derived from forest vegetation through the cutting of timber and wood and various agricultural practices, and kept as B. by cattle grazing. In such areas, B. is typically a stage in the regeneration of natural vegetation on fallow land. Such evergreen B. often does not quite meet the required 40 % coverage, as large glades develop among dense dumps of bushes, in which

spiny and unpalatable species such as the *Maytenus* species take over and dominate the vegetation.

Deciduous B. is found at altitudes below 1,500 m or, in Eritrea and Təgray and other dry northern regions, also on the plateau at higher altitudes. In the deciduous B. a number of low-growing species of ↗acacia are the most prominent, but evergreen species can occur. The deciduous B. can also be a stage in the regeneration of the natural vegetation after agriculture, and may form important grazing areas for herds of sheep and goats. In the south-eastern and eastern parts of Ethiopia, especially the regions inhabited by the Boorana and Somali-speaking ethnic groups, B. marked by the two genera *Acacia* and *Commiphora* are dominant and cover very extensive areas.

↗Däga; ↗Plants

Ib Friis

Business organizations

Most businesses in Ethiopia, as elsewhere in the world, are owned by only one person, the sole proprietor. No legal formalities are needed to create a sole proprietorship. The owner may have employees and agents, but their relationship to him is personal. When two or more persons own a business, they have formed a B.o. Some degree of formality is required, even if it is merely an arrangement created by custom or an oral agreement. The organization they form may be as simple as a partnership of two individuals or as complex as a multinational company owned by millions of shareholders throughout the world. B.o. are formed to conduct businesses and to share the profits among the owners.

Current Ethiopian practice embodies two major forms of business ownership. Ethiopian B.o. may be privately owned or owned by the national government. Government owned enterprises take many forms. A few, such as Ethiopian Airlines or the Addis Abäba-Djibouti-↗Railway, are share companies; most are entities established by a law governing public enterprises. Since 1992, most purely commercial public entities such as electric power, telephones, banks, hotels, restaurants, farms and manufacturing industries have been established as separate legal persons under the public enterprises law. The remainder of the state's businesses, such as the post office, hospitals, clinics, schools, ↗Addis Ababa University and other services are owned directly or indirectly by ministries or other government agencies.

Public enterprises

Public enterprises are governed by Proclamation No. 25 of 1992. This law creates an organizational structure much like that established by the ↗Commercial Code for companies. The economic doctrine expressed by this law is that public enterprises have a duty to make a profit. The organizational structure and operations of these public enterprises are similar to private B.o. – they come into existence by the publication of a special ministerial regulation, have a supervising authority, which represents the government as the owner of the business and whose functions correspond generally with those of the shareholders of a company. Below the supervising authority is a management board, which is responsible for most policy decisions and which appoints the general manager. The law requires that the members of the management board should be chosen on the basis of their expertise and experience in the business of the enterprise, law, accounting, information technology, etc., and that the accounts of public enterprises should be reviewed and certified annually by independent auditors.

The public enterprises in Ethiopia fail to serve the vast majority of the population. Only a minuscule fraction (as little as 4 %) of the population is served by electricity, telephones, clean water, sewerage collection and treatment, good roads, postal service etc. Besides, public enterprises in Ethiopia frequently lose money because their goods or services are priced below cost for political reasons. They are usually overstaffed as the hiring politicians want to ensure support of the employees and their families. Management is often untrained and indifferent to the concept of serving the public. In spite of this, Ethiopian public enterprises still play a major role in the economy, though private sector grows steadily.

Private business organizations

In Ethiopia, as elsewhere, there are three general types of privately owned B.o.: partnerships (general partnership, limited partnership, ordinary partnership, joint venture), companies (share companies and private limited companies) – all those governed by the Commercial Code – and cooperatives – guided by special

laws. Among them, general partnerships are the oldest form of B.o. In historical Ethiopia, general partnerships were recognized and governed by the ↗*Fəṭḥa nägäśt*, where chapter 34 describes a general partnership in terms which correspond to the modern definition. Cooperatives are the newest form of privately owned B.o.

1. Cooperatives

The cooperatives – businesses owned by and operated for the economic and social benefit of its members – are mostly engaged in agricultural, crafts, light industry using members' raw materials, or trading activities. They are divided into two types, the cooperative society (with at least ten members residing in the community in which the cooperative operates and actively participating in the cooperative activity) and the cooperative federation (a group of at least two cooperative societies). Members, each of whom has one vote, contribute capital or work to, and share in the profits of their cooperative. In addition to their business functions, cooperatives may also perform social functions for their members or their community at large, intended to improve the education, health or economic efficiency of the members or the community. Under the *Därg* regime, large numbers of people were forced to join cooperatives. As a result, cooperatives have now a rather adverse image and play a relatively minor role in the economy.

2. Companies

Among companies, share ones are organizationally complex and most useful for enterprises with large numbers of shareholders. They must have at least five shareholders and a minimum capital of 50,000 *bərr*. Private limited companies, which may have as few as two (but no more than 50) shareholders and must have a minimum capital of 15,000 *bərr*, give their shareholders limited liability for the debts of the companies and the simple management structure of a partnership. There are far more private limited companies registered in Ethiopia than any other form of B.o.

Companies appeared in Ethiopia before the end of the 19th cent. The first company in Ethiopia was Le Chemin de fer Franco-Ethiopien, which was organized in 1894. Among the railroad's shareholders were *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu. The second company was the Bank of Abyssinia, which was organized in 1905 and owned by the Bank of Egypt (↗Banks).

The first general companies law in Ethiopia was the Companies Law of 12 July 1933. It was repeated when the Commercial Code, valid till today, came into effect on 11 September 1960. The law requires banks, insurance companies and other financial companies to be share companies. Companies are usually created for perpetuity or at least for an indefinite period. Therefore their existence is not dependent upon the active participation or life of the founder or any other individual. Some companies, such as Le Chemin de fer Franco-Ethiopien, have existed for many generations.

2.1. Share companies

The board of directors of a share companies elects a chairman from among its members. In Ethiopia, one of the directors is frequently called the "managing director" and is the senior manager of the company. Unfortunately, the Commercial Code leaves shareholders with fewer rights and less security than are necessary to attract investment (domestic and foreign) and thus to develop the country.

2.2. Private limited companies

The structure of private limited companies is usually very different from that of a share companies in one important aspect. They usually have no board of directors. One or more shareholders may act as the manager or managers of the companies. If a private limited company has more than 20 shareholders, it is required to have at least three auditors and regular meetings.

The law presumes that certain persons have the right to speak for and create obligations on behalf of companies: these are managers and other agents duly appointed by the board of directors (or in the case of a private limited company the memorandum of association).

The private limited companies are truly a paradox in the law and economy of Ethiopia. Registration figures in ↗Addis Abäba, in two very different periods of history, have shown that partnerships and share companies are used in Ethiopia much less than would be expected. In 1968, registered B.o. in Addis Abäba included 400 partnerships, 200 share companies and 400 private limited companies In 1997 registered B.o. in Addis Abäba included 162 partnerships, 128 share companies and 1,980 private limited companies So private limited companies are clearly the preferred form of B.o. Yet, the Commercial Code provides less guidance to business persons and their legal counsel about

the rights and obligations of shareholders and managers of private limited companies than any other form of B.o. in Ethiopia. This shows that companies are truly economic entities.

3. Partnerships

The major difference between the two major types of partnerships relates to the distinction made in the Commercial Code (article 5) between commercial and non-commercial economic activities (such as education, consulting, medicine, research, etc). An ordinary partnership may engage in non-commercial economic activities only. A general partnership may engage in both commercial and non-commercial economic activities.

3.1. Liability in partnerships

Most partners in partnerships are "general partners", that means, they are personally, individually and fully liable to creditors of the partnership for all of the debts of the partnership, not just a proportionate share of them ("unlimited liability"). In joint ventures and sometimes in ordinary partnerships, one or more, but not all, of the general partners may have freedom from full liability for the debts of the partnership. In limited partnerships these partners are called "limited partners" – the amount of such partner's exposure to loss is limited to the amount of cash or property he or she invested in the partnership ("limited liability").

3.2. Capital regulations

The Commercial Code gives "legal personality" (legal existence separate from the existence of its partners) to all B.o. except joint ventures. Every B.o. must have capital – money and property – with which to conduct its business. General partners may contribute money, property or skill (their work) to a partnership. The law establishes no minimum or maximum contribution for each partner and no minimum or maximum capital for the partnership. The contribution of the general partners may be stated in the partnership agreement, but that does not limit their personal liability to creditors of the partnership for the debts of the partnership because of the doctrine of unlimited liability. The contribution of limited partners to a limited partnership is stated in the partnership agreement and the rules of limited liability set their liability forever at the amount of that contribution. The liability of a general partner in a joint venture who is not the managing partner is limited if the partnership agreement so provides. Certain general partners in an ordinary partnership may also enjoy limited liability under certain circumstances if the creditors know of the limitation and do not object to it.

3.3. Relations between the partners

The Commercial Code and the ↗Civil Code set forth a series of rules governing the relations of the partners among each other. The law presumes that general partners make equal contributions, share profits and losses equally, have an equal voice and vote, an equal right to act as a manager or agent of the partnership, and share distributions equally upon termination of the partnership. All of these rules may be changed by the partnership agreement, which means the almost complete freedom of contract among the general partners in their dealings with each other.

Most partnership agreements appoint one or more managers to handle the business of the partnership. Partnerships may be dissolved at any time by the agreement of the partners. The law dissolves partnerships whenever a general partner withdraws, becomes bankrupt or incapacitated, or dies.

3.4. Formation of joint ventures

Joint ventures are an anomalous form of partnership which differ in many important respects from other forms of partnership. Nonetheless the Commercial Code states that they are actual partnerships governed by general principles of partnership law. Unlike all other B.o., the formation of a joint venture does not require a written partnership agreement. Therefore a joint venture may be formed by spoken words, actions of the partners or custom. Joint ventures do not acquire separate legal personality. All joint venture transactions are conducted in the name of the managing partner, not the name of the joint venture. Partners who are not managers may have limited liability if the partnership agreement permits it. Joint ventures do not deposit any documents with the official in charge of the commercial register. Because of the privacy afforded by the lack of such a deposit, and because joint ventures conduct their business in the name of the managing partner, no one knows how many joint ventures have been formed in Ethiopia. However, because of the ease with which a joint venture may be formed, its popularity among certain business groups (such as Gurage merchants), and the

privacy afforded to its members, it is probable that the number of joint ventures far surpasses the number of all other B.o.

Statistics and conclusions

Registration figures in Addis Abäba have shown that partnerships, with the probable exception of joint ventures, are little used in Ethiopia. In 1968, registered businesses in Addis Abäba included 9,000 sole proprietorships, 400 partnerships of all forms, 400 private limited companies and 200 share companies. In 1997, registered business in Addis Abäba included 35,000 sole proprietorships, 1 ordinary partnership, 155 general partnerships, 6 limited partnerships, 128 share companies and 1,980 private limited companies.

These numbers show that persons who register their B.o. overwhelmingly prefer private limited companies; in 1997, 87% of registered B.o. were private limited companies. Private limited companies provide limited liability to all of their owners—partnerships do not. It takes only 15,000 *bərr* to capitalize a private limited company—a small amount in today's economy. Thus only the ill-advised or the uninformed would form a partnership and incur unlimited liability when the alternative of a private limited company offering limited liability to all the participants in the business is so readily available.

Therefore, partnerships, with the exception of joint ventures, offer business persons very few economic advantages. In many ways they are a relic of an earlier economic and legal age, before the invention of limited liability and the easy formation of a private limited company. The numbers of each kind of B.o. registered in Addis Abäba are evidence of the lack of economic value of partnerships to owners of businesses. A business person conducts his or her business as a sole proprietorship, as a joint venture or as a private limited company. Nonetheless the law offers other partnership forms to those who choose to use them.

A committee of the Ministry of Justice is working on a comprehensive revision of the Commercial Code. Therefore, the law of governing the six forms of business organization established and regulated by the Commercial Code may, or may not, be changed in the near future.

↗Commercial Code; ↗Economy; ↗Industrialization/Industry

Src.: "Commercial Code of Ethiopia 1960; Proclamation No. 160/1960", *Nägarit gazeṭa*, extraordinary issue 3, 1960; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1998.

Lit.: ABU GIRMA, "Public Enterprise Reform in the Utilities Sector in Ethiopia", in: ABDULHAMID BEDRI KELLO (ed.), *Privatization and Public Enterprise Reform in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1994, 253–70; EVERETT F. GOLDBERG, "Introduction to the Law of Business Organisations", *Journal of Ethiopian Law* 8, 1972, 495–523; PAUL MCCARTHY, "'De Facto' and Customary Partnerships in Ethiopian Law", *ibid.* 5, 1968, 102–22; PAULOS TZADUA (tr.) – PETER L. STRAUSS (ed.), *The Fətha Nägast. The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968, 192; CHRISTOPHER JOSEPH MESNOOH, *Law and Business in France: a Guide to French Commercial and Corporate Law*, Dordrecht—Boston—London 1994, 67; KRISHNA AHOOJA, "The Bank of Abyssinia: the Portrait", *EthObs* 8, 4, 1965, 355–58; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Franco-Ethiopian Railway and its History", *ibid.* 6, 4, 1965, 342–79.

Michael P. Porter

Bušrā āy Muḥammad

Ḥāǧǧī B. (بشرى اى محمد; d. 1863) was a renowned Muslim scholar (*ʿālim*) in 19th-cent. ↗Wällo and is still venerated as a Muslim saint (*wälī*). According to hagiographical traditions (Hussein Ahmed 2001), B. was born in Yəfat. He was distinguished for his precociousness during his Islamic education. After having completed his training in Islamic law in Däwway, he followed his master, *šayḫ* of Nurabisa, to Omdurman in the Sudan where he was initiated into different ways of sufism (*taṣawwuf*; in particular *Qādirī*, *Sammānī* and *Ḫatmī*). He went on pilgrimage to ↗Mecca before returning to Ethiopia, where he established his centre of teaching at Gäta in Wärrä Qallu, 30 km south of Kombolča. There his shrine is still a place of worship and pilgrimage (*ziyāra*), especially during the festival of *al-mawlid al-nabawī* (Birthday of the Prophet Muḥammad) on 12 *Rabīʿ al-awwal*.

Lit.: HUSSEIN AHMED, *Islam in Nineteenth-Century Wällo, Ethiopia*, Leiden – Boston – Köln 2001, 104–13.

Eloi Fiquet

Bussa ↗ Mosiye

Butağira

The town of B. (ቡታጅራ, also Buttagera, Buttagira; 8°07' N, 38°22' E, ca. 2,100 m A.S.L.) is located in southern Šäwa on the western slopes of the Rift Valley, 135 km sorth from Addis Abäba, 95 km north-east from the town of Hossäyna, and 50 km west from that of Zʷay. It

is situated at the centre of a territory which, in a distance of 50 km, descends from a height of 3,720 m on the Gurage mountains to a depth of 1,600 m at Lake Z^{w}ay. Being situated in the *wäyna däga* zone, B. has a temperate climate. This and the fertility of the soil in its area are factors which make intensive cultivation and dense population possible around the town.

B.'s emergence as a settlement, or cluster of settlements, was conditioned more by military factors than by geographical or socio-economic ones. The settlements in B. were first founded by the ↗Məsqan Gurage during their extension into the lands of the Maraqoo, a Cushitic group akin to the ↗Hadiyya. Along with the Məsqan, ↗Səlṭi, Dobi and Kəstane Gurage extended into the area. The conquest of Gurageland by *aṣe* Mənilək in the 1880s and the subsequent emergence of a market in the area contributed significantly to the economic growth of the B. area.

The town itself is said to have been officially established in 1929 by the then Minister of War *ras* ↗Mulugeta Yəggäzu. The physical reorganization of the town, which had already begun following the conquest, assumed greater proportions through the actions of *ras* Mulugeta. These included relocation of the market place, allocation of land, and institution of local administration. The town witnessed considerable expansion in the post-1941 period. This followed the establishment of a municipality in the 1940s and B.'s selection as capital of Gurage–Märaqo *awraǧǧa* in 1954. Later B. became the capital of ↗Ḥayqočč–Butağira *awraǧǧa* and today it is capital of the Məsqan–Märaqo *wäräda* of Gurage Zone.

A compound in the Butağira area with the chain of the Gurage mountains in the background, photo by Manfred J. Müller

The nationalization of rural and urban lands in 1975 provided a further impetus to the physical, demographic and economic expansion of the town. The trend has continued ever since. At present B. is one of the fastest-growing towns in the Gurage region, a town where commerce has become the source of livelihood for the largest section of the town's population. Of main economic importance is B.'s location on the Addis Abäba–B.–Hossäyna–Soddo road.

Src.: author's own data; *Guida* 549.
Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Geschichte der Hadiya Süd-Äthiopiens: von den Anfängen bis zur Revolution 1974*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 50), 194ff.

Shimelis Bonsa

Buttaa

B. is an Oromo term denoting a certain ritual sacrifice or any feast or festival in Oromo society. More particularly, it refers to a ritual performed by a generation-set that enters the next senior ↗*gadaa* grade. Though descriptions differ in detail, it seems to have always involved the slaughtering of bulls or oxen (MHasOr 15; Huntingford 1955:46f.). Thus, when the *gadaa* government changes after eight years, every new *gadaa* class had to celebrate its B. ceremony. This was usually followed by a raid or ritual war (Asmarom Legesse 1973:74), also called B. This event was feared by Oromo neighbours and enemies. From an economic point of view, the booty should replenish the cattle stock of the group. Furthermore, it presented an opportunity for men to achieve fame by acquiring a trophy. A man was only considered a full man after he had killed an enemy or a big game-animal (MHasOr 12; Azaïs – Chambard 1931:208f.; BTafA 163ff.;

Buttaa ceremony in Arsi, in the middle the bloated stomach of the sacrified cattle, besides of it small dunghills decorated with solanum fruits, 1954/55, photo by Eike Haberland, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (27–Ha096–27)

VSAe II:205ff.). Ideally, each *gadaa* class in power should initiate a raid into territory which none of its predecessors had raided before (BeckHuntAlm 112). A good part of the Oromo migration from their home territory in the 16th cent. is explained in the literature by the B. concept, although other social factors, such as adoption and migration of younger brothers, seem to have been major factors in the expansion process (MHasOr 21; Hultin 1982:1ff.). The term B. could also refer to marriage by capture.

Lit.: BeckHuntAlm 112; BTafA 163ff.; MHasOr 12, 15, 21; VSAe II, 205ff.; ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada*: *Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York 1973, 74; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Galla of Ethiopia*: *the Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero*, London 1955, 46f.; JAN HULTIN, "The Oromo Expansion Reconsidered", *Journal of Research on North East Africa* 1–3, 1982, 1–13; FRANÇOIS AZAÏS – ROGER CHAMBARD, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Éthiopie*, Paris 1931, 208ff.

Andrea Nicolas

Butter ↗ Milk and milk products

Buuna qallaa

B.q. can be literally translated from the Oromo language as 'coffee slaughtered', but the meaning is extended to include the ritual performance during which whole dried coffee berries are prepared, sacrificed and consumed. B.q. in locally variant, and sometimes abbreviated, forms continues to be emotionally important for most ↗Oromo; it has become a symbol of national identity to which Muslims, Christians and followers of traditional religions, the schooled and the unschooled, the powerful and the weak, can respond, as well as being a ritual in which all can participate with enjoyment (Aguilar 1998:179).

In most respects the sacrifice of *buuna* ('coffee') is similar in performance to that of an animal. Livestock are prepared with a libation of milk and/or an anointment with butter and are slaughtered by having their throats cut with a sharp knife to the accompaniment of blessings and prayers. Coffee berries are metaphorically "slaughtered" by their husks being bitten open (Bartels 1983, ch. 24), fried in butter (in hard times shop bought oil may be substituted), served in warm milk and consumed to the accompaniment of blessings and prayers. Traditionally, but diminishingly, the fried berries are poured into a wooden bowl of warm milk from which helpings are scooped with a spoon into wooden serving cups; all the utensils used should be reserved for that purpose only (Bartels 1983, plates 35f.; VSAe II, plates 10f.; Tablino 1999:281). Participants are served in approximate order of ritual seniority. Each sweeps a mouthful of berries, butter and milk into his or her mouth and chews and ingests the mixture. Each participant has a few drops of the butter dripped into his or her right palm with which to anoint their foreheads so they "shine" before ↗*Waaqa*.

B.q. may form a component in most sequences of rituals but it is most commonly and frequently performed on its own, often daily or even twice daily, as a small scale domestic or neighbourhood ritual. A homestead which cannot afford *buuna* is spiritually deprived.

B.q. differs from animal sacrifice in that, even though it is senior men who take the front places and lead the prayers and blessings, it gives prominence to women. Firstly, in daily prayers the performance is centred around the domestic hearth of the officiating wife who controls the preparation and serving. Secondly, coffee berries, like cowries, are figurative representations of the vagina and in the heightened speech of ritual a metonym for women. The berries, butter and milk in combination are potent signifiers and reminders of domestic warmth and female fecundity.

Src.: TON LEUS, *Borana Dictionary*, Yabello 1995.
Lit.: MARIO I. AGUILAR, *Being Oromo in Kenya*, Trenton, NJ – Asmara 1998, 179; LAMBERT BARTELS, *Oromo Religion*: *Myths and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia – an Attempt to Understand*, Berlin 1983; MARCO BASSI, *I Borana*: *una società assembleare dell'Etiopia*, Milano 1996; PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER, "Oromo Blessings and Greetings", in: ANITA JACOBSON-WIDDING – WALTER VAN BEEK (eds.), *The Creative Communion*: *African Folk Models of Fertility and the Regeneration of Life*, Uppsala 1990, 235–50;

VSAe II, plates 10, 11; PAOLO TABLINO, *The Gabra: Camel Nomads of Northern Kenya*, Nairobi 1999, 281; GETACHEW KASSA, "A Descriptive Account of Coffee Slaughter (Bun Qalle) Ceremony of the Garri of Southern Ethiopia", in: RICHARD PANKHURST — AHMED ZEKARIA — TADDESSE BEYENE (eds.), *Proceedings of the First National Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa 1990, 13–28.

Zelealem Banti – Paul T.W. Baxter

Buya

B. (ቡያ, or Buyya) is an archaeological site located just south of the gulf of ↗Zula on the Red Sea coast of Eritrea.

During 1995 the Eritrean Department of Mines, in collaboration with the University of Florence, discovered a human skull with two pelvic fragments and two permanent lower incisors. It reveals the combination of prominent features of *Homo erectus* and certain traits of *Homo sapiens*. The brain capacity is estimated to be between 750 and 800 cm^3. The remains were found in a succession of fluvio-deltaic and lacustrine deposits associated with typical African savannah mammalian fauna of the early to early-middle Pleistocene period (Abbate 1998:393). A rich vertebrate fauna was also exposed from the same *Homo*-bearing layer of B. From this evidence it seems that B. must be a settlement site of long duration. Stone implements such as pebble choppers and Acheulian hand-axes were collected from the adjacent area of Dändero and may have been manufactured and used by the evolved *Homo erectus*. Paleo-magnetic analyses and bio-chronological data provide an age of about one million years for the "Prehistoric Man" of B.

Lit.: FRANCO BARBERI – JACQUES VARET, "Volcanism of Afar: Small-Scale Plate Tectonic Implications", *Bulletin of the Geological Society of America* 88, 1977, 1251–66; ERNESTO ABBATE et al., "A One-Million-Year-Old *Homo Cranium* from the Danakil (Afar) Depression of Eritrea", *Nature* 393, 1998, 458–60; JON E. KALB et al., "Geology and Stratigraphy of Neogene Deposits, Middle Awash Valley, Ethiopia", *ibid.* 298, 1982, 17–25; MESFIN WOLDE-MARIAM, *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972.

S. Krishna Rao

B^{w}oro ↗ Šinašša

Byzantine Empire

The B.E. and ↗Aksum were able to forge effective links in three areas of mutual interest: a common religious and ideological orientation based on the state religion, common commercial and economic interests in the ↗Red Sea and Indian Ocean and complimentary and non-competitive political objectives in southern ↗Arabia.

↗Christianity was soon employed as a political and ideological tool by the leaders of both states. Both the B.E. and Aksum first legitimized and then recognized Christianity as the state religion in the 4th cent. The Emperor Constantine, the first Byzantine ruler, defeated his rivals under the banner of Christianity and legitimized it for the first time within Rome–Byzantium. In the same century, the King ↗ʿEzana of Aksum, adopted Christianity after it was introduced by Greek speaking merchants and others from the eastern Mediterranean. Following Constantine's steps, the figure of ʿEzana was crucial to the establishment of Christianity in his own state. He may have been at the origin of a political theory, pursued by succeeding rulers of Aksum, that legitimized the position of emperors and employed religious and theological symbolism to accentuate their rule. In the B.E. the emperor was the final arbiter in the religious disputes that raged from the 4th to the 7th cent. In Aksum, since the late 5th cent. at least, it seems the emperor saw himself as the protector of ↗Christianity and gladly allowed persecuted refugees to enter and proselytize in his country.

On these religious grounds, Aksum and the B.E. interrelated for a combination of economic and political reasons. Aksum owed its wealth and power to its position on the Red Sea, from where it could dominate both land- and sea-passages to the Indian Ocean. From this vantage-

point Aksum was able to exercise influence that belied its size, especially when compared to the B.E. and Persia. Through its port on the Red Sea, ↗Adulis, Aksum was bound to the political and economic rivalries in existence at that time.

Economic ties between Aksum and the B.E. go back to the Roman era, when ships from the eastern Mediterranean Sea sailed down the Red Sea into the Indian Ocean. Adulis, the only port of Aksum, was "the main commercial centre of exchange between the B.E. and the countries of the Indian Ocean" (Hourani 1951:42). Ships from the B.E. sailed down the Red Sea to the Gulf of Aden with predominantly Greek-speaking crews. These vessels were unable to operate on the Indian-Ocean trade and relied on their co-operation with Ethiopian merchants and ships to help expedite their trade further east. Byzantine merchants did travel to India and Ceylon, but used Ethiopian carriers (Pigulevskaya 1948:87). In general, Aksum provided an atmosphere conducive for trade; it straddled the B.E.'s major commercial routes to the East.

One must also turn to the political implications of the economic situation. In the 4th cent. the political and religious interests of the B.E. and Aksum appeared to have converged. Politically, the only areas over which they could potentially have clashed were the upper Nile valley or ↗Nubia, and southern Arabia. In both areas the B.E. was too far away and had very little influence. In fact, for economic and religious reasons, the B.E. encouraged and welcomed Aksumite domination in southern Arabia. ↗Ḥimyar in southern Arabia played an important role in the Red-Sea – Indian-Ocean trade. It was situated at the mouth of the Red Sea and could control the ebb and flow of this trade. As early as the 3rd cent., Aksum, a former ally of ↗Sabaʾ, concluded a treaty with Ḥimyar in which its ruler asked Aksum for military assistance. In the 4th cent. the Ḥimyarites first appear as subordinated to the Aksumites. At that time the Ethiopians saw themselves as the rulers of Sabaʾ and Raydān, as evidenced in a 4th-cent. so-called trilingual (Gəʿəz, Greek and pseudo-Sabaean) inscription. The B.E. paid attention to these political developments.

Because of its geographical position and its predominance in Red-Sea commerce, Aksum was brought into the Byzantine – Persian political conflict. Beginning in the 4th cent., the fertile crescent was divided into Persian and Byzantine spheres. Under the Emperor Julian (361–63), the B.E. suffered serious losses to Persia, and the conflict between the two came to a temporary halt. In the 6th cent. peace ended when a resurgent B.E. under ↗Justin (518–27) and ↗Justinian (527–65), and an expansionist Aksum under ↗Kaleb emerged to threaten Persian interests. Justin I was the first Byzantine emperor to attempt to establish a meaningful relation with Aksum. He hoped that through close relations with Kaleb, the Christians would dominate southern Arabia and the tribes of that area would check increasing Persian ambitions. Justin I was alarmed by Sasanian incursions into Arabia and sought to use Aksum, which had several garrisons in southern Arabia, to block the potential Persian thrusts. Justin was indeed willing to enhance Byzantine commercial relations with Aksum and from there with southern Arabia and beyond.

Complicating matters were the volatile and unstable conditions in Arabia – quite a potential danger for Byzantine and Aksumite interests. The local inhabitants could have viewed the Aksumite garrisons in southern Arabia as a foreign army of occupation. It has been argued that, when the king of Ḥimyar was an Aksumite vassal, the two kingdoms had a history of tensions: since the earlier Aksumite expeditions, the persecution of the Ḥimyarites should "highlight the essence and the extent of the struggle between Himyar and Aksum" (Letsios 1991:143). Through the influence of the Ethiopians, Christianity was making considerable inroads among the polytheistic population. In the 4th cent., the Byzantine Emperor Constantine II (337–61) had sent an envoy, ↗Theophilos "the Indian", on a mission to Ḥimyar, Aksum and other areas in the east to foster Christianity and to promote commercial activities. Rivalling Christianity, however, was the spread of Judaism, which took an incipient national character in opposition to the foreigners. In the early 520s, a local southern Arabian chief, Ḏū Nuwās (↗Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar), converted to Judaism and embarked on a policy of expulsion of local Christians and Ethiopians. In the process, there was a vigorous persecution of Christians which, in 518 or 523, culminated in the massacre of the major Christian community of ↗Nağrān. News of the destruction of the Ethiopian garrison and the Christians in the town disturbed both Aksum and the B.E. Justin I's posture as defender of Christians was severely shaken; Kaleb's prestige and economic loss was potentially considerable.

As a result, closer and more formal ties developed between Aksum and the B.E. Justin I encouraged Kaleb to reconquer southern Arabia and provided 70 ships to ferry the Aksumite forces across the Red Sea, which helped achieve victory for Aksum (Irfan Shahîd 1979:25). The B.E. sent two missions to Aksum. In 531 ↗Julian was dispatched to southern Arabia and Aksum. His mission was to secure a political alliance between the two Christian empires against Persia and to reach a commercial agreement that would bypass Persian merchants. Julian suggested that Ethiopian merchants procure silk, the major commodity purchased by the B.E. from Persia, directly from India. Aksumite merchants attempted to intervene in the trade, but found the task impossible. The distance to India was great and Persian merchants controlled the ports where silk-laden ships from India embarked. ↗Nonnosus, a professional diplomat, led the subsequent mission in 533. Unlike the first mission, the second one shows no real evidence of its objectives, the only available information is concealed in a few surviving fragments (transmitted by Photius, cod. 17) that plead for the B.E. once more seeking an alliance against the Persians (Photius cod. 17).

During the last quarter of the 6th cent., disaster visited both Aksum and the B.E. An Arab-Ḥimyarite alliance with Persia helped drive the Aksumites permanently out of southern Arabia. Byzantium came to an understanding with the Persians and offered no assistance, direct or indirect, to the Aksumite forces. The B.E. was beset by a new danger in the north, the invasion of the Avars. Instability in southern Arabia, local rebellions, failure of Aksumite expansion and the resurgence of Persian-backed tribes all served to drive the Aksumites out of southern Arabia by the last quarter of the 6th cent.

With the resumption of Byzantine – Persian wars and the emergence of the Arab Muslims in the 7th cent., effective political and economic relations between Aksum and the B.E. came to an end. Although some tenuous ties were maintained, the reign of Kaleb's son, in effect, ended direct contact between Aksum and the B.E. It is not clear whether under Emperor ↗Heraclius (610–41), a last effort was made to secure an alliance with Aksum against Persia. At this time, however, the nomadic Avars of central Asia and eastern Europe were threatening the very existence of Constantinople and no action against Persia could be contemplated.

Even before the Muslim conquests of the 7th cent., the ties between Aksum and the B.E. were limited because of geography and a mutual lack of resources. Such old ties, however, are mirrored in a series of 14th- and 15th-cent. Ethiopian illuminated manuscripts – chiefly Gospel books with the so-called short cycle of miniatures – that bear indirect, but authoritative, witness to lost prototypes going back to the Aksumite age and, thereby, to Palestinian originals of the early Byzantine or pre-iconoclast period (Fiaccadori 1993, 1994). Yet the B.E. never established the close ties it would have liked with Aksum and, for its part, Aksum could not sustain its occupation of South Arabia without greater support from the B.E. However, in the future, the Ethiopians were to look at this period and value the ties that had certainly existed. Such traditions as those preserved in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* demonstrate that a fanciful eschatological relationship was soon constructed between the Byzantine and Aksumite emperors as co-rulers of the world (Lusini 2001:48–52). For its part, the B.E., under increasing Muslim pressure through the ensuing centuries, viewed Ethiopia as a distant and potential ally, somewhat in the vein of the ↗Prester John stories of Western Europe.

Lit.: GEORGE FADLO HOURANI, *Arab Seafarers in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, Princeton 1951, 42; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di "Felix Ravenna" 7); ID., "Bisanzio e il regno di 'Aksum. Sul ms. Martini etiop. 5 della Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia", in: A. GATTI (ed.), *Quacumque recepit Apollo. Scritti in onore di A. Ciavarella*, Parma 1993 (Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma 7), 161–99; ID., "Prototipi miniati dell'Ottateuco etiopico", *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma* 8, 1994, 70–99; DIMITRIS G. LETSIOS, "Some Remarks on Reflections of Byzantine Foreign Policy in the 'Martyrdom' of Arethas and the 'Acts' of Gregentius", *Graeco-Arabica* 4, 1991, 141–55, GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Elementi romani nella traditione litteraria aksumita", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 42–54; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Aksum. An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity*, Edinburgh 1991; NINA VIKTOROVNA PIGULEVSKAYA, "Ethiopia and Himyar and their Relations with the Eastern Roman Empire", *Vestnik drevney istorii* 1, 1948, 87–97; SERGEW HABLE SELLASIE, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270*, Addis Ababa 1972; IRFAN SHAHÎD, "Byzantium in South Arabia", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33, 1979, 23–94 [= ID., *Bysantium and the Semitic Orient Before the Rise of Islam,* London 1988, no. ix]; ALEXANDER ALEXANDROVICH VASILIEV, *Justin I. An Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great*, Cambridge 1950.

Theodore Natsoulas

C

Č̣aamsituu

Č̣. is an ↗Oromo term generally referring to a 'rain-stopper' (cp. TilDic 111: "a person believed to possess the power to prevent rain from coming or to stop it after it has started"). This knowledge can be acquired through inheritance, as a consequence of some affliction, or learned. While performing, a rain-stopper should only eat unleavened bread, *qiṭṭaa*, and he may not frown at anyone. In some places a Č̣. uses secret herbal medicines, which he places on the top of a big rock away from prying eyes, and performs rituals, which may take quite a long time. A practitioner is usually paid by the community which requests his or her services.

A *gaafoo*, a person who became a Č̣. due to a disease, is believed to be under the threat of "being rotten", i.e. to suffer more from his disease due to the humidity, if the rain continues. He therefore keenly watches the clouds in the sky from a corner where nobody can see him. It is said that the *gaafoo* chases away the rain in this way and can thus even cause a severe drought.

Src.: TilDic 111.

Lit.: "ጫምሲቱ" (*Č̣amsitu*), *Qellem tarikawinna bahlawi mäṣḥet* [Dambi Dollo] 1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.].

Kebede Hordofa Janko

Č̆abbe

Č̆. (Sappe) is a ↗rock art site in Sidamo area, ca. 10 km west of Dila, in which there are about 70 rock paintings of humpless bovidae. The depictions are located on the rocky banks of a tributary of Lake Abbayya. The bed of the river has deepened and the site is now threatened with imminent ruin. First attributed to the "Arabo-Ethiopian" style, these undated engravings are now classed as belonging to the "Sappe-Galma school" on the basis of three main stylistic criteria: the "champlevé" technique, endoperigraphic surface (usually polished) and monothematic figures, such as humpless bovidae. These animals are drawn with a small head, or none at all, with horns forming an arc or pincers, and with very thick rigid legs, pulled to one, whose ends are rounded or square.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Les sculptures rupestres de Chabbe dans le Sidamo", *AE* 7, 1967, 19-32.

Bertrand Poissonnier

Č̣aboo

The Č̣. (Caboo, Amh.: ጫቦ, Č̣äbo) are an Oromo clan inhabiting the highlands around Lake ↗Wänč̣i, ca. 140 km west of Addis Abäba. Administratively they used to form an *awraǧǧa* with the Gurage (Č̣äbo – Gurage *awraǧǧa*, Šäwa province), with ↗Wäliso (Giyon) as the capital. Now they belong to the Wänč̣i district of West Šäwa Administrative Zone. The Č̣. are agriculturists; along with their main crop *ənsät*, they grow barley, wheat, potatoes and pulses.

Some sources indicate that the Č̣. are descended from the ↗Baarentuu (Jabessa Ejata 1992/93:24), while others classify them under the neighbouring ↗Mäčča Oromo (Huntingford 1955:13). The structure of Č̣. society reflects their complex origins: there are "real" Oromo (*boorana*), who are strictly distinguished from the *gabaro* (non-*boorana*). Both *boorana* and the *gabaro* have different sub-clans. The Č̣. have a ↗*gadaa* system, which is not common in *gabaro* groups. Thus it can be assumed that the Č̣. are not *gabaro* to a great part (cp. Haberland 1960:13, no. 2).

During the conquest of *aṣe* Mənilək II, the Č̣. organized themselves under different chiefs and vehemently fought against the Emperor's troops. Initially, they were successful and even managed to kill *däǧǧazmač* Bərru Nägawo, the son-in-law of *ras* Gobäna Dači (Greenfield 1965:97). Many Č̣. fighters are reported to have later been mobilized for the battle of ᶜAdwa, mainly under the military leadership of *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis, who by that time was appointed governor of Č̣. by Mənilək. It is also told by the Č̣. elders that thousands of them participated in the Italian war of 1935–36 (s. *Nubera* 1988 A.M.:21).

Src.: GueCopMen vol. 2, 429 n. 4; *Nubera: a Documentary Bulletin of the Chebo-Ambo Development Association*, 1988 A.M. [1995/96 A.D.], 21.

Lit.: EIKE HABERLAND, "Bemerkungen zur Kultur und Sprache der 'Galila' im Wonči-See (Mittel-Äthiopien)", *RSE* 16, 1960, 5–22 (Lit.); VSAe II, 528; BAIRU TAFLA, "Two Ethiopian Biographies", *JES* 6, 1, 1968, 123–30, here 125ff.; BTafA 898; ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Géographie de*

l'Éthiopie, ce que j'ai entendu, faisant suite à ce que j'ai vu, Paris 1890, 277, 295; ENRICO CERULLI, *Etiopia occidentale*, vol. 2, Roma 1933, 165ff.; GETACHEW ASRAT, *Regional Study of Lake Wonchi Area*, B.A. thesis, Haile Selassie I University, Addis Ababa 1970; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Galla of Ethiopia: the Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero*, London 1955, s. index; JABESSA EJATA, **የኦሮሞ፡ ሕዝብ፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክና፡ ባህል** (*Yä'oromo ḫəzb ačč'ər tarikənna bahəl*, 'Short History and Culture of the Oromo People'), Addis Abäba 1985 A.M. [1992/93 A.D.], 24; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 97.

Dejene Tesemma

Čaça

Č. (**ጫጫ**, for the location s. map for Čäčäho) is a river located in north ↗Šäwa, east of Däbrä Bərhan. It originates on the slopes of Mount Mägäzäz, meanders northwards across the plains and falls into a deep river valley near Angoläla, joining a number of other rivers into the Gämma river, a tributary of the Abbay. Under *nəguś* ↗Šahlä Šəllase of Šäwa, the Č. constituted the border between the Amhara provinces and the Oromo dependencies, the latter often in a state of revolt. The Č. valley was a natural defence, reinforced by locating the army headquarters at Angoläla, just east of the river.

The name Č. also referred to the district around the river, and from the 20th cent. it was the name of the town that developed at the intersection between the river and the main north-south road.

Lit.: VOLKER SITTZ, *Studien zur Kulturgeographie Zentraläthiopiens*, Bonn 1974 (Bonner Geographische Abhandlungen 51); WILLIAM CORNWALLIS HARRIS, *The Highlands of Aethiopia*, 2 vols., London 1844.

Svein Ege

Čäčäho

The Č. pass (**ጨጨሆ**, or Čäčäho Bär), named after the river Č. below it, a north-flowing tributary of the ↗Täkkäze, lies between Näfas Mäwča and Däbrä Zäbit on the modern road from Wäldəya to Wärräta and forms a strategic point of control linking the eastern Bägemdər district of Gayənt with the western Wällo district of Zäbit Meda.

The area was the site of important battles in 1607, at the beginning of the reign of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos and again in January 1769, in one of the foundation events of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, when *ras* ↗Mika'el Saḫul of Təgray defeated Yämaryam Barya. It was also a major point of reference for appointments – referred to as Čäčäho Bälay ('Č. above') and Čäčäho Bätač ('Č. below') – during the 19th cent. *Aṣe* ↗Tewodros II set his European artisans to work improving the road there.

There is a church dedicated to Mädḫane ᶜAläm ('Saviour of the World') at Č., which overlooks the road at the narrowest point of the pass.

Src.: GuiIoyas 105f., 236f., 242ff. (text), 115f., 245f., 251ff. (tr.); GueCopMen ch. 80; MAḪTÄMÄ ŠƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MƎSQÄL, **ዝክረ፡ ነገር** (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba ²1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 254, 541.

Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, "Some Notes on Cäcäho and the Politics of the Northern Wällo-Bägémder Border", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 1–9.

Donald Crummey

The Čäčäho pass, photo courtesy of the author

Čaččabsaa

Č. (Caccabsaa, Amh. **ጨጨብሳ** *čäčč'äbsa*) is a nutritious traditional dish popular among some Oromo groups. The name Č. derives from the

verb *čaččabsa*, 'break into pieces, crush' (Gragg 1982:76). Č. is made by stirring small pieces or crumbs of freshly baked unleavened barley, *ṭef* or wheat bread into filtered, hot spiced butter (alternative meaning 'lightly ground moist corn', s. TilDic 107). It is served in a wooden plate or bowl and it is a dish reserved for special occasions.

Src.: TilDic 107; GENE B. GRAGG, *Oromo Dictionary*, East Lansing, MI 1982, 76.

Zelealem Banti

Čaffee

Č. is an Oromo term meaning: 1) a meadow blessed with water and abundant pasturage, an ideal grazing ground for cattle; 2) a democratically elected ↗*gadaa* assembly that met under the *odaa*, the sacred sycamore tree, the shade of which was used as the office of government, and the sacred place for all religious duties. The Č. assembly was the highest source of authority that addressed matters of supreme importance — making laws, declaring war, conduding peace agreements and electing officials who would run the government for eight years.

The various Oromo groups had their own central Č. The most famous Č. were those of Liiban and Dərre in ↗Boorana, that of Odaa Nabi, about 30 km east of Addis Abäba (where up to 100,000 people used to meet), that of Odaa Bisil in the west and that of Odaa Bultum in the east. Those who shared a common Č. also had a common ↗*bokkuu*, which was used as an emblem of authority by the ↗*abbaa gadaa*, the president of the Č. assembly.

While they shared a common Č. and a common *bokkuu*, the Oromo did not wage war against each other, because the common Č. and common *bokkuu* in the core of their unity represented the highest expression of peace that bound them together. However, once the Oromo developed separate Č., conflicts over scarce resources soon found expression, not through dialogue in the assembly, but through war. This means that the proliferation of Č. assemblies led to the decline of the Oromo *gadaa* system and intense fighting among the Oromo.

Lit.: KARL ERIC KNUTSSON, *Authority and Change: a Study of the Kallu Institution among the Matcha Galla of Ethiopia*, Gotenburg 1967, 176–81; YƎLMA DÄRESSA, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ፡ በ፲፮ኛው፡ ክፍለ፡ ዘመን** (*Yäityopya tarik bäaśra 16ñaw kəflä zämän*, 'The History of Ethiopia in the 16th Century'), Addis Abäba 1957 A.M. [1964/65 A.D.], 236; ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, vol. 2, Roma 1886/87, 30; MHasOr (Lit.); ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Oromo Democracy: an Indigenous African Political System*, Lawrenceville – Asmara 2000, 33, 97, 99, 202, 207.

Mohammed Hassen

Čagni

Č. (**ቻግኒ**) is the capital of Gʷangʷa *wäräda*, located in the West Goğğam Administrative Zone, Amhara *kəlləl*. It occupies the western part of the highland region, on a threshold between the rivers ↗Bäläs, which runs towards the west, and the Dara, which flows to the south.

The population of Č. has noticeably increased in recent years. In 1984, when it was capital of ↗Mätäkkäl *awraǧǧa*, Goğğam region, it had 8,421 inhabitants; in 2000, the population reached 23,681. This demographic rise was mainly due to the construction of the road that linked Ǝnğibara with Guba and Asosa (↗Beni Šangul and ↗Gumuz) and, later on, with the Sudanese border in Roseires. This new road permitted the resettlement of thousands of peasants who had been forced to leave the highlands because of the ↗famine of 1984–85.

In 1987 Č. was separated from Goğğam and promoted to the capital of Mätäkkäl region, where Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam had decided to launch the ambitious Ṭana–Bäläs Plan. Designed by the Fondo Aiuto Italiano, this plan proposed to divert water from Lake Ṭana to the Bäläs in order to produce electricity and to accommodate thousands of peasants. The failure of the plan in 1991 did not prevent the town

from further growth, nor from hosting an aerodrome, regularly used today by the interior flights of Ethiopian Airlines.

Until 1974, Č. was called Qädämawi Ḫaylä Śəllase Bär ('the gate of Ḫaylä Śəllase I'), in memory of the ↗Gideon Force. At the beginning of 1941, Major Orde Charles ↗Wingate and a small army of the *nəguś* entered into Italian-controlled Ethiopia from the Sudan. They took over Goǧǧam, which had been governed by the ally of the Italians *ras* Ḫaylu, and enabled the Emperor to regain his throne.

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY, *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1998; ID., *Statistical Abstract 1999*, Addis Ababa 2000; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY, *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988; OFFICE OF THE POPULATION AND HOUSING CENSUS COMMISSION, *Ethiopia 1984. Population & Housing Census Preliminary Report*, vol. 1, 1, Addis Ababa, September 1984.

Lit.: MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972; JOHN HATHAWAY SPENCER, *Ethiopia at Bay*: a *Personal Account of the Haile Sellasie Years*, Algonac 1987; TAYE RETTA, "Gojjam Governorate General", *The Ethiopian Geographical Journal* 5, 1, June 1963.

Alain Gascon

Čaha

Čaha language

Č. is an Ethio-Semitic language belonging to the Central Western and Gunnän Gurage (Hetzron 1977:4). It is the central dialect of the *Säbat Bet* Gurage. Apart from a catechism published in the 1940s, Č. was unwritten until 1976. Since then a few primers, literacy selections, two novels and a New Testament have been produced in Ethiopic script; additionally, there are a few radio programs in Č. The Old Testament has been translated and is currently in the hands of reviewers.

Influenced by the surrounding ↗Cushitic languages, Č. has ten vowels (Ford 1991:241ff.). Labialization, including m^{w}, b^{w} and f^{w}, and palatalization, including k^{y}, occur frequently, both lexically and morphologically. Syllables have the form Consonant–(Consonant)–Vowel–(Consonant)–(Consonant). Gemination occurs as a simple assimilation process across morpheme boundaries. Vowel clusters are avoided by elision, contraction or the insertion of a consonant.

Distinguishing characteristics in grammatical structure include the masculine-feminine dichotomy in 2nd and 3rd person forms of the verb, both sg. and pl.; the impersonal verb form; two sets of object suffixes (Hetzron 1968:160); and the past-future dichotomy in adverbial expression of time.

The normal word order is Subject–Object–Verb, with front-shifting for focus. The predicate of the head clause is always sentence-final. Dependent clauses are formed with prefixes, and some suffixes, on the verb.

For each verb root, there are three basic stems: perfect, continuous, and jussive – from which other forms are derived. Verbs are conjugated according to person, gender and number, and also have an impersonal form which acts as "an agentless passive" (Hetzron 1977:81) and requires an object when occuring as a head verb. Negation is formed by a prefix on the verb.

The copula in affirmative present continuous tense-aspect is a suffix on the head of the noun phrase: *wäḵe erč̣u* 'good boy-he-is' (from *erč̣* 'boy', *-u* 'he/it is'), i.e. 'he is a good boy'. For other tenses and aspects, negation and relative clauses, a full verb is used: *wäḵe erč̣ anḵärä* 'he is not a good boy', *astämari banä* 'he was a teacher', *tämari yäḵero deng^{y}a* 'the children who are students'.

There are independent personal pronouns and pronoun suffixes (possessive, object/complement): *əya*, *aḵ^{y}/aḵ^{y}a* 'you' (fem. sg.); *yəno* 'they' (masc. pl.). Demonstrative pronouns are *zə[ḵ]* 'this' and *ḵə[ḵ]* 'that'. Interrogative pronouns samples: *man* 'who'; *mər* 'what'; *mäčära* 'when'.

Standard ten-word list:

'one'	*at*	'sun'	*č̣et*
'two'	*ḵ^{w}et*	'moon'	*ṭänaqa*
'three'	*sost*	'blood'	*däm*
'fire'	*əsat*	'tongue'	*anämät*
'water'	*aḵa*	'tooth'	*ṣən*

Lit.: CAROLYN M. FORD, "Notes on the Phonology and Grammar of Chaha-Gurage", *Journal of Afro-Asiatic Languages* 3, 1991, 231–96; JOHN MCCARTHY, "Lexical Phonology and Nonconcatenative Morphology in the History of Chaha", *Revue québécoise de linguistique* 16, 1986, 209–28; DEGIF PETROS BANKSIRA, "Sonorant Alterations in Chaha", in: GROVER HUDSON (ed.), *Essays on Gurage Language and Culture, Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his 90th Birthday*, Wiesbaden 1996, 153–73; JEAN-FRANÇOIS PRUNET – DEGIF PETROS BANKSIRA, "L'interaction entre schème et racines en Chaha", in: JACQUELINE LECARME – JEAN LOWENSTAMM – UR SHLONSKY (eds.), *Studies in Afroasiatic Grammar*, The Hague 1996, 302–36; SHARON ROSE, "Palatalization, Underspecification and Plane Conflation in Chaha", in: *Proceedings of the 12th West Coast Conference on Formal*

Linguistics, Stanford 1994, 101–16; ROBERT HETZRON, "Main Verb Markers in Northern Gurage", *Africa* 38, 1968, 156–72; ID., *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic)*, 3 vols., Wiesbaden 1979; ID., *Ethiopians Speak. Studies in Cultural Background*, part 2: *Chaha*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1966.

Carolyn M. Ford

Čaha ethnography

The Č. (also Čäha) are an ethnic group, part of the *Amməst Bet* ('Five Houses') and later the *Säbat Bet* ↗Gurage ('Seven Houses of Gurage') confederations. Their main settlement-area is around the town of Ǝndəbər, the traditional place of the central (Friday-) market of Gurageland (Gurage *awraǧǧa*, Č. *wäräda*). The Č. territory extends between the rivers of Mag^{y}ača in the north and Weng^{y}a in the south. Neighbours of the Č. are the ↗Ǝža in the north, the ↗Gumär in the east and the ↗Geto and ↗Ǝnnämor in the south.

The basis of Č. economy is the cultivation of ↗*ənsät* (*äsät*), which provides them with their main staple food. Additionally they grow barley and potatoes in the highlands and wheat and *ṭef* in lower altitudes. As a supplement, they also keep cattle and other domestic animals. Seasonal and long-term labour migration are vitally important for their financial needs. Č., as other Gurage groups, are intensively engaged in trade. Many shops in Addis Abäba and other cities are owned by Č.

The pattern of Č. social organization can roughly be described as a system of patrilineal clans and lineages, in which an interrelation of territorial, political and kinship ties are decisive for the structure of the group as a whole (s. Shack 1966:91–159). In Č. society, which in its history was constantly at war against the different groups of the region, the warrior was a man of highest prestige. After the defeat of the *Säbat Bet* Gurage in 1889, when *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis was given the major part of the fertile Č. land by *aṣe* Mənilək II, the warriors of Č. constantly fought against his occupational forces (Shack 1966:22f.). Many songs praising "heroes" and war-leaders were documented by Shack and Habte-Mariam Marcos (1975) and Gabreyesus Hailemariam (1991).

While over 50 % of the population claim allegiance to Christianity (Orthodox and Catholic, resulting from mission activities mainly in Ǝndəbər) and another ca. 40 % to Islam, many of the Č. of both religions participate in autochthonous religious practices (cp. Central Statistical Authority 1994). The observance of the annual religious festivals, e.g. the *Č̣əšt* at the shrine of the ↗Waq of Č., Og^{y}ät (Ag^{y}ät), who is considered to be more ancient than the Waqs of the other Gurage groups, still plays an important integrative role. Additionally, the cults of the deities ↗Božžä and ↗Däm^{w}am^{w}it are still practised.

Č. houses, as Gurage houses in general, are known for their neatness and symmetry, consisting of circular structures held together without nails, with wooden spokes protruding from a centre pole to support the thatched roof. Often a small section on one side of the house is equipped for livestock (cows, sheep or goats, and perhaps a horse), which are kept in the house during the night and put out to pasture in the daytime. Because the houses are traditionally built in neat rows along either side of a wide roadway, "villagization" during the *Därg* era did not significantly affect settlement structure.

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia, Results for Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region*, vol. 1, part 1, Addis Ababa 1996, 222.

Lit.: WILLIAM A. SHACK, *The Gurage: a People of the Ensete Culture*, London 1969, passim; WILLIAM A. SHACK – HABTE-MARIAM MARCOS, *Gods and Heroes. Oral Traditions of the Gurage of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1974, 1 (map), 77–119; GABREYESUS HAILEMARIAM, *The Guragۥe and their Culture*, New York 1991, 1, 5ff., 9, 13–16, 110f., 163; WOLF LESLAU, *Gurage Studies: Collected Articles*, Wiesbaden 1992 (Lit.).

Carolyn M. Ford – Dirk Bustorf

Cahagne, Taurin

C. (b. 26 March 1826, Vernon, Eure, d. 1 September 1899, Carcassonne, Aude) was a French

Taurin Cahagne, photo courtesy of IES, Addis Abäba

missionary of the Capuchin Catholic Order (↗Capuchins). He began missionary work in Ethiopia in 1867 under Guglielmo ↗Massaja, with whom he founded the station of ↗Finfinnee in Šäwa, among the Gullallee Oromo. C. was consecrated as surrogate bishop in 1873. In 1879, the missionaries were expelled from Šäwa by the order of *aṣe* Yoḥannes IV.

During his stay in France, he published religious books in the Oromo language (1880–81). It is worth noting that he had also contributed through correspondence to the *Géodésie* of Antoine d'Abbadie (1873). Designated by Massaja as his successor to the Apostolic Vicariate of the Gallas and urged by anticlerical decrees to flee France, C. returned to Ethiopia in 1881, where he founded the mission in Harär and led it until 1899.

Src.: TAURIN CAHAGNE, *Katekismos joki barsisa nama kristian, bia Oromo (Galla) gedêti abunii Jacobi – Catechismus, seu Instructio hominis christiani, quem scripsit ad usum regionum Oromonicarum Fr. Taurinus L. Cahagne qui et abba Jacob*, Paris 1880; ID., *Manuale nama kristian kara sajtana diseti kristositti aka bulutti abunni Jakobi (T.-L. Cahagne)*, Paris 1880; ID., *Wangelium bagaa Kan G.-K. Jesus Kristos qedus Mateos*, Paris 1881; ID., "Voyages dans les pays des Galla, d'Aden à Harar", *Les Missions Catholiques* 13, 1881, 125, 195f., 305–08, 425f.; ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Géodésie d'Ethiopie ou Triangulation d'une patrie de la haute Ethiopie*, 4 vols., Paris 1860–73.

Lit.: GAËTAN BERNOVILLE, *Monseigneur Jarosseau et la Mission des Galla: l'épopée missionnaire d'Ethiopie*, Paris 1950, 76–124; *abba* ANTONIOS ALBERTO, *The Apostolic Vicariate of Galla: a Capuchin Mission in Ethiopia (1846–1942)*, Addis Ababa 1998, 151–226.

Eloi Ficquet

Čai

Č. (Chai) is an ethno-linguistic group of ca. 13,000 people living in south-western Ethiopia and in adjoining areas of the Sudan, related to the ↗Mursi people. They live in villages and cattle camps south-west of the town of Mağı along the Kibiš river (former Mağı *awraǧǧa* of the Käfa province). The Č. speak a south-east Surmic language of the ↗Čai–Tirma–Mursi dialect cluster.

The Č. are one of two subgroups (next to the ↗Tirmaga) of a people referring to themselves as ↗Suri (Surma is the term used by neighbouring groups and other outsiders). They are independent agro-pastoralists, who herd cattle and practising shifting cultivation of sorghum, corn and garden crops. Hunting and gathering play a secondary role in the community life.

A Suri-Čai man before his duelling match, near Makara village, November 1992, photo courtesy of the author

Their economy is largely self-sufficient, but they also depend on limited trade (tools, cattle and grain) and have recently started to pan alluvial gold (sold to traders from the highlands), which now brings in important cash resources. The Suri live in a relatively isolated region with few facilities or infrastructure, and are still largely self-governing. Until a decade ago they were one of the least-known groups in Ethiopia and were still wary of outsiders, including foreign tourists and state officials. They cherish their autonomy and cultural identity vis-à-vis others. Traditional leadership among the Č. consists of two *komoru* (who are more priest-like ritual mediators than executive political leaders) and a senior age-grade group of elders called *rórà* (↗Age group system).

In the past two decades, the Č., together with the Mursi and the Tirmaga, have suffered heavily from conflict, pestilence, disease, drought and famine, which have seriously reduced their numbers. Currently they are experiencing a demographic recovery, although their region remains vulnerable. They live on a sensitive border close to the Sudan and have been able to

arm themselves with (semi-) automatic rifles from various sources. They have constant conflicts with neighbouring groups (such as the Toposa (in the Sudan), ↗Ñaŋatom, ↗Añwaa and ↗Dizi) over pasture, cattle and territory, partly due to local disturbance in the wake of the Sudanese civil war.

Politically, they are being incorporated into the administrative structures of the post-1991 federal Ethiopian state, forming a Surma *wäräda* since 1994. The construction of all-weather roads from the north and east (from 1997 on) makes their area more accessible, thus connecting them more closely to national society and other influences, such as tourism and trade.

Lit.: JON G. ABBINK, "Ethnic Conflict in the 'Tribal' Zone: the Dizi and Suri in Southern Ethiopia", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 31, 1993, 675–83; ID., "Violence and Political Discourse among the Chai Suri", in: GERRIT JAN DIMMENDAAL – MARCO LAST (eds.), *Surmic Languages and Cultures*, Köln 1998, 321–44; ID., "Violence, Ritual and Reproduction: Culture and Context in Surma Dueling", *Ethnology* 38, 1999, 227–42; ID., "Paradoxes of Power and Culture in an Old Periphery: Surma, 1974–98", in: WENDY JAMES – DONALD LEWIS DONHAM – EISEI KURIMOTO – ALESSANDRO TRIULZI (eds.), *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and After*, Oxford 2002, 155–72; ID., *The Generation of Violence: Surma Society in Transition*, Oxford, forthcoming.

Jon G. Abbink

Čai – Tirma – Mursi

Čai, Tirma (also: Tid) and Mursi (also: Mun, Muni) are three closely related and mutually intelligible dialects of a single language spoken in the area south of the Mağı plateau on both sides of the Omo and Kibiš rivers. The dialect cluster, for which there is no common name, is part of the ↗Surmic group within the Nilo-Saharan language phylum. The ↗Čai, the ↗Tirmaga and the ↗Mursi are agro-pastoralists with a (semi-) nomadic lifestyle. The Čai and Tirmaga (numbering at least 20,000 people) live west of the Omo River and are ethnically affiliated with the ↗Baale (about 9,000 people), who, however, speak a different, distantly related Surmic language. Čai, Tirma and Baale refer to themselves by way of the common ethnonym ↗Suri and are also known amongst neighbouring groups as Surma. The approximately 5,000 Mursi who live east of the Omo river belong to a different ethnic grouping.

In its phonological system, Čai distinguishes five places of articulation: labial, dental/alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. Čai distinguishes between plosive and implosive stops: the labial, alveolar and velar implosives are well attested; the palatal implosive, however, is marginal. There are weakening rules for intervocalic consonants, giving rise to considerable variation in the phonetic realization of words, e.g. *ǧàgarí / ǧàyàrí / ǧààrí* 'foot'. Čai has at least seven oral vowels; there appears to be no phonemic vowel length. In addition, the language distinguishes two, perhaps three, register tones, plus downstep and downdrift.

Verbal morphology is complex and seems highly irregular, but is certainly patterned. Verbal stems consist of verbal roots, that are usually monosyllabic, and optional derivational affixes. There is often an alternation between perfective and imperfective verb stem. These are usually related, but occasionally suppletive, e.g. *-ŋes-* 'run', imperfective, *-ŋesan-* 'run', perfective, versus *-mat-* 'drink', imperfective, *-ir-* 'drink', perfective. Verbs are inflected for number and person and agree with the syntactic subject. Cross-reference of objects on the verb is optional, i.e. pragmatically regulated; it seems to occur more frequently with animate objects, e.g. *ɗak-a-ñ* [to hit: subject 3rd pers. sg. perfective – object 1st pers./2nd pers. sg.] 'he/she/it hit me/you'. Verb forms for participants share certain conjugational suffixes and are morphologically set apart from third persons, as appears from the following paradigms for the imperfective stem *-lom-* 'own, possess' and the perfective stem *-šik-* 'hear': 1st pers. sg. *ko-lom-i*, 2nd pers. sg. *lom-i*, 3rd pers. sg. *lom-b-o*, 1st pers. pl. *ko-lom-o*, 2nd pers. pl. *lom-o*, 3rd pers. pl. *lom-e*; 1st pers. sg. *ki-šik-a*, 2nd pers. sg. *šik-u*, 3rd pers. sg. *šik-a*, 1st pers. pl. *ki-šik-t-o*, 2nd pers. pl. *šik-t-o*, 3rd pers. pl. *šik-t-a*. Verbs have a thematic suffix *-o* when they occur sentence-finally; in other positions, this verbal suffix is absent, e.g. *àñè kúgúní wùrtò* [I come: imperfective 1st pers. sg., after] 'I'll come later' vs. *gòró ŋáàndà kúgúníò* [road that come: imperfective 1st pers. sg.] 'I was coming along that road'. Tense, aspect and mood are mainly expressed by means of free partides with varying syntactic position in Čai and Tirma, though some of these behave rather like verbal ditics in Mursi (Turton – Bender 1976). There are two copular verbs: the qualitative *-an-* and the existential *-ih-*, both of which are imperfective roots.

Nouns divide into various noun classes, defined by their specific pattern of singular and plu-

ral number marking morphology. Common patterns are (a) suffixing of the singular (*bùrrái ~ bùrrá* 'egg/eggs'); (b) vowel alternation (*kònò ~ kònáa* 'snake/snakes'); (c) suffixing of the plural (*débé ~ débéñá* 'lip-plate / lip-plates'). Possessive pronominal suffixes distinguish for the number of the possessed and the number and the person of the possessor. Demonstratives are number-sensitive and distinguish two degrees of distance with reference to the speaker and the hearer. The numeral system is decimal/vigesimal, with the word for 'twenty' being etymologically based on 'one man'. The word for 'ten', *tómòn*, is a common form occurring across language families in the entire Horn of Africa.

Nominal modifiers (numerals, adjectives, possessive forms) are linked to the head noun by means of a linking *á*, which appears to be functionally related to the 3rd pers. sg. copular verb form *á*. Locative postpositions/nouns follow the head noun, e.g. *kàǧòròí tóyé* [pot inside] 'in the pot'. Though Čai, Tirma and Mursi appear to have a rather free word order, the actual word order in an utterance being primarily pragmatically motivated, Object–Verb–Subject is infrequent. Postverbal subjects are morphologically marked, e.g., nominals take a suffix *-ó*, as in *háŋáì búméó* [to chase: perfect subject 3rd pers. sg. / object 1st pers. pl. *Bume*] 'the Bume (=Ñaŋatom) chased us'.

The standard ten-word list is: *dòònè* 'one', *ràmmán* 'two', *sísì* 'three', *gò* 'fire', *mà* 'water', *súú* 'sun', *táágí* 'moon', *náàbà* 'blood', *kàyó* 'tongue', *ñígìyá* 'tooth'.

Lit.: MARCO LAST – DEBORAH LUCASSEN, "A Grammatical Sketch of Chai, a Southeastern Surmic Language", in: GERRIT J. DIMMENDAAL – MARCO LAST (eds.), *Surmic Languages and Cultures*, Köln 1998 (Nilo-Saharan Linguistic Analyses and Documentation 13), 375–436; DAVID TURTON – MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, "Mursi", in: *BendNonSLang* 533–61.

Marco Last – Deborah Lucassen

Čäkkʷäl Gəzaw

Č.G. (ቸኮል፡ ግዛው, d. 1936/37) was a member of the resistance movement during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia in 1936–41. A brother of the hero celebrated in popular songs, *grazmač* ↗Abärra Gəzaw, Č.G. fought in guerilla groups together with his two other brothers Käbbädä Gəzaw and Ǝmməru Gəzaw, first in Bale and later in the area of Ginnir. He died together with Käbbädä while fighting under the command of Ǝmməru Gəzaw.

Src.: የአርበኞች፡ ትግል፡ ከፋሺስት፡ ጋር (*Yäʾarbäññočč təgəl käfašist gar,* 'The Guerilla Fight against the Fascists'), Addis Abäba 1941 A.M. [1948/49 A.D.].
Lit.: ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Geschichte Äthiopiens,* ed. by RENATE RICHTER, tr. by WALDEMAR HEIN, Berlin 1978, 535.

Joanna Mantel-Niećko

Čako ↗ Šeko

Čala ↗ Geeraa

Ǯäläqot

Ǯ. (ጨለቆት, 13°21'N, 40°37'E) is a settlement in the district of ↗Ǝndärta, southern Təgray. Ǯ. gained historical significance in the 19th cent. Its prominence was linked to the rise of *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase (r. ca. 1790–1816) as ruler of Təgray, who had his power base in Ǝndärta.

Contemporary travellers left vivid accounts of Ǯ. as a sizeable town of considerable political, commercial and religious importance. The British delegate and commercial agent Henry ↗Salt visited Wäldä Śəllase in Ǯ. in 1810. His two servants, Nathaniel ↗Pearce and William ↗Coffin, also lived there for some time. In fact, Pearce, who stayed longer, recounts that he had his own house and plot of land to live on in Ǯ. The town was connected by principal trade routes to the Red Sea coast. *Ras* Wäldä Śəllase built his favourite Holy Trinity Church in Ǯ. The church's primacy within Təgray was, however, strongly contested by the more senior St. Mary's Cathedral of Aksum (↗Aksum Ṣəyon) that considered itself the cradle of Christianity and the church in Ethiopia. Besides attending Mass regularly, Wäldä Śəllase entrusted the church with most of his precious items, including the gift that he secured from the British government. Henry Salt observed that Wäldä Śəllase's especial patronage of the priests of Ǯ. earned them the jealousy of the clergy of the Aksum Cathedral.

From the implications inherent in various sources, one may safely assume that Ḥənṭalo, Ǯ. and Mäqälä appeared as the political, religious and recreational centres respectively of *ras* Wäldä Śəllase. Nevertheless, they all lost a great deal of their importance after the death of their patron in 1816.

This was particularly true of Ḥənṭalo and Ǯ. Both were badly affected by the chaos that followed and fell into obscurity. They were

overshadowed by ᶜAddigrat, the new political centre of another prominent Təgrayan chief, *däğğazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu of ᶜAgamä. It is no wonder, therefore, that Č. currently appears little more than a sizeable village.

Src.: NATHANIEL PEARCE, *The Life and Times of Nathaniel Pearce*, 2 vols., London 1831; HENRY SALT, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, London ²1962.

Lit.: MEDHANE TADDESSE, *Salt, Trade and Urbanization: the Story of Mäqälä Town, 1872–1935*, M.A. thesis, Addis Abäba University 1995; PankHist I, s. index.

Tsegay Berhe

Calendar

Christian calendar

Alexandrian calendar

The C. of the Ethiopian Church (which is the basis of the civil C. in official use in Ethiopia) follows the Alexandrian year as used in the Coptic Church, while reckoning the era according to a different system (↗Chronography).

"The Alexandrian year is the ancient Egyptian solar year, co-ordinated with the year in the Romans' Julian C., which is itself the Egyptian solar year, but with a different date for the beginning of a new year and a different division of the days into twelve months. The Alexandrian year retains the ancient Egyptian division of the year into twelve months of thirty days each, plus five more days, called *epagomenai*, at its end, as well as the extra day whose intercalation at the end of every fourth year as a sixth epagomenal day was ordered by Ptolemy III Euergetes in 238 B.C. in order to rectify the old discrepancy between the C. year of 365 days and the natural solar year … The Alexandrian new year begins on the Julian 29 August, unless it is a year in which the Julian C. will intercalate a 29 February. In that case, the Alexandrian year begins on the Julian 30 August, because in the Alexandrian system the extra day is intercalated at the very end of the Alexandrian year preceding the one in which the Julian C.'s 29 February will occur. The Alexandrian intercalary day thus falls on the Julian 29 August, with the new Alexandrian year then beginning on 30 August and that year's corresponding days in the Julian C. continuing to be the normal ones plus 1 until the Julian year's own intercalations made on 29 February, after which the corresponding days are those of ordinary years" (Cody in CE vol. 2, 433).

The year therefore includes 365 days; every four years, one supplementary day is added at the very end of the year. The years are in groups of four. Each of the four years, called *zämän* (lit. 'time'), receives the name of an Evangelist (Matthew, Mark, Luke — the leap-year, at the end of which the supplementary day is attached — and John).

The Ethiopian C. follows the Julian reckoning, while the present Western C. accepts the Gregorian reform: in 1582 A.D. Pope Gregory XIII promulgated a reform of the Julian C., because the difference calculated by the Julian C. (one day every 4 years, equivalent to 6 hours a year) is in fact an overcorrection, since the real length of the solar year is (approximately) 365 days 5 hours 48 minutes and 46 seconds. This overcorrection produces excess days over the centuries; which is why ten days (5–14 October 1582 A.D.) were dropped from the solar C. and for the following centuries it was decided that only century years divisible by 400 (e.g. 1600 and 2000, but not 1900 or 2100) would be leap years. This system keeps the C. year in agreement with the solar year. At the moment and until the year 2100 inclusively, there is a difference of 13 days between the Julian (followed in Ethiopia) and the Gregorian (Western) C.

The months are shown below; after the Ethiopian names come the Greek (taken from Bohairic Coptic) and Arabic equivalents, then the corresponding dates in the Julian, followed by the Gregorian C. [13 days difference until year 2100 A.D.]; if the preceding year was a year of Luke, add 1 day from 1 *Mäskäräm* until 4 *Mäggabit*:

1.	*Mäskäräm* (መስከረም)	Θωϋθ, *Tūt*	29 Aug.	11 Sept.
2.	*Ṭəqəmt* (ጥቅምት)	Φαωφί, *Bābih*	28 Sept.	11 Oct.
3.	*Ḫədar* (ኅዳር)	’Αθύρ, *Hātūr*	28 Oct.	10 Nov.
4.	*Taḫśaś* (ታኅሣሥ)	Χοιάκ, *Kīhak*	27 Nov.	10 Dec.
5.	*Ṭərr* (ጥር)	Τυβί, *Ṭūba*	27 Dec.	9 Jan.
6.	*Yäkkatit* (የካቲት)	Μεχίρ, *Amšīr*	26 Jan.	8 Feb.
7.	*Mäggabit* (መጋቢት)	Φαμενωθ, *Baramhāt*	25 Feb.	10 March
8.	*Miyazya* (ሚያዝያ)	Φαρμουθί, *Barmūda*	27 March	9 April
9.	*Gənbot* (ግንቦት)	Παχών, *Bašans*	26 April	9 May
10.	*Säne* (ሰኔ)	Παϋνί, *Baʾūna*	26 May	8 June
11.	*Ḫamle* (ሐምሌ)	’Επιφί, *Abīb*	25 June	8 July
12.	*Näḫase* (ነሐሴ)	Μεσορή, *Misrā*	25 July	7 Aug.
13.	*Ṗagʷəmen* (ጳጉሜን)	’Επαγομέναι (ἡμέρα ι), *Ayyām an-nasīʾ*	24 Aug.	6 Sept.

Because of the difference between the Julian and Gregorian C., anyone interested in the correspondance between the C. of different Churches, e.g., to compare their Sanctorals, should refer to the corresponding Julian date shown in the third column.

Liturgical year: seasons

Contrary to the contemporary Coptic tradition, but in accordance with the tradition of the Syriac-speaking Churches, the Ethiopian Church has developed fixed liturgical periods with variable lengths that may be as short as only one day. The exception is the Easter cycle, which is moveable and whose total length is fixed (s. letter “j” below). Its liturgical year is made up of two major parts: the Temporal and the Sanctoral. The Temporal includes: the liturgical seasons, whether moveable (the cycle of Easter) or fixed, the Sundays of the year, the moveable festivals and the fasts.

The whole year is organized according to an either four-fold or three-fold basic structure, in which the liturgical seasons are set:

A) A Four-Season division, with:

1. the Windy Season: *Mäṣäw* (መጸው) from 26 *Mäskäräm* to 25 *Taḫśaś*;
2. the Dry Season: *Ḫagay* (ሐጋይ) from 26 *Taḫśaś* to 25 *Mäggabit*;
3. the Sowing Season: *Ṣädäy* (ጸደይ) from 26 *Mäggabit* to 25 *Säne* (or that of the light rains – *Bälg*, በልግ);
4. the Rainy Season: *Kərämt* (ክረምት) from 26 *Säne* to 25 *Mäskäräm*. Only the latter has a real influence on the liturgical services, with overtones to the time it covers.

B) A Three-Season division, used in the ↗*Dəggʷa* and thus exerting a real influence on the chanting of the service, with:

1. *Yoḫannəs* (ዮሐንስ), ‘John’, from 1 *Mäskäräm* to 30 *Ḫədar*, covering the beginning of the year;
2. *Astämḥəro* (አስተምሕሮ), ‘supplication to obtain mercy’, from 1 *Taḫśaś* to 30 *Mäggabit*, also known as *Rəḥuqä mäʿat* (ርሑቀ፡ መዓት), ‘slow to anger’;
3. ↗*Fasika* (ፋሲካ), from Easter to the end of the year; this season is divided between the time of the Resurrection and the Season of the Rains.

The liturgical seasons include twenty fixed periods (shown hereafter under figures 1 to 20), as well as ten moveable periods belonging to the cycle of the Resurrection (the Easter cycle, shown hereafter under the letters “a” to “j”). They are:

Beginning of the year:

1. *Mäskäräm* 1 to 8: ዮሐንስ, *Yoḫannəs*, ‘John the Forerunner’
2. *Mäskäräm* 8: ዘካርያስ, *Zäkkaryas*, ‘Zachary’
3. *Mäskäräm* 9 to 15: ፍሬ, *Fəre*, ‘the Fruits’
4. *Mäskäräm* 16: ሕንጸተ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደስ, *Ḫənṣätä betä mäqdäs*, ‘the Building of the temple [= the Basilica of the Anastasis (Holy Sepulchre) at Jerusalem]’
5. *Mäskäräm* 17 to 25: መስቀል, *Mäsqäl*, ‘the Cross’
6. *Mäskäräm* 26 to *Ḫədar* 5: ጽጌ, *Ṣəgge*,‘the Flowers’
7. *Ḫədar* 6 up to the Saturday between *Taḫśaś* 7 and *Taḫśaś* 13: አስተምሕሮ, *Astämḥəro*, ‘the Supplication’

The cycle of the Nativity and of the Epiphany:

8. From the Sunday of the Preaching (= Sunday between *Taḫśaś* 8 and *Taḫśaś* 14) to the following Saturday: ስብከት, *Səbkät*,‘the Preaching’
9. The following week from Sunday to Saturday: ብርሃን, *Bərhan*, ‘the Light’
10. From the following Sunday to *Taḫśaś* 27: ኖላዊ, *Nolawi*, ‘the Shepherd’
11. *Taḫśaś* 28: መርዓዊ, *Märʿawi*, ‘the Bridegroom’
12. *Taḫśaś* 29 to *Ṭərr* 10: ልደት, *Lədät*, ‘the Nativity’
13. From the Monday following the first Sunday after Christmas to *Ṭərr* 10: ናዝራት, *Nazret*; ሕፅናት, *Ḫəṣnät*, ‘Nazareth; the Upbringing’
14. From *Ṭərr* 11 to the eve of the Sunday of ቀበላ, *Qäbbäla*, ‘the Encounter’ (which marks the beginning of the Easter Cycle): አስተርእዮ, *Astärəʾəyo*, ‘the Epiphany’
    a) Announcement of the approaching Great Lent (Easter Cycle): ጾመ፡ ነነዌ, *Ṣomä Nänäwe*, ‘the Fast of Nineveh’

15. The last week of the season of the Epiphany as well as of the cycle of the Nativity and of the Epiphany: **መርዓዊ**, *Märᶜawi*, 'the Bridegroom'

The Easter cycle:

b) **ቀበላ**, *Qäbbäla*, 'Sunday of the Encounter [with the Fast]'
c) **ሀርቃል**, *Hərqal*, 'Week of Heraclius', or 'of Moses' (**ሙሴኒ**, *Museni*), or 'of the Encounter with the Fast' (**ቀበላ፡ ጾም**, *Qäbbäla ṣom*)
d) **ጾመ፡ አርብዓ**, *Ṣomä arbᶜa*, 'Forty-day Fast'
e) **ሕማማት**, *Ḥamamat*, 'Holy Week'
f) **ዘመነ፡ ትንሣኤ**, *Zämänä tənśaᵓe*, 'Easter-tide' up to Ascension eve
g) **ሰሙነ፡ ትንሣኤ**, *Sämunä tənśaᵓe*, 'Resurrection week', a part of Easter-tide
h) **ዘመነ፡ዕርገት**, *Zämänä ᶜərgät*, 'Ascension-tide'
i) **ሰሙነ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ**, *Sämunä Mänfäs Qəddus*, 'Week of the Holy Spirit', a part of Ascension-tide
j) Flexible ending to both Ascension-tide and the Easter cycle, in order to reach 17 *Säne*

16. *Säne* 17 to 25: **አስተምሕሮ**, *Astämḥərə*,'Supplication'
Säne 25 to *Mäskäräm* 25: the Rainy Season (*Kərämt*)
17. Up to the end of the year and within *Kərämt*, the following lesser periods are included: *Säne* 25 to *Ḥamle* 18: **ዘርኦ**, *Zärᵓə*, 'Seed', **ደመና**, *Dämmäna,* 'Cloud'
18. *Ḥamle* 19 to *Näḥase* 9: **መብረቅ**, *Mäbräq*, 'Lightning', **ነጐድጓድ**, *Nägʷädgʷad*, 'Thunder', **ባሕር**, *Baḥr,* 'Sea', **አፍላግ**, *Aflag*, 'Rivers', **ጠል**, *Ṭäl*, 'Dew'
19. *Näḥase* 10 to 27: **ዕንለ፡ ቋዓት**, *ᶜƎgʷalä qʷaᶜat*, 'the Little Crow', **ደሰያት**, *Däsäyat*, 'the Islands', **ዓይነ፡ ኵሉ**, *ᶜAynä kʷəllu,* 'the Eye of all [creatures]'
20. *Näḥase* 28 to the end of the year: **ንህ**, *Goh*, 'Daybreak', **ነግህ**, *Nägh*, 'Morning', **ጽባሕ**, *Ṣəbaḥ*, 'Dawn', **ብርሃን**, *Bərhan*, 'Light', **መዓልት**, *Mäᶜalt*, 'Day'.

Liturgical year: fasts

The fasting seasons only partly intrude on the preceding seasons. They exert a great influence on the life of Ethiopian Christians. People observe the fast until noon or later, not absorbing any food or drink, and abstain the whole day (i.e. not eating any food of animal origin). Fasting implies that married people also observe sexual abstinence. Liturgical services (↗*Qəddase*) take place in a different manner: the ↗*Säᶜatat*, 'Hours', are celebrated during the night, according to the text composed by *abba* ↗Giyorgis of Sägla (14th cent.), and another type of ↗*maḥəlet* may be used on certain days. During the Great Fast the antiphonary of ↗*Ṣomä dəggʷa* is used. Mass is celebrated on every fast-day: on weekdays it is celebrated after 12 o'clock, and on Saturdays and Sundays in the morning, when abstinence only is kept. The musical chant used is mostly in the ↗*gəᶜəz* mode.

The fasts kept by the Ethiopian Church are:

1. **ጾመ፡** [**ደብረ**]**፡ ቊስቋም**, *Ṣomä* [*Däbrä*] *Qʷəsqʷam*, 'The fast of [Mount] Qʷəsqʷam', 40 days, from *Mäskäräm* 26 to the feast of Qʷəsqʷam on 6 *Ḥədar*.
2. **ጾመ፡ ነቢያት**, *Ṣomä näbiyat*, 'The fast of the prophets', or: **ጾመ፡ ልደት**, *Ṣomä lədät,*'The fast of the Nativity', 43 days, from 16 *Ḥədar* to 28 *Taḥśaś* (or from 15 *Ḥədar* to 27 *Taḥśaś* in the years of John), including the eve of Christmas. This fast is compulsory for monks and priests; on the final day only, all the faithful join in the fast. Again, on 10 *Tərr*, the eve of the Epiphany, called **ገሃድ**, *Gähad*, 'Manifest', all the faithful will fast.
3. **ጾመ፡ ነነዌ**, *Ṣomä Nänäwe,* 'The fast of Nineveh', is observed by everybody on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of the second week preceding Lent (= the tenth week before Easter).
4. **ዐቢይ፡ ጾም**, *ᶜAbiy ṣom*, 'The Great Fast', (or: **ሑዳዴ** *Ḥudade*) lasts 55 days, including Saturdays and Sundays, when abstinence only is required. It is composed of three parts: a) **ጾመ፡ ሕርቃል**, *Ṣomä Ḥərqal,* 'the Fast of Heraclius' the eighth week before Easter (also called *Museni*); b) **ጾመ፡ ክርስቶስ**, *Ṣomä Krəstos*, 'the Fast of Christ', or: **አርብዓ፡ ጾም**, *Arbᶜa ṣom,* 'Fast of the Forty [days]'; c) **ፍሥሐ**, *Fəśḥ*, 'the Pasch', or: **ሕማማት**, *Ḥamamat*, 'the Passion' or: **ሳሙን፡ ቅድስት**, *Samun qəddəst*, 'Holy Week', starting on the Friday evening before Palm Sunday.
5. **ጾመ፡ ሐዋርያት**, *Ṣomä ḥawaryat*, 'The Fast of the Apostles', lasts from the Monday after Pentecost to the feast of Saints Peter and Paul on 5 *Ḥamle*.
6. **ጾመ፡ ድኅነት**, *Ṣomä dəḥənät*, 'The Fast of Salvation', begins on the Wednesday after Pentecost. It is kept by all on every Wednesday and Friday of the year, except from Easter to Pentecost and on Christmas or Epiphany, should they occur on such a day.
7. **ጾመ፡ ፍልሰታ**, *Ṣomä fəlsäta*, 'The Fast of the Assumption', which is compulsory for all from 1 *Näḥase* to the feast on 16 *Näḥase*.

Liturgical year: main feasts and the Sanctoral

The Sanctoral includes the commemorations (of saints, mostly) made on fixed days of the months throughout the whole C. year, as mentioned in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gəṣṣawe* or in the ↗*Sənkəssar*, as well as a monthly cycle, running in parallel to the former. The moveable festivals of the Mysteries of the Lord are, of course, included in the Easter cycle; however, some main feasts of the Lord are also part of the Sanctoral, because they are celebrated on fixed days; to make the presentation simpler, all main feasts of the Lord will be listed together (where it differs from the translation, the usual "Western" name will also be given between brackets, with the corresponding date of the Julian C., for comparison).

A. The (nine) major feasts of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Four of them are fixed:

1. **ትስብእት**, *Təsbᵓət*, 'The Incarnation', 29 *Mäggabit* (Annunciation, 25 March)
2. **ልደት**, *Lədät*, 'The Nativity', 29 *Taḥśaś*
3. **ጥምቀት**, *Ṭəmqät*, 'The Baptism', 11 *Ṭərr*, and the miracle at Cana of Galilee **ቃና፡ ዘገሊላ**, *Qana zägälila*,

12 *Ṭərr* (13 *Ṭərr* according to the books, but 12 according to the wider practice; the joyful celebration of Cana was upgraded in order to commemorate the return from exile of Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I on 12 *Ṭərr* 1933 A.M. [20 January 1941 A.D.])
4. The Transfiguration, i.e. **ደብረ ታቦር**, *Däbrä Tabor*, 'Mount Tabor', 13 *Näḫase*.

In addition to these fixed feasts, there are five moveable major feasts of the Lord which are related to the Easter cycle: the five are counted in different ways, either:

5. Holy Week
6. **ትንሣኤ**, *Tənśaᵓe*, 'The Resurrection'
7. The apparition of the risen Lord to the Apostle Thomas, i.e. **ቶማስ**, *Tomas* (i.e. Low Sunday, or "Dominica in albis")
8. **ዕርገት**, *ʿƎrgät*, 'The Ascension'
9. **ጰራቅሊጦስ**, *Ṗäraqliṭos*, 'Pentecost' (from Greek; s. LesCDic 415)

or, separating Holy Week and leaving out *Tomas*:

5. Palm Sunday, **ሆሣዕና**, *Hośaʿəna*
6. Good Friday, or **ስቅለት**, *Səqlät*, 'Crucifixion'
7. The Resurrection
8. The Ascension
9. Pentecost.

Following the Coptic Synaxary, the Ethiopian *Sənkəssar* ascribes to some moveable feasts the following dates: *29 Mäggabit* (Good Friday), 6 *Miyazya* (Sunday of Thomas), 8 *Gənbot* (Ascension) and 18 *Gənbot* (Pentecost). In fact, these dates are part of a complete fixed "cycle of the moveable feasts", which gravitate around the commemoration of the Annunciation (29 *Mäggabit* [25 March]). For reasons relating to a symbolic chronology, the date of the Spring Equinox, which also corresponds to the Jewish Pasch, both the Annunciation and the Conception of the Saviour have been placed in parallel with the Passion. This was a Western viewpoint. The Orient (including Ethiopia), instead, developed a vision according to which the parallel was made both with the Creation of the world and with the assumption of this world into Christ's Resurrection.

B. The minor feasts of Christ:

Here again, there are different ways of counting, either six or nine minor feasts of the Lord. Both listings include:

1. **መስቀል**, *Mäsqäl*, 'The (Exaltation of the) Cross', 17 *Mäskäräm*; this feast is assimilated to the major feasts of the Lord and is therefore celebrated everywhere in a similar manner
2. **ግዝረት**, *Gəzrät*, 'The Circumcision (of the Lord)', 6 *Ṭərr*
3. The Presentation of the Lord, or **ስምዖን**, *Səmʿon*, 8 *Yäkkatit*
4. The Finding of the True Cross (**መስቀል**, *Mäsqäl*), 10 *Mäggabit* (usually counted separately from the *Mäskäräm* feast of the Cross)

Then the following feasts may be listed to fill in the number:

Either:

5. **በኣተ፡ ግብጽ**, *Bäᵓatä Gəbṣ,* 'the Entry (of the Lord) into Egypt', 24 *Gənbot*
6. The Multiplication of the loaves (**ባረከ፡ እግዚእነ**, *Baräkä Ǝgziᵓənä,* 'Our Lord has blessed'), 28 *Ṭərr*

or the three Sundays of Advent:

5. **ስብከት**, *Səbkät*, 'the Preaching'
6. **ብርሃን**, *Bərhan*, 'the Light'
7. **ኖላዊ**, *Nolawi*, 'the Shepherd' (cf. above, under the cycle of the Nativity and Epiphany)
8. the Vigil of the Nativity (**ገና**, *Gänna,* also called **መርዓዊ**, *Märʿawi,* 'the Bridegroom'), *Taḫśaś* 28
9. **ደብረ፡ ዘይት**, *Däbrä zäyt*, 'Mount of Olives', i. e. the Sunday of mid-Lent, 4th Sunday before Easter)

C. The feasts of Our Lady Mary:

Aṣe ↗Zärᵓa Yaʿəqob instituted the celebration of a total of 33 annual feasts in honour of Our Lady, "to be kept like Sundays". However, the Ethiopian tradition holds that five main commemorations should faithfully be kept, according to what Mary told St. John. She promises those who venerate her in this way, as well as by writing her praises, commenting, learning and teaching them, to stand by them when they die and to assist them in every trouble. These five Feasts are:

1. **ዕረፍታ**, *ʿƎräfta*, 'The Falling-asleep', 21 *Ṭərr*
2. **ኪዳነ፡ ምሕረት**, *Kidanä məḥrät*, 'The Covenant of Mercy', *16 Yäkkatit*
3. **ልደታ**, *Lədäta*, 'The Nativity', 1 *Gənbot*
4. **ቅዳሴ፡ ቤታ**, *Qəddase beta*, 'The Consecration of her church at Philippi', 21 *Säne*
5. **ፍልሰታ**, *Fəlsäta*, 'The Assumption', 16 *Näḫase*

However, only the last one (the Assumption) is celebrated in all churches and has precedence over a Sunday; all other feasts depend for their solemn commemoration on the presence of a *tabot* of Mary (or of *Kidanä məḥrät*).

In addition to that, the following nine feasts are of some importance:

1. **ጼዴንያ**, *Ṣedenya*, 'Saïdnaya', 10 *Mäskäräm*
2. **ደብረ፡ ቍስቋም**, *Däbrä Qʷəsqʷam*, 'Mountain of Qʷəsqʷam', 6 *Ḫədar*
3. **ደብረ፡ ጽዮን**, *Däbrä Ṣəyon,* 'Mountain of Zion', 21 *Ḫədar*
4. **በአታ**, *Bäᵓata*, 'The Entry (of the three-year-old Virgin Mary into the Temple)', 3 *Taḫśaś*
5. **በዓለ፡ ደቅስዮስ**, *Bäʿalä Däqsəyos*, 'The Feast of Dexius', i.e. the Apparition to Ildefonso (= Dexius) of Toledo (681–90): Our Lady asked him to establish a monthly commemoration of the Annunciation, 22 *Taḫśaś*
6. Apparition at Däbrä Məṭmaq (**ደብረ፡ ምጥማቅ**), 21 *Gənbot*
7. **ዘአንቅዓ፡ ወልዳ፡ ማይ**, *Zäᵓanqəʿa wälda may*, 'The Source which her Son caused to spring', 8 *Säne*

8. **ሕንጸታ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ በስማ**, *Ḫənṣäta betä krəstiyan bäsəma* ‘The Building of the church bearing her name [at Philippi]’, 20 *Säne*
9. **ፅንሰታ**, *Ṣənsäta*, ‘St. Anne’s Conception of Mary’, 7 *Näḫase*

D. The commemorations of saints:

The saints commemorated are found in the *Sənkəssar*. As well as the saints common to the whole of Christianity (Old Testament prophets, Apostles, Angels, George of Lydda …) and the Coptic saints (e.g., Peter of Alexandria), there are a number of specifically Ethiopians saints (e. g., 4 *Ṭəqəmt*: Kings ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəha; 5 *Ṭəqəmt*: ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus; 11 *Gənbot*: ↗Yared the Hymnographer etc.).

Liturgical year: the monthly cycle of the Sanctoral

The Ethiopian monthly cycle is an expansion of the three Coptic monthly commemorations. It groups the yearly commemorations which are dear to the feelings of the people. Being a convenient C., it has a wider practical use, even outside of any specifically religious purpose. The choice between the monthly and the yearly cycle is left to the clergy, who take into account the local situation (e. g. having a *tabot* dedicated to the particular saint).

Here is the list of these commemorations (sometimes more than one per day). The numbers of the more popular ones are underlined, and the name of the month, from which the commemoration is taken, is provided at the end between brackets (s. *Sənkəssar* for the same day).

1. **ልደታ**, *Lədäta*, ‘The Nativity [of Our Lady Mary]’ (1 *Gənbot*)
2. **ታዴዎስ**, *Tadewos* (2 *Ḫamle*); **አባ፡ ጉባ**, *Abba Guba* [one of the Nine Saints] (29 *Gənbot*)
3. **በአታ**, *Bäʾata*, ‘The Entry [of Mary into the Temple]’ (*Taḫśaś*)
4. **ዮሐንስ፡ ወልደ፡ ነጐድጓድ**, *Yoḥannəs Wäldä Nägʷädgʷad*, ‘John, the Son of Thunder’ (*Ṭərr*)
5. **አቡነ፡ ገብረ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ**, *Abunä Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus* (*Təqəmt* and *Mäggabit*); **ጴጥሮስ፡ ወጳውሎስ** *Petros wäpawlos*, ‘Peter and Paul’ (*Ḫamle*)
6. **ኢየሱስ**, *Iyäsus* ‘[the Name of] Jesus’, received at circumcision (*Ṭərr*); **ደብረ፡ ቍስቋም**, *Däbrä Qʷəsqʷam*, in Upper Egypt, where the Holy Family is said to have spent six months and ten days (*Ḫədar*)
7. **ሥላሴ**, *Śəllase*, ‘[The Holy] Trinity’ (*Ḫamle* and *Ṭərr*)
8. **አባ፡ ኪሮስ**, *Abba Kiros* (*Ḫamle*)
9. **ቶማስ**, *Tomas* (*Təqəmt*); **ሠለስቱ፡ ምእት**, *Śälästu məʾət*, ‘The 318 [lit. 300 – Fathers of the Council of Nicaea]’ (*Ḫədar*)
10. **መስቀል**, *Mäsqäl*, ‘The [Finding of the Holy] Cross’ (*Mäggabit*)
11. **ሐና**, *Ḫanna*, the mother of Mary (*Ḫədar*); **ገላውዴዎስ**, *Gälawdewos* [Claudius] (*Säne*)
12. **ሚካኤል**, *Mikaʾel* (*Ḫədar* and *Säne*)
13. **ዘርአ፡ ቡሩክ**, *Zärʾa Buruk* [the servant of *abunä* Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus] (*Ṭərr* and *Ḫədar*)
14. **አቡነ፡ አረጋዊ**, *Abunä Arägawi* [one of the Nine Saints]; **ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ**, *Gäbrä Krəstos*, the hermit (*Ṭəqəmt*)
15. **ቂርቆስ**, *Qirqos* [Cyriacus] (*Ṭərr*, s. also 19 *Ḫamle*)
16. **ኪዳን፡ ምሕረት**, *Kidanä məḥrät*, ‘The Covenant of Mercy’ (*Yäkkatit*)
17. **እስጢፋኖስ**, *Ǝstifanos* (*Təqəmt*); **አባ፡ ገሪማ**, *Abba Gärima* [one of the Nine Saints] (*Säne*)
18. **ኤዎስጣቴዎስ**, *Ewoṣtatewos* (*Mäskäräm*)
19. **ገብርኤል**, *Gäbrəʾel*, ‘Gabriel’ (*Taḫśaś*)
20. **ሕንጸታ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ በስማ**, *Ḫənṣäta betä krəstiyan bäsəma*, ‘The Building of the church bearing Mary’s name [at Philippi]’ (*Säne*)
21. **እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም**, *Ǝgzəʾətnä Maryam*, ‘Our Lady Mary’ (especially her Dormition or Falling-asleep [**ዕረፍታ** *Ǝräfta*] in *Ṭərr*).
22. **ዶቅስዮስ**, *Dăqsəyos*, Ildefonso of Toledo (*Taḫśaś*)
23. **ጊዮርጊስ**, *Giyorgis*, ‘George [of Lydda]’ (*Miyazya*)
24. **አቡነ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት**, *Abunä Täklä Haymanot* (*Näḫase*, also *Taḫśaś*, *Ṭərr*, as well as 12 *Gənbot*)
25. **መርቆሬዎስ**, *Märqorewos* [Mercurius] (*Ḫədar*)
26. **አባ፡ ሰላማ**, *Abba Sälama* [Frumentius, the Enlightener of Ethiopia] (*Ḫamle*)
27. **መድኃኔ፡ ዓለም**, *Mädḫane ʿaläm*, ‘the Saviour of the world’ [Christ on the Cross] (*Mäggabit* and *Təqəmt*)
28. **አማኑኤል**, *Amanuʾel* (*Taḫśaś*); **አብርሃም፡ ይስሐቅ፡ ያዕቆብ** *Abrəham*, *Yəsḥaq*, *Yaʿəqob* (*Näḫase*)
29. **በዓለ፡ እግዚእ**, *Bäʿalä Ǝgziʾ*, or: **በዓለ፡ ወልድ** *Bäʿalä Wäld*, ‘the Feast of the Lord, of the Son’ (*Taḫśaś*, s. also Mäggabit)
30. **ማርቆስ**, *Marqos* (*Miyazya*).

↗Computus; ↗Fasting; ↗Feasts; ↗Time and Space

Src.: PATRIARCHATE OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH OF ETHIOPIA (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ግጻዌ። ዘይትነበብ፡ እምዓመት፡ እስከ፡ ዓመት፡ ወዘሰናብት፡ ዘየኀብር፡ ምስለ፡ መዝሙራት** (*Mäṣḥafä gəṣṣawe*, *zäyətnäbäb əmʿamät əskä ʿamät wäzäsänabət zäyäḫabər məslä mäzmurat*, ‘Book of the Exposition, which is to be Read from Year to Year, and of the Sundays, together with the *Mäzmur*’), Addis Abäba 1973 A.M. [1980/81 A.D.]; repr. as TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), Addis Abäba ²1976 A.M. [1983/84 A.D.].

Lit.: AELRED CODY, “Calendar, Coptic”, in: *CE* 2, 433–38; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, “The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church, I. The Temporal: Seasons and Sundays”, *Ethiopian Review of Cultures* (Addis Abäba) 9–10, 2001, xiv; MÄŚÄRÄT SƎBḪATLÄʾAB, **ትውፊታዊ፡ ጎሳበ፡ ዘመንና፡ ታሪኩ፡ በኢትዮጵያ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ አቋም** (*Təwfitawi ḫasabä zämänənna tariku bäʾityopya betä krəstiyan aqʷam*, ‘Chronology and Calendar in the Tradition of the Ethiopian Church’), Addis Abäba 1981 A.M. [1988/89 A.D.].

Emmanuel Fritsch – Ugo Zanetti

Betä Ǝsraʾel calendar

The Betä Ǝsraʾel use both a solar and lunar C. For routine daily purposes the standard Ethiopian C. of 12 months and 5 or 6 additional days is employed. In computing religious holidays and fasts, the Betä Ǝsraʾel employ a lunar C. of 12 months of 30 or 29 days which derives from a variety of sources including the ↗Octateuch, the Book of ↗Enoch and ↗*Abušakər*.

Despite their use of written sources, the Betä Ǝsraʾel did not use a written C., but calculated their C. according to observation of the lunar

cycle. Local clergy announced the appearance of the new moon and periodic meetings were held on a regional basis which standardized celebrations and rectified any deviations in observance.

Prior to the 20th cent., the Betä Ǝsraʾel observed weekly fasts on Mondays and Thursdays. The latter is attributed to either Ezra or the prophet Isaiah, the former to a Betä Ǝsraʾel monk, named *abba* Batri. Wednesday may also have been observed as a fast in some periods. The most important weekly observance, is the Saturday ↗Sabbath, which they observe with extreme strictness.

The Betä Ǝsraʾel also maintained a series of monthly observances. The most important of these was the Festival of the New Moon (**የጨረቃ፡ ባ[ዓ]ል**, *yäčäräqa ba[ʿa]l*, or **ሰርኪ**, *särki*; s. Leslau 1957:30f.) which was celebrated according to the biblical model (Num 28:11–15) and included prayers and a communal meal.

The 10th, 12th, 15th and 19th day of each month were also marked as reminders of annual holidays. The 10th day marks **አስተስርዮ** (*Astäsrəyo*, The Day of Atonement) on the 10th day of the seventh month. The 12th is a reminder of **ማእረር** (*Maʾərär*, Festival of the Harvest) on the 12th day of the 3rd month, and was also closely linked to Christian observance such of St. Mikaʾel's day. The 15th represents **ፋሲካ** (*Fasika*, 'Easter') and **በዓለ፡ መጸለት** (*Bäʿalä mäṣällät*, 'Feast of the Tabernacles') on the same day of the first and seventh months respectively. A fast on the 29th of each month serves as preparation for the new moon and commemorates **ስግድ** (*Səgd*) which is celebrated on the 29th of the 8th month. The observation of monthly holidays functioned to assist the clergy in maintaining the accuracy of their unwritten C. A similar role was also played by **የሰንበት፡ ሰንበት** (*Yäsänbät sänbät*, 'The Sabbath of Sabbaths'). Every seventh sabbath was observed as a day of confession and absolution. Once a year, the 49th Sabbath was observed as the great Sabbath.

Many Betä Ǝsraʾel annual holidays are celebrated at the same time and share religious associations with biblical festivals observed by Jews elsewhere in the world. These include: the New Year (**ብርሃን፡ ሠረቀ**, *Bərhan śäräqä*, 'Light has appeared'), the Day of Atonement (*Astäsrəyo*), Feast of the Tabernacles (*Bäʿalä mäṣällät*) and Passover (*Fasika*). They also celebrate an annual pilgrimage and fast day called *Səgd*. Traditions describe this holiday as either a commemoration of the giving of the Orit on Mt. Sinai, or a renewal of the covenant in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. Members of the community would ascend a local mountain carrying stones on their heads, pray and read from their holy books.

Until the 20th cent., the Beta Ǝsraʾel had no significant knowledge of the standard Jewish C. or the Hebrew names of most months. Under the influence of Jacques ↗Faitlovitch and other Jewish representatives, their C. began to change. Observances not found among other Jews declined, dates were standardized and observances and interpretations of holidays began to reflect outside Jewish models. These include the institution of a Seder meal on Passover (*Fasika*) and the observance of the post-biblical Chanukah festival in some villages. In Israel, Ethiopian immigrants have tended to adopt the standard Jewish C., although some unique observances, particularly *Səgd* remain.

Src.: WOLF LESLAU, *Coutumes et croyances des Falachas (Juifs d'Abyssinie)*, Paris 1957 (Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'Éthnologie 61).

Lit.: WOLF LESLAU, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven 1951 (Yale Judaica Series 6), 28–35; ID., "A Falasha Book of Jewish Festivals", in: LUCY DAWIDOWICZ (ed.), *For Max Weinreich on his Seventieth Birthday: Studies in Jewish Languages, Literature and Society*, The Hague 1964, 183–91; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, *Music Ritual and Falasha History*, East Lansing 1986, 44–56; STEVEN KAPLAN, *Les Falāshās*, Turnhout 1990, 130–42.

Steven Kaplan

Islamic calendar

The Islamic C. is based on the observation of the lunar phases. According to a Qurʾānic tenet (*sūra* 9:36), the Islamic year is divided into 12 months. Months of 30 and 29 days follow one another alternately, making up a total of 354 days. However, as the length of the lunar yearly cycle is 354 days, 8 hours, 48 minutes and 36 seconds, the otherwise steadily increasing gap between the real lunar year and the C. has to be periodically filled. For this purpose, the theoretical structure of the C. is modified so that in a space of 30 years, 11 leap-years have their last month of 30 days instead of 29.

The lunar C. is 11 days shorter than the solar one. The Qurʾān (*sūra* 9:37) expressly abrogated the intercalation of a month (*nasīʾ*), which was usually added to the year in pre-Islamic Arabia whenever it was necessary to reduce an obvious difference between the lunar C. and the natural course of the seasons. As a consequence of this Qurʾānic order, the Islamic C. has become

purely lunar, and within 32 solar years every Islamic lunar month passes through all the seasons. Nevertheless, the names of some of the Islamic months (e.g., the two *Rabīʿ*-s, *rabīʿ* meaning 'spring') still show the pre-Islamic relation between the lunar and the solar year.

The beginning of the Islamic lunar era is traditionally referred to the ↗*Hiğra*, the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad from Mecca to Yaṯrib (al-Madīna), which took place on 16 July 622 A.D., with the day starting at sunset.

Different mathematical formulas enable one to change, with a certain degree of approximation, Christian solar (CS) dates into Islamic lunar dates (IL) and vice versa. E.g.: CS = IL + 622 – IL/33; IL = CS – 622 + 622/32.

For practical purposes, conversion tables have been elaborated, immediately showing the correspondence between the Islamic and the Gregorian date (Wüstenfeld 1854; Mahler 1887 after Spuler 1961).

The Arabic names of the twelve lunar months are the following: *Muḥarram* (30 days), *Ṣafar* (29 days), *Rabīʿ al-awwal* (30 days), *Rabīʿ aṯ-ṯānī* (29 days), *Ǧumādā l-ūlā* (30 days), *Ǧumādā l-āḫira* (29 days), *Raǧab* (30 days), *Šaʿbān* (29 days), *Ramaḍān* (30 days), *Šawwāl* (29 days), *Ḏū l-qaʿda*, (30 days) and *Ḏū l-ḥiǧǧa* (29 days).

The Islamic C. was most likely implemented in Ethiopia as soon as Islam started to spread in the country. Since that early time Islamic funerary and memorial inscriptions and the colophons of Islamic manuscripts have always been dated according to the Islamic era. As far as we know at present, the first Islamic date recorded in Eritrea was an inscription of the ↗Dahlak islands (322/933–34; Oman UV 24, B1, s. Oman 1987:41f.). In Ethiopia, a funerary inscription found in Ǝndärta (Pansera 1945:3f.) contains the date 8 *Ḏū l-qaʿda* 396, corresponding to 6 August 1006.

The Islamic C. was extensively used for chronological lists of rulers and historical notes written in Arabic originating from Harär (e.g. in Cerulli 1931, 1941, 1942, 1964; Tedeschi 1974; Wagner 1974, 1976). In this kind of literature the most ancient date recorded is 283 H. [896/97 A.D.].

Chronograms, poetical verses whose words conceal a year of the Islamic era calculated as the sum of the numerical value of single Arabic letters, are often found in the dating not only of Ethiopian Islamic poetry but also of architectural works (e.g. Cerulli 1936:52f.).

Dates on letters written by or addressed to Muslim individuals and rulers also appear in the Islamic C., sometimes together with the Ethiopian C. (for examples cf. Appleyard – Irvine – Pankhurst 1985 and in Rubenson 2000).

More recently, dates in the Islamic C. were and are often (but not always) used together with Christian Ethiopian dates in Islamic books in Arabic, Amharic, Oromo and Harari printed in Ethiopia (Gori 1995) and in the Islamic Ethiopian press (e.g., in the Islamic periodicals *al-ʿAlam*, s. Hussein Ahmed 1994, and ↗*Bilāl*). Occasionally however, in this kind of literature only one date appears, sometimes the Islamic one (as we see in the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī* by *šayḫ* ↗Hāšim b. ʿAbdalʿazīz of Harär), or, perhaps more frequently, the Christian Ethiopian one (as, very significantly, in the first Amharic version of the Qurʾān printed in 1961 A.M.).

Dates of Islamic ↗feasts and festivals (the beginning of ↗*Ramaḍān*, the 9th lunar month of fast, *ʿĪd al-aḍḥā* on the 10th of *Ḏū l-ḥiǧǧa*, *ʿĪd al-fiṭr* on the 1st of *Šawwāl*, *al-Mawlid annabawī* on the 12th of *Rabīʿ al-awwal*, *ʿĀšūrā* on the 10th of *Ḏū l-ḥiǧǧa*) are, of course, all fixed according to observation of the lunar phases.

In Ethiopia, as well as in many other non-Arabic-speaking Islamic countries, the original names of the lunar months undergo several modifications in current usage. In Harär we thus find the following series of twelve months: "*ašūrā, nabi mawlūd, kuottāñ mawlūd, šištāñ mawlūd, suṭi waḫri, rāgā soman, safar, šawwal, zil-qidā, arafā*" (Cerulli 1936:453; Gori 1991:117f. n.47, cp. Leslau 1963:161).

↗Arabic; ↗Islam

Lit.: DAVID L. APPLEYARD – ARTHUR K. IRVINE – RICHARD PANKHURST, *Letters from Ethiopian Rulers* (*Early and Mid-15th Century*), Oxford 1985, 37ff., 53–57; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *RRALm* ser. 6, 4, fasc. 2, 1931, 37–101; ID., *Studi Etiopici. I. La lingua e la storia di Harar*, Roma 1936, 52f., 453; ID., "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 5–14; ID., "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *ibid.* 3, 1942, 272–94; ID., "La fine dell'emirato di Harar in nuovi documenti storici", *Annali IUO* 14, 1964, 272–94; FRANÇOIS C. DE BLOIS, "Tarʾīḫ: Dates in Eras in the Islamic World", in: *EI²*, vol. 10, 258–64, here 258f.; ALESSANDRO GORI, "La 'Silloge' di šäh Zäkkarəyas (analisi preliminare). Contributo allo studio della polemica cristiana contro l'Islam in Etiopia", *RSE* 35, 1991, 73–134; ID., "Soggiorno di studi in Eritrea ed Etiopia. Brevi annotazioni bibliografiche", *ibid.* 39, 1995 [1997], 81–129; HUSSEIN AHMED, "*Al-ʿAlam*: the History

of an Ethiopian Arabic weekly", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 155–65; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1963 (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 1), 161; GIOVANNI OMAN, *La necropoli islamica di Dahlak kebir. Epigrafi di varia ubicazione*, Napoli 1987, 24, 41f.; COSTANTINO PANSERA, "Quattro stele musulmane presso Uogher Hariba nell'Enderta", in: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed.), *Studi Etiopici*, Roma 1945; SVEN RUBENSON, *Internal Rivalries and Foreign Threats*, Addis Ababa 2000 (Acta Aethiopica 3); BERTOLD SPULER (ed.), *Wüstenfeld-Mahler'sche Vergleichungs-Tabellen zur muslimischen und iranischen Zeitrechnung: Mit Tafeln zur Umrechnung orient-christlichen Ären 3, verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage unter Mitarbeit von* JOACHIM MAYR, Wiesbaden 1961; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "L'emirato di Harar secondo un documento inedito", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 481–500; EWALD WAGNER, "Three Arabic Documents on the History of Harar", *JES* 12, 1, 1974, 213–24; ID., "Die Chronologie der frühen muslimischen Herrscher in Äthiopien nach den Hahariner Emirslisten", in: BRIGITTA BENZING – OTTO BOECHER – GÜNTER MAYER (ed.), *Wort und Wirklichkeit. Studien zur Afrikanistik und Orientalistik Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*, Meisenheim 1976, 186–204.

Alessandro Gori

Oromo calendar

The system of time reckoning of the ↗Oromo is based on a complex combination of long and short cycles. The ↗*gadaa* generational class system provides the framework for the ritual and cognitive definition of the long cycles. The basic time segment is the *gadaa* period, consisting of eight solar years ritually marked by different national ceremonies, performed by the ↗*abbaa gadaa* and the other *gadaa* officers belonging to the generation class in power (Asmarom Legesse 1973:188). After a full rotation in the position of *gadaa* by the five patri-classes (*gogessa*) is completed, a new generation takes over the responsibility for the nation. This *gogessa* generation cycle of 40 years is intertwined with a longer cycle of seven *gadaa* periods called *maqabassa*, a term referring to the seven cyclical names given to each generation class. The nonary return of a 40-years generation cycle, called *jaatama* (this and following terms in this article are provided in modern Oromo orthography) closes a longer cycle of 360 years. These long cycles are an important device for ordering and memorizing past events, deeply influencing the Oromo concepts of time and history (Asmarom Legesse 1973:189–200; Gemetchu Megerssa 1993:99, 127).

The short cycles are strictly correlated to astronomical events. The Oromo are probably the only people capable of assuring a correspondence between the solar and lunar year without keeping count of the days elapsing and without using complex mathematical devices. They rely rather on an accurate system of astronomical observation, the *ayyaantu*'s specialized field of knowledge. There are twelve lunar months (*ji'aa*), each starting on the day the new moon is first sighted. They are *Birraa*, *Chiqaawaa*, *Sadaassa*, *Abraassaa*, *Ammajji*, *Gurrandala*, *Bittotessa*, *Chamssaa*, *Buufaa*, *Wachabajji*, *Oborra guddaa*, *Oborra diqqaa* (Pecci 1941:307; Asmarom Legesse 1973:180). This synodic lunar cycle (on average 29.48 days long) is intertwined with the sidereal lunar cycle, 27.3 days long. This sidereal period is expressed by a cycle of 27 day-names, called *ayyaana* (Bassi 1988:620f.). The day-names are: *gardaaduma*, *sonsa*, *rurumma*, *lumaassaa*, *gidaada*, *ruuda*, *areri dura*, *areri balloo, addulaa dura*, *addulaa balloo, garba dura*, *garba ballaa*, *garba dullachaa*, *bitaa qaraa*, *bitaa ballaa*, *sorssa*, *algaajima*, *arba*, *walla*, *bassa kara*, *bassa ballaa*, *chaaraa*, *maganatti jaarraa*, *maganatti biriti*, *salbaan dura, salbaan ballaa, salban dullachaa*; s. Pecci 1941:307; Asmarom Legesse 1973:181). The sidereal position of the moon is evaluated by checking on eight consecutive nights the right ascension position of the moon in conjunction with the following stars or star groups, on the collectively called *Urji Daha*: *Lami* (Sheratan and Hamal), *Buusani* (Pleiades), *Bakkalcha Sorssa* (Aldebaran – the most important reference), *Bakkalcha Algaajima* (Bellatrix and Mintaka), *Arba Gaduu* (Alnilam and Alnitak), *Bakkalchaa Walla* (Betelgeuse), *Bakkalcha Bassa Guddo* (Sirius), *Bakkalcha Bassa Diqqo* (Procyon; s. Asmarom Legesse 1973:181; Bassi 1988:620f.). When the conjunction does not occur on the expected night due to the 0.3 day deviation, the day-name is immediately adjusted according to the astronomical situation (Bassi 1988:623).

Ayyaana (day-name) is a complex religious and cosmological concept. Gemetchu Megerssa has defined it as a direct outcome of God (↗*Waaqa*), the Creator, while at the same time becoming that which is created, an organizing principle of all tangible things, which can assume different specific meanings in different contexts (1993:92f.; Bartels 1990:112ff.). The "*ayyaana* of a day", while marking and ordering the day-time-segments, also attributes to different days some specific property, directly derived from *Waaqa* (Gemetchu Megerssa 1993:101–10). Tablino refers to this quality explaining *ayyaana* in terms of "spiritual significance of the day" (1999:37).

The cosmological dimension of the day-names is re-enforced by the fact that each *ayyaana* exactly expresses a specific sidereal correlation between the moon and the stars and by the identification – as in the biblical tradition – of the sky with the domain, or abode, of *Waaqa* (Gemetchu Megerssa 1993:97–101). Accordingly, each Oromo ritual should be performed during the proper *ayyaana*, a feature leading to the definition of the 27 day-names cycle as a "ceremonial month" (Asmarom Legesse 1973:181).

The approximate two-days length difference between the ceremonial and the lunar month implies that each month starts on a different set of two or three consecutive *ayyaana*. By forcing this theoretical correlation to hold true, the *ayyaantu* (experts in *ayyaana*) add an intercalary lunar month approximately every three years, avoiding the progressive shift of seasons along the month series. The turning points from *Gurrandala* (February–March) to *Bittotessa* (March–April) and from *Oborra diqqaa* (August–September) to *Birraa* (September–October) are the critical times for this correction, when the new moon (*baati*) and the full moon (*goobana*) respectively are expected to be seen in conjunction with the *Urji Daha*. When the conjunction-series does not occur on the appropriate lunar phase, the *ayyaantu* give priority to the observed astronomical events and repeat the last month-name, saying that it is *Gurrandala* or *Oborra diqqaa* again, a mechanism of retrospective adjustment of which most people are not aware (Bassi 1988:623f.).

Different Oromo communities may use variants of the system described here. The ↗Gabbra adopt a different system with similar cosmological concepts. The term *ayyaana* similarly indicates cyclical day-names, but it refers to the seven-days cycle, the week (*torbaan*, 'seven'), while the 27 days cycle is entirely missing. The year is 365 days long, evaluated through counting the days of the six periods of variable duration into which the year is divided. The Gabbra *gadaa* cycle lasts seven rather than eight years (Tablino 1999:36–42; Aneesa Kassam 1984:820ff., 825f.). The week (*maqabassa torbaan*) is also found, as an additional cycle, among the Oromo of Ethiopia, although different communities may use different day-names (Gemetchu Megerssa 1993:126).

The strong astronomical basis of the Oromo C. has led some scholars to consider the hypothesis of a connection with a possible astronomical function of some archaeological remains and megaliths found in northern Kenya (Lynch – Robbins 1978; Soper 1982; Doyle 1986).

Lit.: ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada. Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York 1973, 180f., 188–200; MARCO BASSI, "On the Borana Calendrical System: a Preliminary Field Report", *Current Anthropology* 29, 4, 1988, 619–24; LAMBERT BARTELS, *Oromo Religion: Myths and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia – An Attempt to Understand*, Berlin 1990; R. LAURANCE DOYLE, "The Borana Calendar Reinterpreted", *Current Anthropology* 27, 3, 1986, 286–87; GEMETCHU MEGERSSA, *Identity, Knowledge and the Colonizing Structure*, Ph.D. thesis, SOAS, University of London 1993; ANEESA KASSAM, "Gabra Ritual and Seasonal Calendars", in: *PICES* 8, 819–27; B. MARK LYNCH – LAWRENCE H. ROBBINS, "Namoratunga: the First Archaeoastronomical Evidence in Sub-Saharan Africa", *Science* 200, 1978, 766–68; DOMENICO PECCI, "Note sul sistema delle gada e delle classi di età presso le popolazioni Borana", *RSE* 1, 1941, 305–21; ROBERT SOPER, "Archaeo-astronomical Cushites: Some Comments", *Azania* 17, 1982, 145–62; PAUL TABLINO, *The Gabra. Camel Nomads of Northern Kenya*, Nairobi 1999; SEIFU METAFERIA, "The Eastern Oromo (K'ottus) of Ethiopia and their Time-Reckoning 'System'", *Africa* [Roma] 33, 1978, 475–508.

Marco Bassi

Č̣älläṅqo

Č̣. (ጨለንቆ, Oromo: Calanqoo) is a town some 80 km west of the city of ↗Harär (for location s. map for Č̣ärč̣är). Č̣. became known in the Ethiopian history as a battle-site of 1887 which manifested the final end of the independence of Harär. In 1885 Egypt had to evacuate its garrison in Harär and to leave as sovereign *amīr* ↗ᶜAbdullāhi b. Muḥammad, who hated both infidels and foreign traders and practically ruined trade in Harär (Paulitschke 1885:937; 1886:398f.).

On 18 April 1886 he had all the members of the Italian expedition led by Count Pietro Porro massacred (↗Porro expedition). This induced *nəguś* Mənilək (future *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) to hurry up both with punishment of the *amīr* and occupation of Harär in order to forestall the Italians. In mid-1886 he ordered his general ↗Wäldä Gäbrəʾel to occupy ↗Č̣ärč̣är. In late November Wäldä Gäbrəʾel's army camped at Hirna.

One night the Turkish general of the *amīr* shot off fireworks and attacked the Ethiopian army who fled immediately. *Amīr* ᶜAbdullāhi was triumphant, and Mənilək himself marched against him and used the same pattern for his own benefit. He camped at Č̣, and sent his ultimatum to *amīr* ᶜAbdullāhi. If Mənilək wanted to

provoke the *amīr*'s offence, he succeeded in this. The Muslim attack followed on Ethiopian Christmas, 6 January 1887 at 11 in the morning. But this time it was a surprise to the Muslims: their best cavalrymen were exterminated in 15 minutes, the army fled and *amīr* ᶜAbdullāhi himself escaped with his wives and children into the Somali country. This was the end of Harär's age-long independence. Harär was annexed by Mənilək. Neither *amīr* ᶜAbdullāhi nor his cavalry guards were much loved by the citizens of Harär, and the guards' dry bones could be seen unburied at Č. for many years.

Src.: GueCopMen 242ff.; *Guida* 455.

Lit.: PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, "Notizie dall'Harar", *Bollettino della Società geografica italiana* ser. 2, vol. 10, 1885, 673–79, 937–38; ID., "Harrâr", *Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia* 7, 1888, 171–73, 212–15; *ibid.* 8, 1889, 10–18, 142–47; JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale. Journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama. Septembre 1885 à Novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 99; RICHARD A. CAULK, "The Occupation of Harar: January 1877", *JES* 9, 2, 1971, 1–19.

Sevir Chernetsov

Camels

C. were employed as beasts of burden in the Ethiopian lowlands, as throughout much of the Middle East, from an early period. They were used by travelling merchants and by the nomadic population of arid and semi-arid lands, whose simple huts would in many cases be carried on camel-back.

C. are represented on rock paintings at ↗Laga Oda (Harärge) dated between 2200 and 1550 B.C. (Cervicek 1971:127, 134) and are first mentioned in Ethiopia in an early 4th-century inscription of the Aksumite King ↗ᶜEzana, who used them in an expedition despatched to the lowlands, east or south-east of ↗Aksum (DAE IV, 24–50). The C. also figures in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*. It claims that the Queen of Sheba's merchant Tamrin owned 520 C. and that she herself travelled to Jerusalem with no fewer than 797 of them (Budge 1922:17, 23).

C. played an important economic role on Ethiopia's principal trade routes, which ran northwards to ↗Massawa and eastwards to the Gulf of Aden coast, as well as westwards to the Sudan (Pankhurst, 1961:312f., 319, 349). An average C. could carry 500 ↗*amole*, or about 300 kilograms, i.e. twice as much as a mule, and could walk for a week at a stretch, existing on only a tiny quantity of grain, brushwood and-

Daarood Somali watering camels in Sagak, Ogaden, during the expedition of Bourg de Bozas, photo by Emile Brumpt, July 1901, courtesy of the Museum d'histoire naturelle, Paris (Boîte 1 no. 014)

water. Foreign travellers reported seeing caravans of up to 300, or even as many as 3,000, animals (Pankhurst 1968:241, 283, 352, 435).

C. were also significant in military operations. The Anglo-Indian expedition against *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II made use of 12,008 animals in the Mäqdäla campaign, most of them shipped from Bombay or Egypt (Holland – Hozier 1870, vol. 2, 259). Even more animals were employed in the Ethiopian Liberation campaign of 1941. Orde ↗Wingate had no less than 25,000, from the Sudan, virtually all of which died before reaching Addis Abäba, mainly on account of the cold weather of the highlands, to which they were unaccustomed, and to over-loading (Mosley 1964:266). Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I reportedly commented: "They died for Ethiopia."

↗Animals; ↗Trade

Src.: DAE IV, 24–50; ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE, *The Queen of Sheba and her Only Son Mĕnyĕlĕk*, London 1922, 17, 23; TREVENEN JAMES HOLLAND – HENRY MONTAGUE HOZIER, *Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*, London 1870, 492, s. index.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, *An Introduction to the Economic History of Ethiopia*, London 1961, 312f., 319, 349; ID., *Economic History of Ethiopia 1800–1935*, Addis Ababa 1968, 241, 283, 352, 435; LEONARD MOSLEY, *Haile Selassie. The Conquering Lion*, London 1964, 266; PAVEL CERVICEK, "Rock Paintings of Laga Oda (Ethiopia)", *Paideuma* 17, 1971, 121–36; MONICA ESSER – OTTO ESSER, "Bemerkungen zum Vorkommen des Kamels im östlichen Afrika im 14. Jhdt.", *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 4, 1982, 225–37.

Richard Pankhurst

Cameron, Charles Duncan

Captain C. (d. 1870) was a British soldier with experience in South Africa and the Middle East.

He was appointed British Consul to Ethiopia as successor to Walter ↗Plowden, in 1862. C. was instructed to base himself at ↗Massawa, but to travel inland to visit *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, which he did in October of that year. In the following month, the Emperor gave him an important letter (Markham 1869:16) to take to Queen Victoria. C. entrusted it instead to a messenger, while he himself travelled to Kassala and Mätämma on the Sudan frontier to investigate the slave trade, not knowing that the British Government had ordered him to return to the coast.

The Foreign Office, meanwhile, wishing to remain in good relations with Egypt, shunned involvement with Tewodros and left his letter unanswered. All this much displeased Tewodros, and caused Markham, historian of the subsequent British expedition, to observe (1869:83): "The discourteous omission to answer [Tewodros's] letter was a perfectly just reason for Tewodros's anger; and there can be no doubt that, if he had received a civil reply, which would have had the effect of explaining away Cameron's visit to the Turks, there would never have been any reason for spending several millions on an Abyssinian expedition." Angered by what he considered lèse-majesté, the Emperor imprisoned C. and several European missionaries who had displeased him. This led to the British military intervention in 1867–68. Until his release by Tewodros in April 1868, C. was confined at ↗Mäqdäla but kept in close contact, through Massawa, with British officialdom in Aden.

↗Napier expedition

Src.: HOUSE OF COMMONS, *Correspondence Respecting Abyssinia 1846–1868*, London 1868.
Lit.: CLEMENTS ROBERT MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 16, 83; PERCY ARNOLD, *Prelude to Magdala, Emperor Theodore of Ethiopia and British Diplomacy*, London 1992, 332, s. index; FREDERICK MYATT, *The March to Magdala, the Abyssinian War of 1868*, London 1970, 202, s. index.

Richard Pankhurst

Č̣amo

Č̣. (ጫሞ) is a lake located in the southern sector of the Main Ethiopian Rift (↗Rift Valley), just south of Lake ↗Abbayya at 05°95' N and 37°82' E. Č̣. lies at an elevation of 1108 m A.S.L. and covers an area of 350 km², which usually increases during the rainy months (June–September), when the lake can attain the maximum depth of 13 m. It is characterized by higher salt content than the adjacent Lake Abbayya.

Č̣. receives a perennial refilling from the Kulfo river that drains around 140 million m³ annually from the Kəčẹ Ridge and also takes water overflowing from Lake Abbayya and hence, acts as a terminal lake. The annual average air temperature and rainfall around the lake are 24° C and 900 mm respectively. The high daily temperature causes high evaporation and consequent salt enrichment in the lake.

According to the chemical analysis carried out by the author in March 1999, the lake has alkaline water (pH 9.05). The water group of the Č̣. is of sodium bicarbonate-carbonate type and can be categorized as slightly brackish water (s. table).

Parameters	Values	Parameters	Values
pH	9.05	Mg^{2+}	6.9 mg/l
EC	1259 µ S/cm	CO_3^{2-}	304.5 mg/l
TDS	1022 mg/l	HCO_3	567.4 mg/l
Na^+	247 mg/l	Cl^-	64.87 mg/l
K^+	17.5 mg/l	SO_4^{2-}	20.8 mg/l
Ca^2	10.1 mg/l	F^-	4.6 mg/l

The lake is noted for its wide variety of fish and birds.

From the geological point of view, Č̣. lies on alluvial and lacustrine sediments. However, the surrounding rocks belong to Pliocene – Quaternary volcanic products.

Src.: author's own data.
Lit.: GEOFFREY G. LAST, *A Geography of Ethiopia for Senior Secondary Schools*, Addis Abeba 1966, 14, 32.

Tamiru Alemayehu

Candace

C. (Greek: **Καvδάκη**, Gəᶜəz: **ሕንደኬ** Ḥəndäke, also **ህንደኬ** Həndäke, **ቅንደኬ** Qəndäke) is the Latin form of the title *k(e)ut(e)ky* employed by the queens of ↗Meroë, recorded in inscriptions as well as by a number of Greek and Latin authors.

For Ethiopian studies per se, the importance of the title derives from its appearance in the canonical *Acts of the ↗Apostles* (Acts 8:27), in a famous passage where the apostle Phillip meets an "Ethiopian eunuch" who has been to the Temple at Jerusalem and asks the apostle to explain one of the prophecies of Isaiah (Is 53:7–8). Several questions are fundamental to understanding its legacy in Ethiopia: is the incident reported by the author of the canonical *Acts* historical? Did the author possess accurate information about either Meroë or Aksum, and is the conventional distinction between the two applications of the ambiguous Greek word ↗Aithiopía meaningful in this context? Did Ethiopian tradition have accurate information about the use of the title in Meroë, or does it derive entirely from the biblical passage in question?

Curiously, although most commentators insist that the author must have been the servant of a Meroïtic rather than an Ethiopian queen, his behaviour seems closer to what most Ethiopian historians have assumed to be the "Judaic substratum" of Ethiopian than it is to anything we know about Meroïtic religion before the conversion to Christianity several centuries later. If the passage does not describe a historical incident, but is simply a literary construct, the insistence that the queen and her eunuch were really Meroïtic and not Ethiopian is pointless. It depends solely on a title that the author knew but did not understand. Furthermore, Ethiopian traditions do not display any knowledge of the institutions of Meroïtic royalty, and as Ethiopian interest in C. is based on the appearance of the name as an Ethiopian queen in the canonical Acts, inscriptions or other ancient accounts of Meroë are not strictly relevant to understanding how Ethiopian traditions about her arose or developed.

As always, Budge (1928) presents a mass of detail from ancient sources, but of the few experts to discuss the subject in any depth, the fundamental accounts are those of Ullendorff (1955, 1968). These contain valuable information, but also a number of mistaken conclusions, the most remarkable of which is a claim that Ethiopian tradition fuses C. and the Queen of Sheba (in *Kəbrä Nägäśt* ch. 33; ↗Makəddа) into one person. Tales of Alexander the Great in several languages include descriptions of his love for C., although the similarity between these and traditions surrounding Solomon and Makəddа is less than Ullendorff alleges.

Nevertheless, the figure of C. was clearly of considerable importance for Ethiopians: the passage in *Acts of the Apostles* was the only reference to Ethiopia in the New Testament, and it suggested an attractive explanation of how the Christian faith was brought there at an early date. Alvares (BeckHuntAlvar) records a number of traditions about the queen, including the anachronism that one of the Nine Saints, *abba* ↗Liqanos, was her confessor, and that the temple at ↗Yəḥa once belonged to her. Exotic versions of the story can also be found elsewhere. In the apocryphal *Acts of Matthew*, a Latin text attributed to Abdius, bishop of Babylon, we learn that the apostle Matthew went to Ethiopia himself, and that while he was there, he baptized a eunuch named Candacis. While Marianus Victorius states that the queen was called Lacasa, the preface to an extract made from Wansleben (1679) reports that ↗Täsfa Ṣəyon applied the name Lacasa to the eunuch. However, Lobo (1984:8) claims that the eunuch was called Inda or Indica. The opportunity for confusion seems almost limitless.

Src.: Greek: *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* 5080; PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES, *Alexander-Romance* 3.18; STRABO, *Geography* 17.1.54. Latin: DIO CASSIUS, *Roman History* 54.5.4; IRENAEUS, *Against Heresies* 4.23.2; PLINY, *Natural History* 6.35, 186; PSEUDO-ABDIUS, *Acts of Matthew* 2. Syriac: ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE, *The History of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 1889; ID., *The Queen of Sheba and Her Only Son Menyelek*, London ²1932; ID., *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1896. Armenian: EPHREM, *Meknowtᶜiwn Gorcocᶜ Aṙakᶜelocᶜ xmbagir araṙeal naxneacᶜ yOskeberane ew yEpᶜreme*, Venice 1839 (Matenagrowtᶜiwnkᶜ naxneacᶜ 18), 163 [s. also FREDERICK CORNWALLIS CONYBEARE, "The Commentary of Ephrem on Acts", in: FREDERICK JOHN FOAKES JACKSON – KIRSOP LAKE, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, part I: *The Acts of the Apostles*, 5 vols., London 1920–33, vol. 3, 409]. Gəᶜəz: BudSaint vol. 1, 147; CARL BEZOLD, *Kebra Nagast*: *Die Herrlichkeit der Könige*, München 1909 (Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der königlich Bayerischen Akademie 23), 29 (text) = 23f. (tr.); MARIANUS VICTORIUS, *Chaldeae seu Aethiopicae linguae institutiones*, Romae 1552; BeckHuntAlvar; JERONIMO LOBO, *The Itinerário*

of Jerónimo Lobo, tr. by DONALD M. LOCKHART, ed. by M. G. DA COSTA, London 1984, 8; JOHANN MICHAEL WANSLEBEN, *Brief Account of the Rebellions and Bloodshed, Occasioned by the Jesuits and other Popish Emissaries in the Empire of Ethiopia*, London 1679.
Lit.: CHARLES KINGSLEY BARRETT, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, vol. 1, Edinburgh 1994, 419–36; ERICH DINKLER, "Phillipus und der **ANHP AIΘIOΨ** (Apg. 8,26–40)", in: EDWARD EARLE ELLIS – ERICH GRÄSSER (eds.), *Jesus und Paulus. Festschrift für Werner Georg Kümmel zum 70. Geburtstag*, Göttingen 1975, 85–95; FREDERICK JOHN FOAKES JACKSON – KIRSOP LAKE, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, part I: *The Acts of the Apostles*, 5 vols., London 1920–33, here vol. 4, 95–99; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "Candace and the Queen of Sheba", *New Testament Studies* 2, 1955, 53–56 (Lit.); ID., *Ethiopia and the Bible*, London 1968, 9ff., 13, 29, 134f., 142; BELAYNESH MICHAEL, "Candace", in: *DicEthBio* 43 (Lit.); BudHist vol. 1, 58–62, 112f., 160, 236, 260; RODERICK GRIERSON – STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Red Sea, Blue Nile: the Civilisation of Ancient and Medieval Ethiopia*, London 2003 (Lit.).

Roderick Grierson – Stuart Munro-Hay

Čanito ↗ Gaki Šeročo

Canon, biblical ↗ Bible

Canon law ↗ Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḫədo Church

Canon tables

C.t. are sets of numbers – ten different concordance tables – that indicate parallel passages of the Four ↗Gospels. This ingenious scheme is the invention of Bishop ↗Eusebios of Caesarea (? 339–40 A.D.). The scheme utilizes a system of numbered text sections, conventionally known as "Ammonian sections", although these too are the work of Eusebios. C.t. function as prefatory material in manuscripts of the Four Gospels, for without a Gospel book whose text is marked with these sections (as well as the Canon in which the section is listed) the C.t. are useless. A prologue in the form of a letter from Eusebios to his friend Carpianus explaining how to use the scheme of numbered sections and their tabular concordances (κανόνες) introduces the C.t. Canon I presents a numerical table of harmonizing sections of all Four Gospels, i.e. of Mt, Mk, Lk, and Jn; Canon II: sections of Mt, Mk, and Lk that agree; Canon III: harmonizing sections of Mt, Lk, and Jn; Canon IV: Mt, Mk, and Jn; Canon V: Mt and Lk; Canon VI: Mt and Mk; Canon VII: Mt and Jn; Canon VIII: Mk and Lk; Canon IX: Lk and Jn. Canon X lists the sections unique to each author. Although there are more potential combinations, Eusebios limited the number of concordance tables to ten, probably because he considered ten to be a perfect number (Nordenfalk 1951:16).

The layout of Ethiopic C.t. follows what appears to be the original scheme of the Late Antique Greek C.t., three pages of Eusebian prologue and seven pages of C.t., or the contemporary variant layout, two pages of prologue and eight pages of C.t. (Nordenfalk 1938: appendix A; Heldman 1972:94–102). The variant scheme is consistently followed in the layout of decorated C.t. in late 15th- and early 16th-cent. luxury manuscripts of the Four Gospels produced at scriptoria of the Stephanites in northern Ethiopia (Heldman 1989:9, 11, figs. 13, 24).

In the typical decorative scheme developed during the Late Antique period, the C.t. and Eusebian prologue are placed within architectural frames embellished with leaves, flowers, fruits, birds and even animals, making the C.t. a highly decorative as well as practical introduction to manuscripts of the Four Gospels. Indeed, while the Eusebian C.t. are a useful index to the Gospel text, they were also conceived as a mystical numerical summary of the life and teachings of Our Lord, the life-giving nature of which is suggested by the foliage, fruits and flowers that embellish the architectural frames. Decorated sets of C.t. are included in luxury editions of the Four Gospels in Greek, Latin, Armenian, Syriac, Gothic, and Georgian produced during the first millennium.

A considerable number of Gəʿəz manuscripts of the Four Gospels produced prior to the early 16th cent. include C.t. framed within architectural arcades, and luxury editions of the Ethiopic Four Gospels exhibit decorative schemes typical of Late Antique C.t. The earliest extant examples of such Late Antique Canon tables in Ethiopia are two fragmentary sets of C.t. bound within the Abba Gärima Gospels, C.t. which this author dates to the late 6th cent. (Heldman et al 1993:129f.; Leroy 1960 and 1968). A number of Ethiopic luxury manuscripts of the Four Gospels from the 14th and 15th cent. have elaborately decorated architectural C.t. frames that follow a Late Antique prototype, an example of which is provided by a late 15th cent. manuscript of the Four Gospels at Lalibäla. The decorated tympanum is supported by columns with simple capital and striped plinth, and surrounding ornamental motifs include birds and small trees.

A 14th-cent. bifolio showing the canon tables (here: the two inner pages), left: Canon II, which shows how the Ammonian sections in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke agree with each other, right: Canon III, showing how the Ammonian sections of Matthew, Luke and John agree, Canon IV, showing how the Ammonian sections of Matthew and Luke agree with each other, courtesy of The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (call number W. 838)

A pair of curtains is opened to reveal the section numbers of Canons III and IV (fol. 3v) and Canon V (fol. 4r). In contrast, the decoration of the C.t. of deluxe Gospel manuscripts produced at Stephanite scriptoria is limited to colourful bands of decorative interlace (Heldman 1989, fig. 13; Leroy 1967: pl. 5).

Some Ethiopic Gospel books with decorated C.t. also include a full-page finispiece of architectural design, an open circular structure with conical roof upheld by four or eight separate columns (Leroy 1968, fig. 11; Unesco, pl. 7, 28). This *tholos* composition, which derives from a Late Antique archetype, is a visual recapitulation of the C.t. themselves. The undivided circle of the conical roof and its four supporting columns symbolize the perfect harmony of the Four Gospels (Nordernfalk 1982:36).

↗Manuscripts

Lit.: MARILYN E. HELDMAN, *Miniatures of the Gospels of Princess Zir Ganäla, an Ethiopic Manuscript Dated AD 1400/04*, Ph.D. thesis, Washington University in St. Louis 1972; ID., "An Ewostathian Style and the Gundä Gunde Style in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Manuscript Illumination", in: *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art*, London 1989, 5–14, 133–39, plates; ID. et al., *African Zion: the Sacred Art of Ethiopia*, ed. by RODERICK GRIERSON, New Haven – London 1993, 119, 129f.; JULES LEROY, "L'évangéliaire éthiopien du couvent d'Abba Garima", *Cahiers archéologiques* 11, 1960, 131–43; ID., "Recherches sur la tradition iconographique des canons d'Eusèbe en Éthiopie", *ibid.* 12, 1962, 173–204; ID., *Ethiopian Painting*, New York 1967; ID., "Un nouvel évangéliaire éthiopien illustré du monastère d'Abba Garima", *Synthronon. Art et archéologie de la fin d'antiquité et du moyen âge*, Paris 1968, 75–87; HARVEY K. MCARTHUR, "Miscellanea Biblica. The Eusebian Sections and Canons", *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 27, 1965, 250–56; CARL ADAM JOHAN NORDENFALK, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln*, Gothenburg 1938; ID., "The Beginning of Book Decoration", in: OSWALD GOETZ (ed.), *Essays in Honor of Georg Swarzenski*, Chicago 1951, 9–20; ID., "Canon Tables on Papyrus", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36, 1982, 36; STEVEN WRIGHT – OTTO JÄGER – JULES LEROY, *Ethiopia: Illuminated Manuscripts*, New York 1961 (UNESCO World Art Series 15).

Marilyn E. Heldman

Capucci, Luigi

C. (b. 18 April 1857, San Bernardino di Lugo, Ravenna, d. 12 January 1920, Djibouti) was an Italian traveller and professional economic agent. He gained an engineering degree from the University of Pisa. Together with his professional companion, Luigi Cicognoni, he organized an expedition to ↗Šäwa across Awsa in order to offer *nəguś* (later the emperor) Mənilək the services of an engineer and to set up industrial enterprises. This expedition, which was joined also by engineer Carlo Bonetti and the lawyer Emilio Dulio, embarked at ᶜAsäb in December 1884.

C. had to make extensive treaties with the Sultan of Awsa in order to be able to cross the territories. Only on 22 October 1885 and after having paid 2,000 thalers was the expedition allowed to proceed. C. and Dulio reached Ankobär on 9 November and Ləṭ Maräfiya on 12 November. C. was commissioned by Mənilək to construct an ammunition depot at Mähal Wänz, various buildings including parts of the imperial ↗*gəbbi* and a hydraulic mill. In 1889 C., together with ↗Antonelli, accompanied the mission of *däğğazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel to Italy. With the first disagreements between Italy and *aṣe* Mənilək II, caused by the Treaty of Wəčale (↗Italo-Ethiopian convention of 1889), C. was discharged by the Ethiopian sovereign; he then engaged in the commerce of coffee and cotton.

C. collaborated with the Italian government representation to Šäwa in an attempt to resolve the diplomatic controversy, and with the withdrawal of all Italians, he remained behind in Šäwa secretly passing out information about the military and political situation of Ethiopia. Accused of espionage in favour of the Italians, he was arrested and condemned to death on 10 May 1895, a verdict changed to inprisonment at *amba* Wärrä Ilu, from where he was released in November 1896 after Ethiopia's Peace Treaty with Italy. After a brief sojourn in Italy, he established himself in Eritrea where he engaged in the construction of buildings, fords, railway lines and gold mining. Married to a local woman, C. had three children named Pietro, Antonio and Emilia. Pietro or Ṭetros, born in 1894, was head of the artillery workers in Asmära before deserting in March 1918, escaping to Addis Abäba. For this exploit, he was sentenced in absentia by the Military Tribunal of Eritrea to ten years of solitary confinement.

C. died in Djibouti where he had established himself as a representative of the Italian Colonial Society. Several of his correspondences from Ethiopia became published in the *Bollettino della Società Africana* of Naples.

Src.: LUIGI CAPUCCI, *La politica italiana in Africa*, Roma 1897.

Lit.: CARLO ZAGHI, *La spedizione Cicognani Capucci in Abissinia*, Lugo 1935; ID., *Il diario inedito della spedizione Capucci e Cicognani all'Aussa nel 1885*, Roma 1935; ID., "L'Italia e l'Etiopia alla vigilia di Adua nei dispacci segreti di Luigi Capucci", *Gli annali dell'Africa Italiana* 4, 2, 1941, 517–45; BERTRAND HIRSCH, "Les photographies du gebbi de Ménélik à Addis Abeba: une première approche", in: ALESSANDRO TRIULZI (ed.), *Fotografia e storia dell'Africa, atti del convegno internazionale, Napoli–Roma, 9–11 settembre 1992*, Napoli 1995, 37–49, here 41.

Gian Carlo Stella

Capuchins

The C. are an autonomous branch of the ↗Franciscan order founded in 1525 in the Marches, Italy. The earliest missionary efforts of the C. in Ethiopia date to the 17th cent. In the 1630s, the newly-founded ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, responding to the expulsion of the ↗Jesuits, decided to send members of other orders, in particular C., Carmelitans and Franciscans "Riformati" (for tensions between the Jesuits and the other orders over this issue s. Archivio di Propaganda Fide, "Notizie dell'Etiopia", fol. 111-25). From Cairo, where Catholic missionaries were active since the 1630s, the Frenchmen Fr. Agathange of Vendôme (blessed Agathangelus Nourry, 1598–1638) and Fr. Cassien of Nantes (1607–38) were dispatched for Ethiopia. Both C. missionaries were martyred in Gondär on 7 August 1638, immediately upon their arrival (on 1 January 1905, they were beatified by Pius X).

Successful and continuous C. missionary activities in Ethiopia began only in the 19th cent. With Brief of 4 May 1846, Pope Gregory XVI created the Apostolic Vicariate of the Galla [Oromo], entrusting it to the C. The Vicariate bordered to the north with the Prefecture (later elevated to Apostolic Vicariate) of Abyssinia, managed by the ↗Lazarists. At the head of the twelve missionaries that were to be sent to the Oromo was placed Guglielmo ↗Massaja, ordained titular bishop of Cassia on 24 May. In November of the same year, proceeding through the Cairo-Red Sea route, Massaja together with three Capuchin priests (among them Fr. Gabriel,

Fr. Cesare Orengo) and one lay brother (Brother Paschal), disembarked at Massawa. Inititially they faced difficulties and persecutions, though also received the precious support of the Lazarist Giustino de ↗Jacobis, by then head of a solide mission at G^{w}al^{c}a and himself protected by *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam. In the next decades, however, they managed to found missions among the Oromo, with stations in the "Gudrò" (1852), Ǝnnarya (1854), Käfa, Lagamara (1855, where they were joined by Fr. Léon des ↗Avanchers) and Geeraa (1859).

The methodology applied in the sourthern missions was strongly-marked by the personality and ideas of Massaja (who, following a typical pattern among missionaries in Ethiopia, was renamed locally "*abunä* Mäsyas"). In contrast to the Lazarists, who adopted the Ethiopian mass in the north, the C. introduced the Western Latin tradition and liturgy and an internalized concept of faith. This aroused suspicion and discontent among the Ethiopian Orthodox clergy, a problem still nowadays not fully resolved (s. Ayele Teklehaymanot 1998:140, passim).

The work of Massaja and his fellow missionaries was later continued by the patient and indirect apostolate of Taurin ↗Cahagne (1880–99) and his companions, and the open and direct apostolate of André de ↗Jarosseau (1900–41) and his colleagues. The last one initiated working in Harär in 1881 and became in 1900 bishop of the Apostolic Vicariate of the Galla, until his final expulsion in 1936. Following the end of the Italian occupation of Ethiopia (1936–41), the C. mission was halted for about ten years. Since 1951, hundreds of expatriate C. missionaries as well as indigenous C. have worked in Ethiopia in pastoral as well as socio-welfare activities.

Today, the order enjoys of a strong presence in the region. It has a province in Eritrea and a general vice-province in Ethiopia, both guided by the rules and regulations as well as constitutions of the central C. office in Rome. Among its missions, the C. Province of Bologna has been present since the 1970s in the Kambaata-Hadiyya area and from ca. 1992 has a "presenza" at Dawro Konta (Soddo–Wälaytta). On their turn, the C. Clarisses are very active in Eritrea. The order also carries out important educative and intellectual tasks; remarkable examples of the last are centres such as the Capuchin Franciscan Institute of Addis Abäba, that organizes regular colloquies and workshops, and figures like Fr. Täwäldä Bäyyänä, who, besides ruling the Eritrean Province, has produced one of the finest studies on the early Jesuit mission (s. Tewelde Beiene 1983). In 1999, in the Ethiopian Vice-province there were 93 perpetual professed, 58 temporary professed and 11 novices, and, in Eritrea, 94 perpetual professed and 12 temporary professed (Curia Generale dei Frati Minori Cappuccini 2000).

↗Catholicism

Src.: Archivio de Propaganda Fide (Roma), Fondo Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Africa Centrale-Etiopia-Arabia, vol. 1 (1630-1698: Etiopia, Arabia, e Socotora. Dal 1623 a tutto 1698), "Notizie dell'Etiopia", ff. 111–25; Fr. JOHN CORRIVEAU, *Ordine dei Frati Minori Cappuccini, 82 capitolo generale 2000, Relazione del Ministro Generale*, Roma 2000, 13f., 17; CURIA GENERALE DEI FRATI MINORI CAPPUCCINI, *Capitolo Generale 2000* (*Roma 25 giugno-16 luglio 2000*): *Relazioni Sessennio 1994-2000*, Roma 2000, 13, 37.

Lit.: ANTONIOS ALBERTO, *Apostolic Vicariate of Galla: a Capuchin Mission in Ethiopia* (*1846–1942*): *Antecedents, Evolution and Problematics*, Addis Ababa 1998 (Lit.); KEVIN O'MAHONEY, "*The Ebullient Phoenix*": *a History of the Vicariate of Abyssinia*, *1839-1860*, vol. 1, Asmara 1982, 58, 65f., 68, 78; AYELE TEKLEHAYMANOT, "The Struggle for the 'Ethiopianization' of the Roman Catholic Tradition", in: GETATCHEW HAILE – AASULV LANDE – SAMUEL RUBENSON (eds.), *The Missionary Factor in Ethiopia: Papers from a Symposium on the Impact of European Missions on Ethiopian Society, Lund University, August 1996*, Frankfurt am Main – New York 1998, 135–54, here 140, passim; TEWELDE BEIENE, *La politica cattolica di Seltan Sägäd I* (*1607-1632*) *e la missione della Compagnia di Gesù in Etiopia. Precedenti, evoluzione e problematiche, 1589-1632*, Roma 1983.

Antonios Alberto – Andreu Martínez

Čara

Čara language

The Č. (ቻራ, also Ciara, Sara) language is spoken by around 7,000 people as their mother-tongue and by some 700 people as a second language. The Č. people live in a relatively remote area which stretches roughly 60 km from north to south and 50 km from east to west. This area is partly located in the Käfiččo-Šekiččo Administrative Zone (Käfa, in the Deča and Telo *wäräda*) and partly in the Northern Omo Administrative Zone (in the Ella *wäräda*). The Č. people make their living from agriculture and animal husbandry (Census of 1994).

Č., a member of the ↗Omotic language family, is one of the least-known languages in this group. Within Omotic, Č. belongs to the Northern Branch. North Omotic has had a strong lexical influence on the ↗Koman lan-

guages which are spoken in the Ethio-Sudanese borderland between 8° N and 11° N. Č. is further subclassified as ↗Gonga-Gimoğan (Moreno's ta/ne group, s. Moreno 1938:33f.), Ometo-Gimira and Č. Typologically, Č. is a Subject–Object–Verb language. The Č. sound-system, as analyzed by Aklilu Yilma (1995), corresponds with Bender (1986), with the exception that Aklilu Yilma's data include the voiceless bilabial ejective /*p'*/ and the voiced bilabial implosive /*ɓ*/, whereas Bender's do not. This may be an indication of either borrowing or dialectal variation. However, the scarce Č. language data available do not seem to indicate notable dialectal differences. Aklilu Yilma analyses Č. as having the following 25 consonants: ten stops /*b, p, ɓ, d, t, ṭ, g, k, q, ʾ*/, four fricatives /*f, s, š, h*/, five affricates /*ʦ, ʂ, ǧ, č, ḉ*/, two nasals /*m, n*/, one lateral /*l*/, one trill /*r*/ and two semi-vowels /*w, y*/. The six places of consonant articulation are: labial, labio-dental, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. Č. has a five vowel system /*a, e, i, o, u*/, with short and long vowels being contrastive. The mid-central vowel [*ə*] seems to be an allophone of /*a*/. Suprasegmentally, Č. seems to have stress but no tone, whereas many Omotic languages are tonal. Morphological assimilation occurs across morpheme boundaries. A morpheme-initial nasal may assimilate to a preceding consonant.

Č. singular nouns are unmarked for number. The plural is expressed by suffixing /*eendi*/ to singular nouns. Definiteness for masc. sg. nouns is marked by suffixing /*naazi*/, i.e. 'the male man', to the noun. The same applies to /*ena*/ to mark fem. sg. nouns as being definite.

The data on the noun morphology indicate that Č. has seven cases: nominative, dative, genitive, accusative, ablative, instrumental and vocative. A 320-item wordlist has also been provided by Aklilu Yilma (1995). The basic ten-word list for Č. is:

one	*issá*	sun	*oyá*
two	*näntá*	moon	*doza*
three	*eezá*	blood	*súuta*
fire	*uʦ á*	tongue	*ʾínṣila*
water	*áaṣa*	tooth	*áʦ a*

Despite favourable conditions created by the Government to develop the language, very little has been done to this end. Desirable additional research would include a sociolinguistic assessment, a record of the oral literature, a dictionary and at least a grammatical sketch of Č.

: AKLILU YILMA – RALPH SIEBERT, "Survey of Chara, Dime, Melo and Nayi, part 1", *S.L.L.E. linguistic reports* 25, 1995, 2–7; AKLILU YILMA, "Some Notes on the Chara Language. Sound System and Noun Morphology", *ibid.* 32, 1995, 2–12; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia. Results for Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region*, vol. 1, part 1, Addis Ababa, June 1996, 140, 147.

: MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, "Proto-Omotic Phonology and Lexicon", in: MARIANNE BECHHAUS-GERST – FRITZ SERZISKO (eds.), *Cushitic Omotic: Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Cologne 1986, 121–59; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, *Introduzione alla lingua Ometo*, Milano 1938, 33f.; ENRICO CERULLI, *Studi Etiopici*, vol. 3: *Il Linguaggio dei Giangero ed alcune lingue Sidama dell'Omo* (*Basketo, Ciara, Zaissè*), Roma 1963, 118–45.

Ralph Siebert

ara ethnography

The Č. (Ṭsara, self-name: Čaraṣa) people are one of the least-known Omotic-speaking groups in southern Ethiopia. They live in an isolated area above the bend where the Omo joins the Šorum River. They are neighbours to the ↗Meʾen (whom they call "Golda" or "Šuro"), the ↗Käfa to the north and the ↗Dawro people to their east, and they also have contacts with the ↗Wälaytta people. According to the latest Ethiopian census of 1994, the Č. numbered 6,984 persons. This is no doubt an underestimation; a more realistic number would be ca. 14,000. Two distinct subgroups are the northern Č. and the Č. who live near the Čoča mountain.

The Č. habitat is an intermediate highland area and they live as sedentary mixed cultivators, dispersed in small hamlets. Their economy is agrarian and subsistence-oriented. Their main products are sorghum, maize, *ṭef*, beans, lentils,

cabbage, peppers, tobacco, cotton and various spices. They also practise bee-keeping and occasional hunting and gathering in the forested areas. In lower-lying areas they herd livestock such as sheep, goats, and cattle, the latter used in bridewealth transactions. The Č. cultivate some *ṭef* and coffee for sale in markets. However, their actual market participation is very low, due to their lack of motorized transport and their distance from regional markets (ca. 6–7 hours walk). Like most Omotic-speaking societies, the Č. have certain craft groups, such as blacksmiths, tanners and potters. It is likely that in the past (up to the early 20th cent.) the Č. had their own iron-melting furnaces, as did the ↗Dime (south across the Omo) and the ↗Dizi people.

Little is known about Č. traditional political organization and religious life, but it is likely that they have a decentralized society of local groups, clans and traditional chiefs. Lange (1975:138, 143) mentions that the Č. had a king (*tati*). The majority follow the traditional religion, with a Sky-God named Yero. Spirit mediums are also recognized, as well as possession cults (↗*Gäramanǧo*). The Č. had frequent conflicts with their Surmic-speaking neighbours, the Me'en, who regularly raided them for cattle. The most recent major incident dates from only a few years ago.

Č. country was frequently raided for slaves by the Käfa kingdom before 1894. After the incorporation of the South into the Ethiopian empire more than a century ago, only a few northern immigrants migrated to the Č. country but they did not establish villages there. Although the Č. became indirectly connected to the Ethiopian market and tax-collection system, state administration and policies have only marginally impinged upon Č. life. Some Č. have now migrated to Bonga, Waaka, Soddo and other regional towns for education and jobs.

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia. Results at the National Level*, vol. 1: *Statistical Report*, Addis Ababa 1998, 66; author's own fieldnotes.
Lit.: WERNER J. LANGE, *Gimira* (*Remnants of a Vanishing Culture*), Frankfurt am Main 1975, ch. 3 [The Ṭsara].

Jon Abbink

ärčär

Č. (ግሬ ግሬ) is the name given to a portion of the Ethiopian Central Highlands that divides the Great Escarpment from the Great ↗Rift Valley. The Č. mountains are situated between the Plain of Badessa and the town of ↗Čälläṅqo in the Harärge Province encompassing approximately 5,000 km². The high peaks and deep valleys of Č. consist of limestone, sandstone, and basalt formations that carry seasonal streams to the ↗Wabi Šäbälle River and the ᶜAfar basin. Its inhabitants, mostly ↗Oborra and ↗Ituu Oromo, refer to the region by local clan names (Brooke 1956:30).

The term *čärčär* may originate from the Harari word *čēr*, 'a cliff that creates a deep gorge'. Historically, Č. is well known for hosting the battle of 1887 centred at Čälläṅqo, when *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's forces fought Harari and Oromo

View of the Čärčär mountains, on the way to Harär, photo taken by the Duchesne-Fournet expedition in the early 20th cent., from Duchesne-Fournet 1908–09, plate VI

soldiers from eastern Harärge. Č. was also a provincial name of east central Ethiopia during the 1930's. During the first period of reign of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, the Č. *awrağğa* became a model for the testing of progressive administration and regional governance under central control (Bahru Zewde 1991:145f.).

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855–1974*, Addis Ababa 1991, 145f; CLARKE HARDING BROOKE, JR., *Settlements of the Eastern Galla, Hararge Province, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Nebraska 1956, 30; MOHAMMED HASSEN, "Menilek's Conquest of Harar, 1887, and its Effect on the Political Organization of the Surrounding Oromos up to 1900", in: DONALD LEWIS DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *Working Papers on Society and History in Imperial Ethiopia: the Southern Periphery from the 1880's to 1974*, Cambridge 1980, 228–46.

Peri Klemm

Cardeira, Luís

C. (also Caldeira; b. Beja, Portugal, d. 12 April 1640, Tambär, Ethiopia) was accepted into the Society of Jesus (↗Jesuits) in 1600. He studied theology in Coimbra and sailed out on mission to the East in 1611. He went to Ethiopia from India in 1624, together with the Jesuit fathers Manoel de ↗Almeida, Manoel ↗Barradas and Francisco ↗Carvalho. Over time, C. acquired a very good proficiency in Amharic and Gəᶜəz and wrote grammars and vocabularies for the use of his fellow missionaries. His peers also observed C.'s great artistic talent: he taught singing and the playing of musical instruments at ↗Fəremona and at the ↗Gorgora seminary. He also worked at Qʷəlləla and Goğğam residencies. Jesuit authors consider him a martyr due to the tragic death he, together with the Italian Jesuit missionary Bruno Bruni, suffered at the hands of Ethiopian Orthodox Christians.

Src.: CAMILLO BECCARI, *Rerum aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX,* Roma 1903–17, vol. 6, 414f., 436, 476; vol. 12, 20f., 40, 65, 267f., 417; vol. 13, 65; BALTHAZAR TELLEZ, *História geral de Ethiopia a alta …,* Coimbra 1660, 528, 629–36.

Lit.: ELESBAN DE GUILHERMY, *Ménologe de la Compagnie de Jesús,* Poitiers 1867, vol. 1, 345–49; ANTÓNIO FRANCO, *Ano Santo da Companhia de Jesus em Portugal*, Porto 1930, 196f.

Leonardo Cohen

Cardoso, Gonçalo

C. (d. 22 May 1574) lived in Ethiopia for seven years, working as a Roman Catholic missionary among the Portuguese community (1557–74). Apparently he travelled to India in 1556, with João Nunes ↗Barreto and other Jesuits assigned to the first Ethiopian mission. The missionaries, led by André de ↗Oviedo, landed at Ḥərgigo a few weeks before the Ottoman military occupation of ↗Massawa. C. was then a lay-brother, taking orders in Ethiopia. Being the secretary of Oviedo, on 2 February 1559 he published a document proclaiming the Orthodox Church as heretical. On 29 July 1562 he undersigned, together with his companions, a long letter to the General of the Society of Jesus, reporting their activities since 1557 (Beccari 1910:146–56; Teles 1710:142f.). In 1565–66 he visited the Catholics who lived in the hinterland, away from the mission house at ↗Fəremona. In 1574 Oviedo sent C. and Francisco ↗Lopes to serve the Catholics who went to ↗Dämbəya. On the way, they were attacked by thieves and C. was killed.

Src.: CAMILLO BECCARI, *Rerum aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, vol. 10, Roma 1910, 146–56; FERNÃO GUERREIRO, *Relação anual das coisas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas missões dos anos 1600 a 1609*, vol. 3, Coimbra – Lisboa 1942 [Lisboa [1]1611; tr. to Spanish: Madrid 1614; to German: Augsburg 1614]; FRANCISCO DE SOUSA, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Cristo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Província de Goa*, Lisboa [1]1710 [Bombay [2]1881, Porto [3]1978]; BALTASAR TELES, *The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia*, London 1710 [Lisboa [1]1660 in Portuguese].

Isabel Boavida

Cartography

Cartography until the 18th century

1. From the beginning to Ptolemy

C. was first developed by the ancient Greeks. The first known map of the world including Africa was designed by Anaximandros (7th/6th cent. B.C.). In the 3rd cent. B.C. Eratosthenes developed the first map which uses the coordinate system. Hipparchos of Nicaea (2nd cent. B.C.) called for the exclusive use of astronomical data. Using Hipparchos's treatises, Marinos of Tyros wrote his cartographical work (ca. 114 A.D.). His maps and geographical works were improved by Claudius ↗Ptolemy (Greek: Klaudios Ptolemaios, approximately 100–180 A.D.), who regarded the world as a sphere. His work was used in the ↗Byzantine Empire, ↗Armenia and ↗Egypt, and, from the 8th cent. onwards, by the Arabs. The geographical work of Ptolemy contained more than 8,000 topographical elements. It was made known to the West through Byzantine emigrants. The first (Latin) editions, or rather re-constructions, since no Greek map is

A 16th-cent. map of north-east Africa, on which Ethiopia, respectively "Regnum Habesch", is called "India Maior", the course of the rivers (including the depiction of the "island of Meroë") following the tradition of the Ptolemy's map (detail)

known in its original form, appeared in the 15th cent. in Italy (Bologna, 1477, Rome, 1478–80 etc.) and Germany (Ulm 1482).

In general, not very much was known in the classical Greek era about the interior of the African continent which was called ↗Aithiopía. Some place names are recorded in the *Periploi* (sg. **περίπλους**, or "hand-book" for sailors). Most important is the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Gr. **περίπλους τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης**, Lat. *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 'Circumnavigation [account of a coasting voyage] of the Red Sea [including the western Indian Ocean]'; 1st cent. A.D.), where ↗Adulis in the Gulf of Zula, ↗Coloe (cp. ↗Qoḥayto) and ↗Aksum are mentioned. The work of Agatharchides of Knidos (2nd cent. B.C.), **περὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης** ('On the Erythraean Sea'), is known only from excerpts taken by Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople (9th cent. A.D.).

The *Christian Topography* (Gr.: **Χριστιανικὴ τοπογραφία**, Lat. *Topographia christiana*) was written by ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes (approximately 550 A.D.), who visited Adulis. There he copied two Greek inscriptions (known as the ↗Monumentum Adulitanum), which contain many place names and ethnonyms.

2. The oldest maps

The C. of the 14th–15th cent. is based on the work of Ptolemy, but contains a great deal of new information. Modern maps were added to the classical-map editions of Ptolemy. In the map of the world by ↗Fra Mauro (1459) and in the modern maps of Ptolemy more than 300 new toponyms can be found (Hirsch 1988). In the Fra Mauro map (s. Klemp 1968: no. 9), "Abassia" means ↗Abyssinia, and "Ethyopia" refers to inner parts of Africa. This map mentions on the way from the coast to Aksum the place names Maria (Marya), Amasen (Ḥamasen), Alvina (?), Serava (Säraye) and Hacsum (Aksum). More towards the south, we find, e.g., Simi (Səmen), Lelabeda (Lalibäla), Hamra (Amhara) and Xiquala (Zəq^{w}ala in Portuguese orthography).

Ptolemy, in his *Cosmographia* (Ulm, 1482, cf. Klemp 1968:1), distinguishes between "Ethiopia interior" and "Abhÿs" (i.e. abyss) and Sebastian Waldseemüller in his *Carta marina navigatoria …* (St. Dié – Strasbourg 1516, s. Klemp 1968:12) between "Aethiopia" and "Regnum Habesh".

In the Portolan charts of the Catalan school (e.g. the world map of Modena, ca. 1448) and then of the Portuguese, the complete coastline of Africa is delineated, including the coasts of

the Red Sea. In the inland areas of Eastern Africa, we find place names only in the areas near to the Nile. In the western and southern parts of Africa, only such mythological peoples as the Ichtiophagi Ethiopes, Calcei Ethiopes, Repsii Ethiopes and Elephantophagi are mentioned (as in the map of Martin Waldseemüller 1507; cf. Norwich 1997:xvii).

More detailed are the maps of Abraham Ortelius (*Africae Tabula Nova*, 1570, and *Presbiteri Johannis, sive Abissinorum Imperii Descriptio*, 1573, s. Norwich 1997:14, 16), Gerhard Mercator (*Africa*, 1595, s. Norwich 1997:29) and Jodocus Hondius (*Nova Africae Tabula*, 1606; cf. Norwich 1997:36).

3. Maps in the 17th–18th century

In many maps, especially of the 17th–18th cent., the size of Abessinia/Habessinia is largely distorted in that it extends nearly all the way to South Africa, e.g., Petrus Kaerius (Pieter van den Kaere): *Abissinorum sive Pretiosi Ioannis Imperium*, around 1630 (s. Tooley 1969:114); Willem J. Blaeu: *Aethiopia superior vel interior, vulgo Abissinorum sive Presbiteri Ioannis Imperium*, 1640 (s. Tooley 1969:28f.); *Nova Tabula Africae*, around 1770.

Hiob ↗Ludolf collected much information on Ethiopia (e.g., *Historia Aethiopica*, 1681), cf. the map of Christian Ludolf: *Jobi Ludolfi Habessinia seu Abassia Prespyteri Johannis Regio …*, 1683 (note the identification of Habessinia, Abassia and the Empire of Presbyter John in the title of this map).

Further progress was made by F. Bourguignon d'Anville (*L'Abyssinie, l'Égypte et le Soudan*, 1727), cf. Kammerer 1952:45; another map (*Afrique*) appears in Norwich 1997:107. Here Aethiopia ulterior, i.e. the inner parts of Africa, is called "tota fere incognita". Consequently, these areas are not filled with imaginary names and figures, but left blank.

The C. of Ethiopia was greatly improved in the map of James ↗Bruce (*Voyage aux sources du Nil, en Nubie et en Abyssinie …*, Paris 1790, Atlas 1792, s. Norwich 1997:310), who travelled in East Africa from 1769 to 1772.

4. Arab and Islamic tradition

The Ptolemaic tradition was partly taken over by the Arabs. In the Arabic map of the world by Muḥammad al-↗Idrīsī (1154, cf. Klemp 1968:2; 1192, cf. Conti Rossini 1943), *al-Ḥabaša* 'Abyssinia' appears in the proper place. Other place names appear in the small map of Idrīsī (Miller 1926) as Taǧūra and Zaylaᶜ. In subsequent maps, more Ethiopian place names, especially on the coast, are given. Ottoman maps of the Red Sea were used by F. Bourguignon d'Anville (Sezgin 2000, vol. 2, 417; cp. ↗Abyssinia).

5. Ethiopian tradition

There is no long-standing tradition of mapmaking in Ethiopia. Only one map of Təgray exists (18th cent.) in five versions, described by Conti Rossini (1943) and Pankhurst (1989). In these maps, several district names, such as Šire, Tämben, Ǝndärta, Särawe (Säraye), Agame (ᶜAgamä) and Mäsəᶜ (Baṣəᶜ = Massawa), are grouped around the centre, i.e. Aksum.

The richest material on maps of Ethiopia appears in the works of Kammerer and Norwich. Paulitschke reports on all travellers to Africa.

Lit.: LIONEL CASSON, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton 1989; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Geographiapprox", *RSE* 3, 1943, 167–99; BERTRAND HIRSCH, "Cartographie et itinéraires: figures occidentales du Nord de l'Éthiopie aux XV° et XVI° siècles", *Abbay* 13, 1988, 91–122; HuntGeogr; ALBERT KAMMERER, *La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie depuis l'antiquité*, 4 vols., Cairo 1929 – 35; ID., *La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie aux XVIᵉ et XVIIᵉ siècles …*, 3 vols., Cairo 1947, 1949, 1952; EGON KLEMP, *Africa auf Karten des 12. bis 18. Jh.*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1968; INGRID KRETSCHMER et al., *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Kartographie*, 2 vols., Wien 1986; HIOB LUDOLF, *Historia Æthiopica …*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1681; JOHN MCILWAINE, *Maps and Mapping of Africa*: *a Resource Guide*, London – Munich 1997; KONRAD MILLER, *Mappae Arabicae 1, 3*: *Die kleine Idrisikarte vom Jahre 1192 n. Chr.*, Stuttgart 1926; OSCAR I. NORWICH, *Norwich's Maps of Africa*, 2nd ed. by J.C. STONE, Norwich 1997; ALULA PANKHURST, "An Early Ethiopian Manuscript Map of Tegré", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 73–88; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Die geographische Erforschung des afrikanischen Continents …*, Wien 1880; FUAT SEZGIN, *Mathematik, Geographie und Kartographie im Islam …*, Teil 1–2, Frankfurt am Main 2000; R.V. TOOLEY, *A Collectors' Guide to Maps of the African Continent and Southern Africa*, London 1969; ID., *A Sequence of Maps of Africa*, London 1972.

Rainer Voigt

Cartography from the 18th century onward

The Enlightenment led to a change of paradigm in C. As a consequence of the new concepts of mathematical exactitude, the traditional vague, ornamental depiction of inner Africa was rejected and replaced by a mixture of "white areas" and exact geographical data provided recently by travellers, first especially from Ethiopia. The Horn of Africa is an interesting example for this change of perspective in C., as the regions depicted according to James ↗Bruce

American Rand-McNally map of the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia, with Šäwa south-east of it, based on data from the early 1880s, before the cession of Bogos (collection of the author)

provide a model for modern C., while the depiction of surrounding areas is still much indebted to Ptolemy (cp. Smidt 2000:179f.).

1. Explorers

Henry ↗Salt's 1814 map of Ethiopia largely confirmed Bruce's reports; with him serious geographic and cartographic exploration of the Horn starts, almost every traveller after him to focus on progress in C. (e.g., Combes, Tamisier, Rüppell, Lefebvre, Harris, Baker and Beke).

One of the most important early geographical works on Ethiopia was Antoine d'↗Abbadie's *Géodésie d'Ethiopie* (1873), revised and edited by R. Radau of the Académie des Sciences, with the areas explored by d'Abbadie on ten maps, from the Red Sea to the kingdom of Käfa. During his stay in Ethiopia and several Oromo kingdoms in the 1840s, d'Abbadie had developed an exact method (the so-called "géodésie expéditive") of measuring altitudes, surveying the land and establishing a triangulation network without the help of an assistant. During six years he had been sketching maps, some of which were only surpassed by more detailed ones a century later. In several cases it took him years to find an opportunity to carry out his measurements without provoking the suspicions of the locals, e.g. on the snow covered mountain of B^{w}aḥit in Təgray in 1848 (Darboux 1907:26f). The local population feared the Europeans, who were first "writing the country" to then become able to conquer it. However, he wrongly identified the sources of the Omo with the sources of the White Nile (Frederick Ayrton 1851).

Due to ↗Munzinger's publications and several scientific expeditions during the 1860s (cp., for example, ↗Bilin), the knowledge of the northern "borderlands of Abyssinia" became very detailed; even names of ethnic groups, local political boundaries (e.g., between the Kunama and the governor of Adyabo) and provinces were recorded in detail. The naming followed local usage (e.g. "Mareb countries" for the Märäb Mällaš, "Bogos countries" for Bogos and its loosely affiliated environs; s. Heuglin et al. 1864, maps).

2. European expansion

With European expansion into Africa the perspective on C. again changed; it became in a sense more political. Starting from the 1868 British military expedition against Tewodros II

(↗Napier expedition), the production of maps shifted from the more scholarly interested geographical and African associations to colonial offices, foreign ministries and the military. Maps of this period provide a new kind of historical data. Due to the 1875–76 conflict with Egypt, diplomats, especially British and French, were involved in documenting the factual boundaries of Ethiopia. Maps of the 1880s in the then-popular world atlases reflect these new data (e.g., Alden 1888, cp. ill. above); they also show the exact political status of regions, e.g., Šäwa under the suzerainty of the Ethiopian emperor. However, the rather small, but autonomous Muslim sultanates of the Horn do not appear.

Especially after the Berlin Conference of 1884, the European powers concluded treaties over areas of influence and protectorates (later colonies), with much effect on C. of the Horn. Maps were now focusing on European spheres of interest rather than on political entities existing locally. E.g., after the Italo-Ethiopian treaty of 1889 until the Battle of ʿAdwa in 1896, many maps showed Ethiopia, contrary to the facts, as an Italian protectorate. In general, maps of that period depicted the border between the "Italian interest sphere" – with Eritrea, Abyssinia, the "Galla" and the Afar- and Somali-territories – and "British East-Africa (Ibea)" as two straight horizontal and vertical lines, including Mätämma and Käffa into the Italian sphere (cp. *Carl Flemmings Generalkarten No. 42*). Later, with the halt of expansion in the early 20th cent., C. was adapted to the new realities.

When border treaties were concluded around 1900, C. played a pivotal role; e.g., *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II is said to have drawn a line on a map of the 1880s to suggest the future boundary with Somalia (↗Boundaries). Colonial maps published later served as the model for all further maps, the boundaries not always reproducing the exact limits of local administration. However, they established legal facts, and therefore more recently still played a keyrole in defining borders set by international legal bodies like the Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission in 2002.

The presence of Europeans at Mənilək's court assured the further development of C.; thematic – geological, botanical, political – maps appear (e.g., one showing the spheres of influence of Mənilək's governors, reprinted in Petrides 1983:78). Cartographic expeditions produced series of detailed maps, e.g., of itineraries (s., e.g. Istituto Geografico Militare 1911). In the years before the Ethio-Italian war of 1935–36, C. was advanced by the production of large-scale maps by the Italian and British military, such as the 1:2,000,000 British War Office series of maps (*Sudan* 1933, *Abyssinia* 1925, *Somaliland* 1926 etc.). These data were later used in the war (and then as a basis for administration, cp. *Guida*) and during the liberation campaign of 1941.

3. Ethiopian mapping

Aṣe Mənilək II was the first ruler of Ethiopia to use maps for administration. For example, even before her submission, the kingdom of Käfa had been cartographically surveyed by the Russian officer ↗Bulatovich, who also recorded traditional itineraries. Part of these data were then found in the Italian General Staff's map of Ethiopia of 1895, also known at Mənilək's court. Around 1899 the new Ethiopian administration together with the French cartographer Léon Darragon continued the cartographic work (Recking 1936:217, 221). In the 1920s there was a permanent court cartographer, the Armenian Kh. B. Papazian. His famous map of 1923, with interesting spellings of the surrounding colonies (e.g., *Eriṭriya yäṭalyan gəzat*, 'Eritrea, Italian Governorate [Colony]', instead of *Erətra*, 'Eritrea'), was given by the Regent *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən to the American geographer Homer L. Shantz in 1924 (s. Ristow 1970). It was largely modelled on a 1918 edition of a 1908 British War Office map "of Abyssinia" (ibid. 263, 265), which explains the representation of boundaries not corresponding exactly to the 1920s' situation.

Src.: HENRY SALT, *A Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of that Country*, London 1814, Atlas; ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Géodésie d'Ethiopie ou triangulation d'une partie de la Haute-Éthiopie exécutée selon des méthodes nouvelles*, Paris 1873; FREDERICK AYRTON, "Observations upon M. d'Abbadie's Account of his Discovery of the Sources of the White Nile, and upon Certain Objections and Statements in Relation thereto", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 18, 1851, 48; GASTON DARBOUX, *Notice Historique sur Antoine d'Abbadie*, Paris 1907, 23ff., 32; THEODOR VON HEUGLIN et al., *Die Deutsche Expedition in Ost-Afrika, 1861 und 1862*, Gotha 1864 (Petermann's "Geographische Mittheilungen", Ergänzungsheft 13); records and maps of the 1868 Expedition, Public Record Office, Kew; Correspondence politique, Consulat de Massowah, Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Paris; JOHN BERRY ALDEN, *Alden's Handy Atlas of the World*, New York 1888; *Carl Flemmings Generalkarten No. 42. Die Nil-Länder*, 1:6.000.000, ed. in the Kartographisches Institut der Verlagshandlung, 10th

Yäʾityopya karta – a hand-drawn map of Ethiopia, created by the Armenian cartographer Papazian at the court of Empress Zäwditu and *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən in the 1920s, courtesy of Library of Congress, Washington, DC

edition, Glogau [1890's]; ISTITUTO GEOGRAFICO MILITARE, *Missione per la frontiera italo-etiopica*, Roma 1911 [6 maps]; RUPPERT RECKING, *Ein Kaiserreich auf Aktien. Ein Journalist erzählt*, Stuttgart – Berlin 1936, 217, 221; *Guida*; ERITREA-ETHIOPIA BOUNDARY COMMISSION, *Decision Regarding Delimitation of the Border between the State of Eritrea and the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia*, The Hague, 13 April 2002.

Lit.: WOLBERT SMIDT, *Afrika im Schatten der Aufklärung. Das Afrikabild bei Immanuel Kant und Johann Gottfried Herder*, Bonn 2000 (Kritische Humanforschung 3), 178–82; STEPHANOS PIERRE PETRIDES, *The Boundary Question between Ethiopia & Somalia*: *a Legal and Diplomatic Survey with 20 Maps*, New Delhi 1983; THOMAS J. BASSETT, *Maps of Africa to 1900*, Urbana, IL 2000 (Robert B. Downs Publication Fund 9); CLAUDIO CERRETI, *La raccolta cartografica dell'Istituto Italo-Africano. Presentazione del fondo e guida alla consultazione*, Roma 1987 (Collana di Studi Africani 11); WALTER W. RISTOW, "The Haile Selassie Map of Ethiopia", *The Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 27, 3, July 1970, 257–66.

Wolbert Smidt

Modern cartography

The beginning of modern mapping in Ethiopia dates to the period of *aṣe* Mənilək II. At this time, a road-map was prepared on the scale of 1:30,000, which extended from Massawa to Asmära and later continued to Addis Abäba and Neqemte (↗Leqemt). However, intensive mapping is associated with the ↗Italian war of 1935–36. The colonizers produced numerous maps of the country with a view to exploiting its resources.

After the defeat of the Italians, Ethiopia began to perform mapping activities on its own with the aid of the western countries. In 1954 a department was established within the Ministry of Education whose main objective was to prepare and produce maps and educational materials. Two years later, in 1956, the Mapping and Geographical Institute was established under the same ministry. The objectives of the Institute were to prepare maps at different scales, to publish geographical journals and gazetteers, to train mapping personnel locally and abroad and to prepare maps and conduct research activities for the government and private organizations. In 1966 it was transferred to the Ministry of Land Reform and Administration. In 1980 the Ethiopian Mapping Agency was set up. The powers and duties of the Agency included aerial and accrual photography, printing, preparation of atlases and publicizing its activities.

The Agency encountered a major obstacle when Ethiopia adopted the socialist mode of development after the ↗Revolution of 1974. Much of the aid that used to come from the West was terminated. Nevertheless, the Agency was expected to play an active role in the "Land-to-the-Tiller" program (Agrarian Reform) by preparing cadastral maps. As a reflection of the enhanced role of mapping activities in the country, the present government raised the status of the Agency to that of an Authority in 1981. Beginning from that year, this Institution has been renamed as the Ethiopian Mapping Authority (EMA). Since the present government has declared a free market economic policy, the EMA has expanded its activities. The current major functions or tasks of the EMA include surveying, photogrammetry, C., remote sensing, reproduction and printing.

The most detailed coloured maps of Ethiopia and Eritrea were made by the Soviet Headquarters (Generalny Shtab) starting from 1977. The main source appear to be pictures taken from Soviet satellites. Consequently, contour lines and all geographical objects, including inhabited places, are well represented, but place names are in many cases lacking. There are two editions of these maps with text in Russian: Efiopiya 1: 200,000 (Moskva 1977–84), based on maps on the scale 1: 100,000 from the years 1967–78, and Efiopiya 1: 100,000 (Moskva), based on different material, mainly since 1977 and partly based on maps on the scale 1: 50,000.

Src.: GENERALNY SHTAB (ed.), *Efiopiya 1: 200,000*, Moskva 1977–84, 53–55 x 37 cm; ID., *Efiopiya 1: 100,000*, Moskva 1977ff.

Lit.: ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *Major Task of EMA,* Addis Ababa 1999; FRANCIS JOHN MONKHOUSE – HENRY ROBERT, *Maps and Diagrams: their Compilation and Construction,* London 1978; MEKETE BELACHEW, *The Science of Geography: Past, Present and Future*, Paper Presented at the *Workshop on Secondary School Geography*, Institute of Curriculum Development, Ministry of Education, Addis Ababa 1994; *Negarit gazeṭa*, September 1985, 8–17; MESFIN WOLDE-MARIAM, *An Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Abeba 1970.

Mekete Belachew

Carvalho, Francisco

C. was a 17th-cent. Portuguese Jesuit missionary. While he was dean of the Chaul College (India) he was called to the Ethiopian mission. He sailed to Ethiopia at the end of 1622 along with three other Jesuits (Luis Cardeira, Manoel de Almeida and Manoel Barradas), arriving only in January 1624. C. preached at the court of *ras* ↗Səᶜəlä Krəstos, accompanying and confessing him while the Emperor campaigned against the Oromo. He was one of the twelve Jesuit fathers that were left in charge of the Goğğam mission, being specifically responsible for the Jesuits' residence in Qʷəlləla. In 1633 he was exiled by *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs together with the rest of the Jesuits of Goğğam, so that he returned to Goa, where he stayed till at least 1641. Nothing is known about his further life.

Src.: CAMILLO BECCARI (ed.), *Rerum aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX,* 15 vols., Roma 1903–17, vol. 5, 338; vol. 6, 366–80, 415, 431, 440, 496; vol. 7, 105ff.; vol. 8, 140f., 386; vol. 12, 20f., 41, 55, 258, 298f., 394f., 439; BALTHAZAR TELLEZ, *Historia geral de Ethiopia a alta …,* Coimbra 1660, 528.

Leonardo Cohen

Casciani, Pietro

C. (b. 5 April 1869, Rome, d. 22 August 1942, Asmära) was an Italian industrialist. After completion of his course in jurisprudence, he was

hired by the Ministry of War to work as a secretary to a commission to Eritrea in 1901. He soon went back to Italy, but returned to work in Eritrea in the agricultural and industrial sectors. In 1903 he obtained a land concession of 61 ha around Ḥazḥaz (Asmära) in Ḥamasen for cereal cultivation. In 1908 he associated himself with the Italian Colonial Society which had obtained a landed concession of 1,000 ha, principally for the cultivation of sisal and partly for orchards. He set up an industry for the production of dairy milk, cream, butter and cheese with an annex for raising selected cows. This industry became one of the most important for the economy of Eritrea and as such was awarded a gold medal in 1930 by the Colonial Administration.

Lit.: ErDizBio 74.

Gian Carlo Stella

Cassava, from Hancock 1992:305, courtesy of the author

Cassava

C. is a tuber crop cultivated in tropical countries of Africa, Asia, South and Central America. The crop is an important source of starchy carbohydrate foods for about 800 million people, with additional uses as feed and as a source of industrial carbohydrate products. It is known by the scientific name *Manihot esculenta* and the common English name, manioc, belonging to the dicotyledonous family *Euphorbiaceae*. Different vernacular names are used in Ethiopia: in some parts (e.g., Wälaytta), it is referred to as *enčet boye* ('woody taro'), which associates the plant with the better-known taro (*Colocasia esculenta*). The name *däqiqa*, on the other hand, refers to the powder that is obtained from the dried root tubers.

The C. plant is a bush or small tree growing up to 4 m in height. The stem has several branches with long, narrow and pointed leaves. It is a fast-growing crop that can endure long dry seasons. The small flowers of C. lack petals, while the fruits are usually sterile. The tuber is an enlarged lateral root, often produced in a bunch. The plant is propagated vegetatively by cuttings taken from the middle section of the stem. The crop is grown mainly for the edible roots, which form a staple food in many tropical areas. The tuberous roots of C. are rich in carbohydrates and the leaves, which are also consumed as vegetables in some countries, are rich in vitamins and minerals. C. grows from 480–1,800 m A.S.L. It flourishes best in lowland tropics (1,300–1,550 m A.S.L.) where the climate is warm and moist, with the average temperature ranging from 15°–30° C (preferably 25°–29° C) and an annual precipitation of 692–1,470 mm (for a full description s., e.g., Gilbert 1995:315f.).

C. is believed to have been brought under cultivation in two locations, both in the western hemisphere – Brazil (Amazon region) and Central America (southern Mexico) – where wild forms still occur. The species spread out to the East in the post-Columbian period, being first taken by the Portuguese to the West Coast of Africa in the late 16th cent. and arriving in East Africa and India in the 18th cent. Further expansion of its range of cultivation resulted in its introduction into south-western Ethiopia about 100 years ago. Though C. is thus generally believed to have been grown and used for at least a century, its rate of diffusion has been slow. It is reportedly increasing now in southern and western Ethiopia, esp. between 1,300 m and 1,550 m A.S.L. in Illubabor, Sidamo, Gamo Gofa and western Wälläga.

The role of C. is much more important in many western and southern African countries. On the whole, 53 % of the entire African continent is devoted to C. cultivation and accounts for 42 % of the total production of the crop, which has become more important to Africa than to the Americas. The African environment and farmers seem to have created optimal conditions for C. cultivation and use. Some species are drought-resistant and the mature roots can be left for a long period in the soil, while others

have attractive foliage. This makes it possible to use C. both for its edible roots and as a pot plant.

In Ethiopia, the tubers are usually washed and boiled for immediate consumption or used, in a mixture with the flour of cereal crops like maize, sorghum and *ṭef*, to prepare *ənǧära* (↗Bread).

A major factor limiting the use of C. as food is the toxicity of hydrogen cyanide, which is believed to be more associated with the bitter varieties. Using the non-bitter varieties and traditional treatment, such as peeling, drying and removing unwanted parts, reduces the toxicity.

C. has not been studied sufficiently in Ethiopia, because it has never been considered a priority commodity and its history in the country is comparatively short.

↗Food; ↗Plants

Lit.: ANTONIO C. ALLEM, "Ethnobotanical Testimony on the Ancestors of Cassava (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz. subsp. *esculenta*)", *Plant Genetic Resources Newsletter* 123, 2000, 19–22; MICHAEL G. GILBERT, "Euphorbiaceae", in: SUE EDWARDS – MESFIN TADESSE – INGA HEDBERG (eds.), *Flora of Ethiopia and Eritrea*, vol. 2, part 2: *Canellaceae to Euphorbiaceae*, Addis Ababa – Uppsala 1995, 265–380, here 315f.; ALBERT FREDERICK HILL, *Economic Botany; a Textbook of Useful Plants and Plant Products*, New York – London 1937, [s]1952; MULUGETA TAYE – ESKINDIR BIRATU, "On the Total Cyanide Content of two Cassava (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz) Cultivars", *Ethiopian Journal of Science* 22, 1, 55–66; INNO C. ONWUEME, *The Tropical Root Crops*: *Yams, Cassava, Sweet Potato and Cocoyams,* Chichester – New York 1978, 234; JAMES F. HANCOCK, *Plant Evolution and the Origin of Crop Species*, Englewood Cliffs 1992, 305 (ill.).

Zemede Asfaw

Castanheda, Fernão Lopes de

C. (b. ca. 1500, Santarém, d. March 23, 1559, Coimbra) was a Portuguese historiographer, author of the voluminous *História do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses* ('History of the discovery and conquest of India by the Portuguese'). Despite its title, the *História* not only concerns itself with India, but in its lost full version gave an account of Portuguese deeds in the whole Indian Ocean area (including Ethiopia and the neighbouring countries) between 1498 and 1548. The *História* was originally written in ten books, but only books 1-8 and parts of book 9 have come down on us. Due to this incomplete transmission, the extant narrative breaks off in 1542.

Little is known about C.'s life. He probably was an illegitimate child, but his father, a judge, nonetheless saw to it that he received a reasonably good education. In 1528 C. accompanied his father to India, where the latter had been chosen to serve in high judicial office. Already shortly after his arrival in India C. conceived the idea of writing a history of the Portuguese exploits along the coasts of Africa and in the East. He began to systematically collect information for this project, and continued in this effort after his return to Portugal (ca. 1538). In 1545 C. became a librarian and registrar at the University of Coimbra. While of inferior status, this position gave him the opportunity for regular contacts with the leading Portuguese minds of his day, as well as enough free time to write his *História*. Its books 1–7 appeared in swift succession from 1551-54, book 8 was published posthumously in 1561. The printing of books 9 and 10, however, was then prohibited by the Portuguese royal court, ceding to complaints by influential families who saw their reputation jeopardized by C.'s frank narrative. Only in 1929 were parts of book 9 rediscovered in the Jesuit archives and published for the first time. The rest of book 9 and book 10 remain lost.

Several chapters of the *História* are devoted entirely to Ethiopia and its neighbours; in addition, it contains a fair number of scattered references to events in the region. The *História* therefore is an important source for the history of Ethiopia, South Arabia, and the Red Sea area in the first half of the 16th cent. Yet it has so far been largely overlooked by students of Ethiopian and wider regional history.

Src.: FERNÃO LOPES DE CASTANHEDA, *História do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, ed., tr. by MANUEL LOPES DE ALMEIDA, 2 vols., Porto 1979 (Lit.).
Lit.: JOAQUIM VERÍSSIMO SERRÃO, *A historiografia portuguesa. Doutrina e crítica*, 2 vols., Lisboa 1972–73, vol. 1, 211–15, 228–36.

Michael Kleiner

Castanhoso, Miguel de

C. (d. 1565?), a descendant of a noble Spanish family, was the author of the chronicle of the military expedition of Dom Christovão da ↗Gama and the 400 men that he took with him to Ethiopia. C. himself actively participated in the Portuguese campaign, which began in 1541 to free Ethiopia from the Muslim conquest commanded by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī. His testimony, published for the first time in Lisbon in 1564, survives as one of the most important documents for a full understanding of

Ethiopian history during this period. Free of distortions, this text offers a simple and accurate historical chronology of the expedition. After C.'s return from Ethiopia, King John III knighted him with the Order of Christ on 13 July 1548.

Src.: MIGUEL DE CASTANHOSO, *Dos Feitos de D. Cristovao da Gama em Etiópia*: *Tratado composto por Miguel de Castanhoso*, ed. by FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, Lisboa 1983; English tr.: ID., *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541–1543 as Narrated by Castanhoso*, ed., tr. by RICHARD STEPHEN WHITEWAY, London 1902 (Hakluyt Society Papers 2, 10); German tr.: ID., *Die Heldtaten des Dom Christoph da Gama in Abessinien. Nach den portugiesischen Berichten des Miguel de Castanhoso*, ed., tr. by ENNO LITTMANN, Berlin 1907.

Leonardo Cohen

Castration, Castrating

The C. or emasculation of male human individuals was practised in ancient cultures all over the world for three major reasons:

1. the punishment of certain crimes;
2. producing eunuchs;
3. taking the sexual organs as trophies.

The mutilation can either be restricted to the testicles or extended to a complete removal of the penis as well. In north-eastern Africa all reasons and methods mentioned were employed in different combinations. Furthermore, among the Ǧanǧäro (↗Yäm) of the upper Omo region a custom seems to have existed which is called monorchy. In the context of circumcision the left testicle was removed from all men except the members of the royal family.

In the 14th–15th cent. the Muslim historiographers al-ᶜUmarī and al-Maqrīzī explicitly referred to a special knowledge of healing castrated slaves among the ↗Hadiyya of south-eastern Ethiopia. Although C. is prohibited to Muslims, there were always certain categories of people such as Somali slave-traders who practised it until the beginning of the 20th cent. Coptic monks in Egypt are also reported to have particularly been involved in the C. of slave-boys (Burckhardt 1981:240f.). Presumably the mortality rate of the mutilated boys was often very high, but the economic benefit provided by high prices for eunuchs in the countries of northern Africa and western Asia overrode morality and humanitarian regards.

In many societies of Ethiopia the male organ of a slain enemy was considered a trophy and a symbol of the successful act of killing. According to a widespread normative demand the destruction of the life of human adversaries (and/or dangerous animals) authorized a man to sex life. Ideally, an act of killing was therefore regarded as a prerequisite for the status of being married and the ability to procreate. Ethical concepts of this type which resulted in deeds of slaying and castrating were repeatedly recorded among the Oromo, the Somali, the ᶜAfar and various peoples of the Highland East Cushitic and the Omotic cluster.

Numerous accounts of genital trophies brought back by Amhara armies from battlefields are also found in the chronicles of the ↗Gondärine kingdom. An explicit reference to the prohibition of this practice by Christian fighters is mentioned in the context of *aṣe* Mənilək II's wars against *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam in the 1880s (GueCopMen 181). Sometimes, however, (e.g. during the Wälayyta campaign of Mənilək in 1894) soldiers of his army were still observed cutting off the sexual organs of slain enemies as trophies.

C. has remained a widespread custom in many parts of southern Ethiopia until the present. For example, it is said to have been excessively practised during the tribal wars of the ↗Guǧǧi-Oromo and ↗Gideᵓo in the 1990s. In cultures of the so-called killer complex, warriors who present a genital trophy to their group are specially honoured by feasts, titles and grave monuments. Phallic ornaments, labelled ↗*kallaččа* by the Oromo (s. VSAe II:51) and other peoples, were worn by chiefs and religious leaders on their foreheads as symbols of their dignity.

Src.: GueCopMen 181; IBN FAḌLALLĀH AL-ᶜUMARĪ, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik el-amṣār*, vol. 1: *L' Afrique, moins l' Égypte, traduit et annoté avec une introduction et 5 cartes*, ed., tr. by MAURICE GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES, Paris 1927 (Bibliothèque des Géographes Arabes 2), 15ff.; AḤMAD B. ᶜALĪ AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Historia regum Islamiticorum in Abyssinia*, ed. by FRIEDRICH THEODOR RINCK, Leiden 1790, 14ff.; JOHANN LUDWIG BURCKHARDT, *Entdeckungen in Nubien 1813–1814*, Tübingen 1981, 240f. [1st ed.: ID., *Reisen in Nubien*, Jena 1820].

Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Geschichte der Hadiya Süd-Äthiopiens*: *von den Anfängen bis zur Revolution 1974*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 50), 77ff.; VSAe II, 51, 56, 198, 209, 319, 467ff., 812; VSAe III, 127, 202ff., 328, 363–66.

Ulrich Braukämper

Castro, João de

Admiral C. (b. 1500, Lisbon, d. 6 June 1548, Goa) distinguished himself as cosmographer, soldier, naval officer, and viceroy of Portuguese

João de Castro, from the *Livro de Lizuarte de Abreu*, between 1558/64, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

India (1545–48). On his own initiative, he gave up studying and went to Tangier (1518) to learn the art of war. Back to Portugal, he got married and joined the household of Prince Luís (1506 – 55), having accompanied him on Emperor Carlos V's expedition against Ḫayraddīn *pasha* (Tunes 1535). His first travel to India may be considered as a scientific mission since he wrote three different Roteiros ('Rutters') then, describing his journey: from Lisbon to Goa (1538), from Goa to Diu (1538–39), and from Goa to Suez or the Red Sea Rutter (1541). On those accounts, C. could achieve, as an empiricist, a fruitful dialogue between theory and practice, considering both as complementary categories that found true knowledge (Barreto 1994:223). He made of a new instrument of navigation invented by the renowned cosmographer Pedro Nunes (1502–78) that D. Luís, Nunes's disciple, gave him to test its efficacy. Sometimes he assumed a critical overview on Portuguese imperialism. However, he supported Estevão da ↗Gama's expedition project to Suez.

In 1541 C. spent about seven weeks for two terms in ↗Massawa (8–18 February, 22 May–9 July), where he seized the opportunity to draw the place to scale, and report briefly on the "cosmography of Ethiopia under Egypt", the "practices of the Abyssinians", and "the ruin and perdition of this empire in our unhappy days" (Castro 1940:59).

In November 1546 C. led the army that saved the besieged fortress of ↗Diu, and in the early 1548 he organized one of the latest Portuguese attempts to strengthen its influence in Aden.

Src.: JOÃO DE CASTRO, *Roteiro de Lisboa a Goa,* Lisboa 1538; ID., *Roteiro de Goa a Diu*, Lisboa 1539; ID., *Roteiros – III*: *Roteiro de Goa a Suez ou do Mar Roxo*, Lisboa 1940 [[1]1541]; ID., *Le routier de dom Joam de Castro; l'exploration de la mer Rouge par les Portugais en 1541 …*, ed. by A. KAMMERER, Paris 1936; ID., *Obras Completas*, ed. by A. CORTESÃO – L. DE ALBUQUERQUE, 4 vols., Coimbra 1968–82; LEONARDO NUNES, *Crónica de Dom João de Castro*, ed. by J.D.M. FORD, Cambridge, MA 1936 [Goa [1]1550]; ELAINE SANCEAU (ed.), *Cartas de D. João de Castro*, Lisboa 1954.

Lit.: LUÍS DE ALBUQUERQUE (ed.), *Charts of the Rutters of India of Dom João de Castro*, Lisboa 1988; JACINTO FREIRE DE ANDRADE, *Vida de Dom João de Castro, quarto Vice-rei da Índia*, Lisboa 1968 [Lisboa [1]1651]; JEAN-BAPTISTE AQUARONE, *D. João de Castro governeur et vice-roi des Indes Orientales* (*1500–1548*), 2 vols., Paris 1968; ID., "L'humanisme de D. João de Castro", *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português* 11, 1977, 291–327; LUÍS FILIPE BARRETO, "Castro, D. João de", in: *Dicionário de História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses*, vol. 1, Lisboa 1994, 222f.; FERNANDO DE CASTRO, *Crónica do Vice-rei D. João de Castro*, Tomar 1995; JOÃO BAPTISTA GRACIAS, *Dom João de Castro* (*the Fourth Viceroy of Portuguese India*): *a Short Sketch of His Life and Achievements*, Nova Goa 1898; ELAINE SANCEAU, *Knight of the Renaissance. D. João de Barros, Soldier, Sailor, Scientist and Viceroy of India*, *1500–1548*, London – New York 1949.

Isabel Boavida

Castro, Lincoln de

C. (b. 10 November 1866, Alexandria, Egypt) was a doctor of medicine, traveller and civil servant of the Italian colonial administration. Born into a Spanish-Portuguese family, he graduated in medicine from the University of Naples in 1891. In 1895 he went to Eritrea as a volunteer of the Italian Red Cross. In this function he took care, at ᶜAddi Wəgri, of the soldiers wounded at the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa and, later, was nominated director of the sanitarian and first aid services for the prisoners, operating near Harär. In 1901 he started serving at the Italian Legation in Addis Abäba. In 1911 he left for Libya, where he pursued his medical activities at Tripoli and assumed several official posts. In 1939 he still resided in Libya.

Src.: LINCOLN DE CASTRO, "De Zeilah au Harrar (notes de voyages)", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie du Caire* 5, 1899, 133–61; ID., *Note di antropologia normale e contributo per lo studio comparato della Antropologia normale e criminale, a proposito di osservazioni fatte in Abissinia*, Napoli 1906; ID., *L'arte di Esculapio tra gli abissini*, Roma 1909; ID., *Contributo alla psico-patologia dell'Abissinia*, Torino 1911; ID., *Compendio delle leggi dei Re "Fetha Nagast"*, Livorno 1912; ID., *Sulla climatologia dell'Etiopia*, Roma 1914; ID., *Nella terra dei Negus. Pagine raccolte in Abissinia*, 2 vols., Milano 1914–15; ID., *Per star bene nelle Colonie. Nozioni e consigli*, Tripoli 1935, ²1938; ID., *Etiopia. Terra, uomini e cose*, Milano 1936.

Gian Carlo Stella

Čat

Č. (ጫት, Arab. *Qāt*, *Ġāt*, Oromo *Jimaa*, Latin *Catha edulis*) is a flowering evergreen shrub native to East Africa and southern Arabia, more specifically to Yemen, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Madagascar, and Tanzania. A species of the plant family *Celastraceae*, the plant thrives under a variety of climatic conditions and various soil types at altitudes from 900 m to 2,000 m A.S.L., mainly between 1,500 m and 1,800 m A.S.L. The leaves and young shoots are chewed fresh to permit absorption of its soluble ingredients, which are known to produce pleasurable, stimulating and euphoric effects.

The origin of Č. is obscure, but it may be traced to at least the medieval period in the Red Sea region, where the use of Č. as a stimulant is thought to predate that of coffee. Traditionally, the leaves were chewed either by Muslims engaged in religious studies and worship, or in groups, mainly of older men socializing with others of the same age group, status or profession for increased alertness, energy and the capacity for concentration. Today, several million people have become habitual chewers, irrespective of gender, age, religious or ethnic affiliation, owing to the fact that fresh Č. can be transported much more rapidly to distant places. Chewing the fresh leaves, two or three days off the tree, sometimes with sugar, is the preferred method of use, although a kind of paste made from powdered leaves is said to be ingested or an infusion made by boiling dried leaves can be drunk. Č. is almost never smoked as tobacco, although the ends of the twigs and leaves are sometimes crushed and rolled in cigarettes.

The principal pharmacologically active ingredient of Č. was previously thought to be cathine, but the alkaloid cathinone has recently been isolated from Č. leaves and recognized as the major active constituent. Several studies have revealed that the pharmacological profile of cathinone closely resembles that and produces behavioural effects in chewers analogous to those of amphetamine.

A harvested *čat* bush in Leemo-Hadiyya, 1999, photo courtesy of Dirk Bustorf

The literature on Č. targets its pharmacological and economic aspects and emphasizes the supposedly deleterious effects of Č. on the individual and society. However, there is no scientific consensus on whether Č. chewing is addictive or not. In fact, statements concerning the medical and behavioural effects of Č. are inconclusive and contradictory. Most experts nevertheless observe that the main effects of chewing Č. are a moderate degree of euphoria and excitement, often followed by loquacity. Immediate and severe medical problems are infrequent (because cathinone becomes diluted in the other material of the leaves), but high doses may induce hyperactivity and, sometimes, manic behaviour with grandiose delusions, or a paranoid type of illness, sometimes accompanied by hallucinations. Č. is also an effective anorectic, perhaps the cause of the malnutrition often seen in habitual Č. users. It

also causes hyperthermia and increased respiration. Notwithstanding its alleged adverse health effects, Č̣. is today unquestionably the most important cash crop in many parts of Ethiopia. In the early 1990s, Č̣. occupied nearly 14 % of the total cultivated land in Ethiopia and generated annually an average of 23 million *bərr* in income tax and 40 million *bərr* in foreign-exchange earnings, while the amount of domestically marketed Č̣. reached an estimated 5,000 tons. In 1999, Č̣. was officially the second largest Ethiopian export after ↗coffee.

↗Drugs

Lit.: AMARE GETAHUN – ABRAHAM D. KRIKORIAN, "Chat: Coffee's Rival from Harar, Ethiopia, 9. I. Botany, Cultivation and Use", *Economic Botany* 27, 1973, 353–77, 378–89; *Bulletin on Narcotics* [*Special Issue devoted to Catha edulis* (*khat*)] 32, 3, 1980 [United Nations, New York]; LEE VINCENT CASSANELLI, "Qat: Changes in the Production and Consumption of a Quasilegal Commodity in Northeast Africa", in: ARJUN APPADURAI (ed.), *The Social Life of Things*: *Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge – New York 1986, 236–57; EZEKIEL GEBISSA, *Consumption, Contraband and Commodification*: *a History of Khat in Harerge, Ethiopia, c. 1930–1991*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University 1997 (Lit.); BOB G. HILL, "Cat (Catha Edulis)", *JES* 3, 1965, 13–23 (Lit.); JOHN KENNEDY, *The Flower of Paradise*: *the Institutionalized Use of the Drug Qat in North Yemen*, Dordrecht 1987; ABRAHAM D. KRIKORIAN, "Kat and its Use: an Historical Perspective", *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 12, 1984, 115–78.

Ezekiel Gebissa

Č̣at in Harär

Č̣. (Harari *č̣āt*) has always played an important role in the social and economic life of ↗Harär. Many people in the city are actively engaged in the Č̣. trade, purchasing Č̣., delivering it to other regions of Ethiopia and supplying with it the markets of Harär, at which different sorts of Č̣., from the cheapest to the most expensive, can be found in abundance. At the markets Č̣. is sold mostly by women.

Everyday usage of Č̣. is quite widespread. Many Haräris begin their day chewing Č̣. The consumption among the women seems to be on a small scale, but among the men cases of addiction to Č̣. are frequent. The bundles of Č̣. (*aqära*) play a great role in the exchange of gifts at many social occasions.

At weekends almost every social event (e.g., the meetings of the ↗*afoča* association of the men) and especially meetings of friends include chewing Č̣. It usually takes the form of a special ceremony. The house in which the meeting is expected to take place should be properly cleaned and prepared by the mistress. The participants buy Č̣. according to their financial capacity. The meeting begins at about one or two o'clock in the afternoon with recitation of the *Fātiḥa*, the first *sūra* of Qurʾān, and prayers. Chewing Č̣., the participants enjoy themselves and discuss everyday matters and problems. In the following several hours consuming Č̣. is interrupted several times by drinking ↗*qaḥwa* and by prayers.

Lit.: ELISABETH DOROTHEA HECHT, *Die traditionellen Frauenvereine* (*Afoča*) *der Harari in Harar und in Addis Ababa*, Berlin 1993 (Marburger Studien zur Afrika- und Asienkunde, Serie A, Afrika 30); WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1963 (University of California Publication, Near Eastern Studies 1), 30, 52; ID., *Ethiopians Speak. Studies in Cultural Background*, part 1: *Harari*, Berkeley – Los Angeles (University of California Publication, Near Eastern Studies 7), 36–41, 78–82, 97–107.

Elisabeth Dorothea Hecht

Cats

The Gəᶜəz and Amharic word *dəmmät* (**ድመት**) sometimes designates the civet cat (*Viverra civetta*, cf. ↗zibeth) or the Abyssinian genet (*Genetta abyssinica*), but it is properly applied to both the wild (*Felis sylvestris lybica Forster* or *Felis ocreata maniculata*) and the domestic (*Felis catus*) C.

C., because of their small size, which in Amharic can evoke the feminine gender, are mostly spoken of and addressed in the feminine form (cf. Leslau 1995:166). Whilst wild C. are rare in Ethiopia, domestic are common. They are, indeed, irreplaceable in man's struggle against pests, such as rodents and certain snakes. They also assure the protection of grain and basketry tools, of books and manuscripts, and of anything that could be chewed or otherwise soiled. C. kept as domestic pets have also made their appearence into Ethiopian society.

The question of the origin of the C. in Ethiopia remains unclear, but it is probably old; a likely place of origin being Egypt. Considered to be a "wild domestic animal" (Amh. **የቤት፡ አውሬ**, *yäbet awre*, cp. **የቤት፡ እንስሳ**, *yäbet ənsəsa*, 'domestic animal'), the C. is also perceived as sacred. It helds this position as a result of the charges conferred to it to protect the objects of worship, the altar and the holy books from rats. Henceforth, the C. is the only animal allowed inside churches and monastic cloisters; in Aksum,

e.g., a piece of land was set aside for the accommodation of the church C. The need that a C. be a castrated male does not seem to be universal, and females were permitted to keep their kittens within the inner sancta of churches.
A consequence of this singular status is that it is both forbidden to kill or to eat C. This is not due to its meat being considered repugnant but because of the sacrality of the animal. Food intended for human consumption and the instruments used in liturgy, if touched by a C., are simply washed, whereas in the case of dogs (or mice), in order to be rendered edible or clean, the soiled food must be again blessed by a priest.

Current ideas on C. are quite similar to those in Europe. The animal is reputed to be clean, independent, slightly prone to thieving and obsessed with milk, fish, softness and affection. About 20 proverbs of which the C. is the hero mention these tendencies and, above all, the mercilessness with which he hunts rats; e.g., **የአይጥ፡ ሞትዋ፡ የድመት፡ ጨዋታዋ** (*Yäʾayṭ motwa yädəmmät č̣awatawa*, 'Death of the mouse, amusement of the cat'; s. also KaneDic 1877, under **ገል**).

The status of the C. among Muslims has not been studied. But the favour which it generally enjoys in Islam due to the preference the Prophet had for it, allows us to suppose that it is at least as positive as among Christians.

It seems that no breed of C. exists that is specific to Ethiopia. The breed known by the name "Abyssinian" was created by British C. breeders, from a C. named Zula, who might have arrived on British soil in one of the covered cargo wagons of the ↗Napier expedition on its return from Ethiopia in 1868. Zula was then crossed with an English C., to produce a breed, the first specimen of which was presented in London in 1871.

Src.: LesCDic 136; WOLF LESLAU, *Reference Grammar of Amharic*, Wiesbaden 1995, 166; KaneDic 1877.
Lit.: ALAIN ROUAUD, "Felis catus abyssinicus", in: ID., *Les orientalistes sont des aventuriers*, Saint Maur, Sépia 1999, 179–93.

Alain Rouaud

Catholicism

Ethiopia officially received Christianity in the 4th cent. When, as a consequence of the Council of ↗Chalcedon in 451, Christianity was split in two, the Ethiopian Church stood with the anti-Chalcedonian party, represented by the Alexandrian patriarchate.

The cathedral in ᶜAddigrat, one of the early centres of Catholicism in Ethiopia, 1990s, photo courtesy of Paul Henze,

Catholic and Orthodox Churches came again into contact during the period of the Crusades, which brought Western Christians to the Holy Land, to which Ethiopian Christians had been making pilgrimages for centuries. There followed attempts by the Catholic Church to establish more formal relations, always complicated by Rome's assertions of universal superiority. In July 1289, Pope Nicholas IV issued three letters to the Emperor and bishops of Ethiopia inviting for "reconciliation": *Venerabili Fratri Archiepiscopo Aethiopiae*; *Imperatori Aethiopiae Solom I* (*or Agbea Seyon*); *Venerabilibus Fratribus Episcopis et aliis prelatis Aethiopis*. In 1329 Pope John XXII issued yet another such letter (*Magnifico Imperatore d'Etiopia*, s. da Leonessa 1929:124).

Moreover, from the beginning of the 13th cent. until the 16th cent. several missionary expeditions were undertaken. In 1439, during the reign of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, the Council of ↗Florence was convened. The Ethiopian Church was among the first invited and an (unofficial?) delegation participated in it.

Relations entered a very different phase in the middle of the 16th cent. At the time of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos, in the year 1541 Portuguese soldiers came to Ethiopia to help in the war against ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī. Shortly

Provinces of the Catholic Church in Ethiopia, situation of 1999, map courtesy of Ayele Teklehaymanot

after, following a misreading of the intention of the Emperor, Rome sent the Jesuit Patriarch João Nunes ↗Barreto and supporting missionaries to bring the Ethiopian Church into obedience to and doctrinal conformity with Rome. This mission, which reached the Ethiopian court in 1557, elicited from *aṣe* Gälawdewos a celebrated rejection of Western and re-articulation of Alexandrian doctrine. The Jesuit missionaries were marginalized until the arrival in 1603 of the missionary Pedro ↗Paez. Paez made a remarkable impact on *aṣe* ↗Zädəngəl, who issued an edict forbidding observation of the Sabbath. When Zädəngəl was eventually succeeded in 1607 by ↗Susənyos, the ↗Jesuits found themselves in a position of great influence. The Emperor was seeking a new underpinning for his state, much disturbed by an insurgent nobility allied with the regional clergy. He thought of finding it in the disciplined hierarchy of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church and in a putative military alliance with the Iberian Catholic powers. In 1621, Susənyos forbade the teaching of Orthodoxy and, the next year, received the Eucharist from Paez.

However, major mistakes by the missionaries with regard to their attitude towards Ethiopian culture and their involvement in Ethiopian politics doomed their mission. In 1627 Paez was succeeded by Alfonso ↗Mendes, who held the title of Patriarch. Mendes pushed Susənyos to ever more extreme suppressions of Orthodox traditions. The ensuing rebellions proved irrepressible and in 1632 Susənyos abdicated in favour of his son ↗Fasilädäs, who re-established Orthodoxy, ruthlessly suppressed C. and cut off contacts with Western Europe. The Catholic missionaries were expelled. On 6 August 1638 two ↗Capuchins, Fr. Agathange of Vendôme and Fr. Cassien of Nantes, were exposed and publicly executed in Gondär, just upon their arrival.

In spite of this, the Catholic Church continued its attempts to penetrate Ethiopia throughout the first half of the 18th cent. In the reign of Emperor Yosṭos (1711–16), two Franciscan missionaries were exposed and publicly executed in Gondär. In 1752, Fr. Remedius ↗Prutky and two companions spent nine months at the court of Empress Bərhan Mogäsa. Finally, towards the beginning of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, *abba* Ṭobiyya Wäldä Giyorgis, a former student at the College of Propaganda Fide in Rome, was consecrated "Bishop of Adulis" and sent to Ethiopia with two other companions. In 1787, a mission headed by him was established in northern Ethiopia, in ↗Ḥamasen and in ↗Gulo Makəda, but without any effect.

Toward the middle of the 19th cent., the Catholic presence in Ethiopia was revived with the arrival of the Lazarist Giustino de ↗Jacobis (eventually canonized in 1975; ↗Lazarists). He was appointed Prefect Apostolic of Abyssinia by Pope Gregory XVI. The territory comprised "Abyssinia and bordering regions without limits to both west and south" (hence, de Jacobis sent Louis Montuori to Khartoum, where he opened a mission in 1842). In 1846, the territory to the west was split, becoming the Apostolic Vicariate of the Sudan; to the south was created the Apostolic Vicariate of the Galla. The Apostolic Prefecture of Abyssinia became the Apostolic Vicariate of Abyssinia in 1847.

De Jacobis carried out his apostolate in Ethiopia. He adopted the practices and culture of Ethiopian Orthodoxy. His work led to the

establishment of a Catholic Church of the Ethiopian Rite. By contrast, Bishop Guglielmo ↗Massaja, who followed Giustino de Jacobis in the mid-1840s, worked in Oromo regions and established Western, Latin practice, thereby founding a Western Rite Catholic Church.

The Apostolic Vicariate of Abyssinia originally included Bägemdər, Eritrea, Təgray, Goǧǧam and Wällo, with the Lazarist missionaries headed by de Jacobis. This was the precursor of the present ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which includes churches of the Ethiopian Oriental tradition: the Archeparchy of Addis Abäba (1961) and the Eparchies of ᶜAddigrat (1961), Asmära (1961), Barentu (1995) and Kärän (1995).

The Apostolic Vicariate of the Galla, with the Capuchin missionaries headed by Massaja, was later developed into the present ecclesiastical jurisdictions, which include the churches of Latin, Western tradition: the Apostolic Vicariates of Harär (1937), Awasa (1972), Neqemte (1982), Soddo-Hossäyna (1982) and Mäqi (1992), the Apostolic Prefecture of Ǧimma-Bonga (1994) and, as the most recent one, the Apostolic Prefecture of Gambella (25 November 2000), comprising a part of Illubabor.

The problem of two divergent traditions remains. This issue was addressed by Pope John Paul II in his speech to the bishops of Ethiopia and Eritrea, on the occasion of their visit ad limina to Rome between 7–14 September 1997. He suggested that all Ethiopians tend towards the rite and spirituality of the Oriental tradition existing in the region since the first centuries of the Christian era, saying: "Efforts to gain a deeper understanding of history and development of the Alexandrian Ethiopian rite should continue, so that the common Christian tradition of the region contribute to the journey towards unity, both within the Catholic community and with the other Churches".

At present the Catholic Church in Ethiopia comprises 12 jurisdictions, with the following church personnel: ten bishops, 580 diocesan priests providing pastoral service to the Catholic faithful, 64 religious congregations, 1,580 religious male and female institutes engaged in social welfare and educational activities among Ethiopian and Eritrean peoples. The total Catholic population of both countries is approximately 580,000.

Lit.: JEAN BAPTISTE COULBEAUX, *Histoire politique et religieuse d'Abyssinie: depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à l'avènement de Ménélik II*, 3 vols., Paris 1929; DONALD CRUMMEY, *Priests and Politicians: Protestant and Catholics Missions in Orthodox Ethiopia (1830–1868)*, Oxford 1972 (Lit.); METODIO DA NEMBRO, *La missione dei Minori Cappuccini in Eritrea 1894–1952*, Roma 1953; GIRMAH BESHAH – MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso-Ethiopian Relations (1500–1632)*, Lisbon 1964; KEVIN O'MAHONEY, *"The Ebullient Phoenix". A History of the Vicariate of Abyssinia*, 3 vols., Asmara 1982–87 (Lit.); AYELE TEKLEHAYMANOT, "Il Cardinal Guglielmo Massaja oggi, a cent'anni dalla sua scomparsa", in: *Guglielmo Massaja, Vicario Apostolico dei Galla. Proceedings of the Symposium on Card. G. Massaja held in the Antonianum of Rome. February 24*, Roma 1990, 48–57; ID., "L'Apostolato Francescano in Etiopia", *Studi Francescani, Trimestrale di vita religiosa a cura dei Frati Minori* 80, 1–2, 1983, 221–40; ANTONIOS ALBERTO, *The Apostolic Vicariate of Galla: a Capuchin Mission in Ethiopia (1846–1942)*, Addis Ababa 1998 (Lit.); MAURO DA LEONESSA, *Santo Stefano Maggiore degli Abissini e le relazioni Romano-Etiopiche*, Città del Vaticano 1929, 124; *L'Osservatore Romano. Weekly Edition in English* 39, 24 September 1997, 5.

Ayele Teklehaymanot – Donald Crummey – Steven Kaplan – Kevin O'Mahoney

Caulk, Richard Alan

C. (b. 23 December 1936, Louisville KY, d. 3 September 1983, New York) received his B.A. from the Woodrow Wilson School of Public Administration and his M.A. from the Bologna Center of the Johns Hopkins University. On completion of his Ph.D. at the ↗School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London in 1966, he joined the Department of History of Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (↗Addis Ababa University). Engaging in a wide range of research projects on 19th cent. Ethiopian history, he played a pivotal role in raising the standards of the B.A. thesis (Senior Essay) in that Department. His seminal work on the diplomatic history of the *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II era has been published in the series *Aethiopistische Forschungen*.

Src.: RICHARD CAULK, "Between the Jaws of Hyenas". A Diplomatic History of Ethiopia (1876–1896), ed. by BAHRU ZEWDE, Wiesbaden 2002 (AeF 60).

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, "An Obituary of Richard Alan Caulk", *JES* 17, 1984, 30–36.

Bahru Zewde

Cavalry

The characteristic curve of the traditional Ethiopian C. was already stressed by Manoel de Almeida, who wrote that "the horseman strike and fight only with short lances in the style of our javelins" (BeckHuntAlm 77); a feature also seen in Ethiopian iconography, where saintly horsemen (*aṣe* ↗Minas and *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs), with the remarkable exception of St. ↗George of Ly-

Cavalry of Mənilək II in action, photo taken during an expedition by Friedrich Bieber to Ethiopia in the early 20th cent., from Bieber 1948:17

dda, are invariably depicted armed only with javelins. There were two reasons for this: 1) the absence of Ethiopian-produced steel blades, those imported being both rare and expensive 2) the nature of an Ethiopian stirrup, which is just an iron ring 4 cm in diameter, where a horseman puts his thumb toe. This helps him to keep his balance, but does not provide the firm support which is necessary for striking either with a sabre or a lance. Therefore the common tactics of the Ethiopian C. were swift attacks against enemy lines, where every horseman threw his three javelins and quickly retreated.

C. constituted one tenth of any army, and such traditional Ethiopian sport as ↗*gugs* was most useful in mastering these tactics. The role of traditional C. was not so much decisive in attack, as in chasing the enemy if he took flight. The upper classes were also familiar with foreign C. techniques, i.e. with the use of Arabian slipper-type stirrups, coats of mail, sabres and lances, when a horsemen thus equipped could not retreat immediately but to the enemy's surprise continue fighting, proceeding further and further. It seems that the famous feat of arms of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I, achieved on horseback with his "younger horsemen" (Marrassini 1993:138–41), was carried out in a "foreign manner". However, this demanded not only expensive foreign equipment, but also a thorough special training for such cavalrymen. Probably, the first who began to engage in such training were the *sulṭāns* of ᶜAdal, where a special corps, called ↗*mäläsay*, was formed (Kropp 1990:105–13), a tradition which was later widely developed by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī. His *mäläsays* "were well-disciplined, thoroughly trained and above all mounted and well armed with sabres from Arabia, shields from India, and swords from North Africa" (Mohammed Hassen 1983:33), and the effect of their attacks was tremendous. However, *ğihād* failed, having grossly enfeebled both states, the Christian and the Muslim, which had no means to maintain such an expensive army. The Ethiopian C. subsequently returned to its traditional pattern. Only later, at the beginning of the 18th cent., at the capital city of ↗Gondär, there was a squadron of Muslim C. of *mäläsay* type, called Kokäb.

The introduction of fire-arms greatly diminished the role of the C. Its final death followed

on 27 October 1916 in a daring C. attack of the Oromo horsemen of *ras* Mikaʾel Ali of Wällo against *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən's machine-gunners at ↗Sägäle.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 76f.; BassHist 84, 111, 130, 185, 207, 466; PAOLO MARRASSINI (ed., tr.), *Lo scettro e la croce. La campagna de 'Amda Seyon I contro l'Ifat* (*1332*), Napoli 1993 (StAfEt 4), 138–41; MANFRED KROPP, *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minās*, Louvain 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]), 4f., 14–18, 20f., 30, 39 (tr.).

Lit.: MANFRED KROPP, "Mäläsay: Selbstbezeichnung eines Hahariner Offizierkorps und ihr Gebrauch in äthiopischen und arabischen Chroniken", *Paideuma* 36, 1990, 105–13; MOHAMMED HASSEN, *The Oromo of Ethiopia, 1500–1850*: *with Special Emphasis on the Gibe Region*, Ph.D. thesis, London 1983, 33; OTTO BIEBER, *Geheimnisvolles Kaffa, im Reich der Kaiser-Götter*, Wien 1948 (ill.).

Sevir Chernetsov

Ç̌äwa

Ç̌. (**ጨዋ**) in present-day Amharic has a number of meanings. In its most common usage it appears in the phrase **የጨዋ፡ ልጅ** (*yäç̌äwa ləǧ*), which indicates a person of refinement or good breeding. In this same register it also indicates free as opposed to slave status; and it has a secondary meaning of 'secular' or 'lay', as opposed to clerical. From this secondary meaning derives yet a third meaning, 'illiterate'. Here the grounds for the extension are clear, since historically only the clergy were literate, so that lay people, even elegant and refined ones, would be illiterate. The word has had a complex history, for its earliest meaning was a military regiment. The origin of the word is unclear (cp. LesCDic 153; KaneDic 2236).

During the first phase of the ↗Solomonic dynasty, the late 14th through to the early 16th cent., a network of Ç̌. made up the core of the country's national army. The Ç̌. were planted around the kingdom to disperse the costs of their maintenance, which were borne by the communities over whom they were placed. The relationship between the Ç̌. and local communities was a tributary one in which, through a system of ↗*gʷəlt* or fiefs, the Ç̌. received their support in kind and in labour. Major Ç̌. communities were also established on the borders, where they constituted a front line of defence. The origins of this military system are lost in antiquity, but it certainly antedates 1270.

Some scholars have argued that over time the Ç̌. tended to meld with the local population, thereby spreading Semitic languages and creating Ethiopia's characteristic class structure and system of ↗*rəst* and *gʷəlt*. A number of scholars have remarked on the parallels between the Ç̌. of the first Solomonic period and the military garrisons known as ↗*kätäma*, which *aṣe* Mənilək II established in southern Ethiopia in the closing decades of the 19th cent.

Src.: LesCDic 153; KaneDic 2236; BTafA 201ff., index.

Lit.: TadTChurch; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Military Elites in Medieval Ethiopia", *JES* 30, 1, 1997, 31–74.

Donald Crummey

Ç̌äwata: Mäṣḥafä ç̌äwata śəgawi wämänfäsawi

Ç̌. (**መጽሐፈ፡ ጨዋታ፡ ሥጋዊ፡ ወመንፈሳዊ**, 'Book of Secular and Spiritual Diversions') is considered to be the oldest secular work in ↗Amharic and is often seen to mark the beginning of Amharic literature (the use of Amh. *ç̌äwata* in the otherwise Gəʿəz title indicates that Gəʿəz has no equivalent word). Ç̌. was written by *aṣe* Tewodros II's secretary, *däbtära* ↗Zännäb, in 1857 A.M. [1864/65 A.D.], but was published only in 1924 A.D.

This small edifying book may be partially ascribed to Western influence, as *däbtära* Zännäb is known to have been one of the first Ethiopians converted to Protestantism by the missionary Johann Martin ↗Flad. Perhaps due to this fact this important work was scarcely known by the Ethiopian clergy. Its approach in teaching Christian values (irony, sarcasm, derision) might also have been considered blasphemous and resulted in the aversion of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Src.: *aläqa* ZÄNNÄB, **መጽሐፈ፡ ጨዋታ፡ ሥጋዊ፡ ወመንፈሳዊ፡ በ፲፰፻፶፯፡ ዓመተ፡ ምሕረት፡ ከዘጎበ፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ፡ ተጻፈ.** (*Mäṣḥafä ç̌äwata śəgawi wämänfäsawi bä1857 ʿamätä məḥrät käzännäb ityopyawi täṣafä*, 'Book of Secular and Spiritual Diversions, Written in 1857 A.M. by Zännäb the Ethiopian'), Addis Abäba [1]1924 A.M. [1931/32 A.D.], [2]1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]; SixTana 3, no. 142, 333–36 (Lit.).

Lit.: AMSALU AKLILU, **አጭር፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥነ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ ታሪክ** (*Aç̌ç̌ər yäʾityopya śənä ṣəḥuf tarik*, 'A Short History of Ethiopian Literature'), ms., Addis Abäba University 1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.]; ALBERT STANISLAS GÉRARD, *Four African Literatures*: *Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic*, Berkeley 1971, 276; THOMAS LEIPER KANE, *Ethiopian Literature in Amharic*, Wiesbaden 1975, 5; LANFRANCO RICCI, [review of Kane 1975], *RSE* 27, 1978–79, 147–60, here 148; ID., "Letterature dell'Etiopia", [extract from:] OSCAR BOTTO (ed.), *Storia delle letterature d'Oriente*, vol. 1, Milano 1969, 801–911, here 854; STEVEN WRIGHT, "Amharic Literature", *Something* 1, 1963, 11–23; ID., *Ethiopian Incunabula*, Addis Ababa 1967, 52.

Amsalu Aklilu

Cecchi, Antonio

C. (b. 1849, Pesaro, d. 1896, Lefolé, Somalia) was an Italian explorer. Having previously paid frequent visits to various ports in the Red Sea, C. was chosen by the Italian Geographic Society to write up astronomical and topographical observations as a member of the expedition sent to aid the mission which arrived in Šäwa in 1876 led by Orazio ↗Antinori. He reached Antinori in 1877 and, leaving him at ↗Ləṭ Maräfiya (the geographical base station that *aṣe* Mənilək had granted to the Italian explorers) in May 1878, he moved southwards with Giovanni ↗Chiarini in order to extend the survey to the great equatorial lakes, Antinori himself having become indisposed.

The two explorers, who were without an adequate escort, came up against serious difficulties due to the harshness of the area, added to the hostility of various Oromo leaders from the south west of Ethiopia. In February they were forced to stay confined at ↗Käfa where the Queen of Geeraa ↗Genne Gummiti had her residence. She mistook them for Mənilək's agents and imprisoned them. Chiarini died there in October 1879, while C. remained in detention until November 1881 when he was freed by the explorer Gustavo ↗Bianchi, through the intermediation of *ras* Adal (later *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot) of Goğğam and Käfa.

Once back in Italy, C. published in three volumes his famous work *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa,* which abounds in information about the territories he had visited. He went back to Africa when Italy occupied Massawa (1885), becoming later governor of Benadir in Italian Somalia in 1896. In November 1896, during an expedition towards the "Uebi Scebeli" (Wabi Šäbälle), he was killed by Somalis at Lefolé 20 km from Moqadishu.

Lit.: ENRICO DE LEONE, *Le prime ricerche di una colonia e l'esplorazione geografica, politica ed economica,* Roma 1955, s. index; ROBERTO BATTAGLIA, *La prima guerra d'Africa,* Torino 1958, 113–34; FRANCESCO SURDICH, "Cecchi, Antonio", in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 23, Roma 1979, 242–46; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli italiani in Africa Orientale. Dall'Unità alla marcia su Roma*, Roma – Bari 1976, s. index.

Marco Lenci

Č̣əlalo

Mount Č̣. (ጭላሎ, Oromo: Celaaloo, 4,139 m A.S.L.) towers above the fault escarpment which forms a steep step on the edge of the ↗Arsi highlands. The mount is located in the *awrağğa* of the same name, formerly a part of the Arsi province, now in the *kəlləl* Oromiyaa, according to the modern administrative division. On the way from Addis Abäba the visitor sees Č̣. in the distance behind Mount ↗Zəq^{w}ala, standing like a sentry watching the Rift of Nazret (↗Adaamaa). This wide based mezozoic volcanic cone rises above ↗Asälla to the East and over the sill of the Didda plateau which joins it to Mount Kaka to the South. The usual levels of vegetation are visible on its slopes: a succession of *zəgba*, *ṭəd* and *koso* forests, and near the summit afro-alpine grazing land dotted with *asta*, a tree heather (*Erica arborea*) and tall *lobeliae*. The new Asälla-Boqoği-Dodola road has opened up the Didda plateau and the Č̣. piedmont to settlers who have cleared the forests and to a few tourists. The 1999–2000 winter forest fires which destroyed the ↗Bale National Park also affected the edges of Arsi.

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1998; ID. (ed.), *Statistical Abstract 1999*, Addis Ababa 2000; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988.

Lit.: JOHN M. COHEN, *Integrated Rural Development. The Ethiopian Experience and the Debate*, Uppsala 1987; ALAIN GASCON, *La Grande Éthiopie, une utopie africaine. Éthiopie ou Oromie, l'intégration des hautes terres du Sud*, Paris 1995; MESFIN WOLDE MARYAM, *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972.

Alain Gascon

Čelebi ↗ Evliya Čelebi; ↗ Murād b. Malzum

Č.əlga

Č. (ቍልጋ) is a region and a settlement in ↗Dämbəya, on the plains west of the town of Gondär and part of the original habitat of the Agäw-speaking ↗Kəmant people. It was the location of a prehistoric Acheulean stone-age culture, recently uncovered. Č. is a mainly agricultural highland area at ca. 2,000m A.S.L., north-west of Lake Ṭana, much eroded and deforested after centuries of cultivation. During the time of the Gondärine kingdom up to the end of the 18th cent., Č. was a regional market-place for the trade in timber, agricultural produce and livestock, as is evident from Charles ↗Poncet's brief description of his visit in 1699, but it later declined in importance. In late medieval Ethiopia, Č. was not a prominent place, politically quiet and only a minor hub of regional trade.

The Č. area was the scene of many battles between north-Ethiopian regional lords and between the Ethiopian and Sudanese-Egyptian forces because it was situated on the contested trade route to Sudan. The army of the Sudanese ↗Mahdists used the route across Č. and Dämbəya to sack Gondär in 1888.

The town of Aykäl in Č. was the traditional seat of the politico-religious leader (↗*Wämbar*) of the Kəmant people. In the administrative system of the Ethiopian empire the name Č. was given to a large *awraǧǧa*, stretching west and north-west from lake Ṭana up to the Sudanese border, with Aykäl as its capital. It was the seat of a ↗*čəqa šum*. In the imperial days Č. remained a neglected backwater.

After 1992 the village became part of the *wäräda* of Dämbəya in the South Gondär Zone of the new Amhara Regional State. The population in 1998 was an estimated 15,000 people. In 2001 large coal deposits were discovered in Č., the possible explotation of which is likely to transform local society.

Lit.: FREDERIK CHARLES GAMST, *The Qemant: a Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia*, New York 1969; HuntGeogr, s. index; CHARLES JACQUES PONCET, "Voyage d'Éthiopie", in: NICOLAS LE CLERC (ed.), *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères,* Paris 1704, vol. 4, 251–443; LAWRENCE TODD – MICHELLE GLANTZ – JOHN KAPPELMAN, "Chilga Kernet: an Acheulean Landscape on Ethiopia's Western Plateau", *Antiquity* 76, 2002, 611–12.

Jon G. Abbink

Č.ella

Č. (Challaa) were part of the ↗Afre Confederacy, which spearheaded the ↗Mäčča Oromo migration into south-western Ethiopia during the second half of the 16th cent. As part of this Confederacy (i.e., major tribal group), the Č. settled around *odaa* ↗Bisil, where the Mäčča Oromo had a common ↗*č.affee*-assembly and the common ↗*bokkuu*, which embodied the spirit of unity and served as a living constitution. During the 17th cent., the Č. and other Mäčča groups abandoned their common *č.affee* at Bisil to establish their own autonomous *č.affees*. The Č. established their *č.affee* at Mia Irressa.

During the 17th and 18th cent., the Č.'s mode of production was transformed (like the rest of the Mäčča Oromo) from pastoralism to one in which mixed agriculture was dominant. With that, land not only gained economic value, but also generated struggles among the war leaders for its possession. By the beginning of the 19th cent., the Č. *č.affee* was dominated by war leaders who fought each other for the control of land and supremacy. These inter-tribal raids ruined the local economy. However, for the war leaders they were not only a source of wealth and power, but also a means by which free Č. farmers were reduced to the status of tenants on their own lands.

Src.: GUGLIEGMO MASSAJA, *I miei trentacinque anni di missione nell'alta Etiopia. Memorie storiche*, 12 vols., Milano 1885–95, here vol. 4, 68f.

Lit.: DABA HUNDE, *A Portrait of Social Organization and Institutions of the Oromo of Jibat and Macha in the Nineteenth Century until the Conquest of Menelik II*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1972, 13, 26; MHasOr 119ff.

Mohammed Hassen

Čəlot

In ordinary parlance the Amharic word Č. (**ችሎት**) means a court sitting to adjudicate cases, or a division of a court. In the period prior to 1936 dispensing justice to whoever needed it was the national and civic duty of all citizens and of the state. This important duty was carried out by the people through the "road-side court" (informal people's court held on the road side) and by the government through the regular courts. To make a distinction between the two systems, only the regular courts were referred as Č.

The lowest official judge was the local chief or the **ምስለኔ** (*məsläne*), the representative of the local governor. Both were administrative officials at the local level who exercized administrative as well as judicial powers, the conception of separation of power being to the society of the time. The court at this level was designated **የስር፡ ዳኛ** (*yäsər daññä,* 'court of the first instance'). The first appeal, on decision of this court, was lodged to the [**የ**]**አካል፡ ዳኛ** ([*yä*]*akal daññä*, 'district court'); the second to the **ሻለቃ** (*šaläqa*) court ('provincial court') and in very rare instances the Crown Court. The term for Emperor's Court, or Crown Court, is **ዙፋን፡ ችሎት** (*zufan čəlot,* where *zufan* means 'throne'). After 1942 the structure of courts was changed several times. The judges of the lowest level were called simply **ዳኛ** (↗*daññä*), while of the higher level **ወምበር** (*wämbär,* lit. 'chair, seat').

In civil matters, a party to a dispute may institute a proceeding in a court of law that has jurisdiction in the matter. In criminal case, on the other hand, the process sometimes starts with the investigation of the commission of the alleged crime through the old devise of investigation (↗*Leba šay*, ↗*Afärsata*), since 1941, and by a police investigation. The traditional mode of litigation then used was ↗*muggət* (**ሙግት፡ በተጠየቅ፡ ሥርዓት**, *muggət bätäṭäyyäq śərᶜat*, or **ተጠየቅ፡ ሥርዓት**, *täṭäyyäq śərᶜat*). This mode of litigation was gradually superseded by court rules and the ↗Criminal Procedure Code of 1961 and the ↗Civil Procedure Code of 1965 respectivily.

The emperor of Ethiopia, by the mere fact that he was crowned or sat on the throne, was expected to render equitable and impartial justice. He was regarded as the "fountain of justice". The concept of the "fountain of justice" seems to have been brought into Ethiopia by the Byzantine tradition, via the importation of the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*, which is based on Roman-Byzantine law. As overseers of justice, the emperors of Ethiopia exercised judicial power through the Č. for centuries.

The jurisdiction of the *zufan čəlot* lay in reviewing both criminal and civil cases decided by the court of the **አፈ፡ ንጉሥ** (↗*afä nəguś*, lit. 'the mouth of the king'). The term *afä nəguś* seems to emanate from the tradition where the judgement of the king or emperor was, in earlier periods, pronounced to the parties of the case through the Chief Justice and not directly by the emperor (the title of *afä nəguś* is rendered technically as 'Chief-Justice').

If a person who had lost his case in the court of the Chief-Justice (the Supreme Imperial Court from 1942 up to 1974) wished to take his case to the *zufan čəlot* he was entitled to do so. The State Prosecutor too, might appeal to the Č. for review against any judgement. The review could result in affirmation, reversal or any other manner of disposition. A death sentence was executed only after assessors (**ተቺዎች**, *täčč̣iwočč*) and the scholars of the *Fətḥa nägäśt* gave their opinion, and when the Emperor finally pronounced his judgement in the Č. Since the second half of the 20th cent. the *zufan čəlot* was assisted by judgement review bodies, such as the **ፍርድ፡ ምርመራ** (*fərd mərmära*, 'judgement investigation') committee, **ፍርድ፡ አጣሪ** (*fərd aṭṭari*, 'judgement reviews') committee and **ሰበር፡ ሰሚ፡ ጉባኤ** (*säbbär sämi gubaᵊe*, 'court of cassation') which were created at different times by Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I to reduce his burden of case reviewing.

Although the supreme judicial authority was, by Art. 109 of the Revised Constitution of 1955, vested in the Supreme Imperial Court, the *zufan čəlot* continued to operate at the pinnacle of the regular court structure (even after the promulgation of the Constitution of 1955) without any written legal basis – except convention or the residual power of the former emperors. The continuation could only have been justified by the assumption that justice might be made by this court on the basis of equity. The role of equity in the administration of justice would be to provide fair justice where legal provisions were not clear in themselves, or when the ordinary rules of statutory interpretation failed to give any solution. It seems that the conventional jurisdiction of the Č. was maintained by the belief that the vigour of the law might be mitigated by this court. The *zufan čəlot* ceased to function with the ↗Revolution of 1974.

Src.: KaneDic 207, 1005f.
Lit.: GĂRIMA TAFFĂRĂ, **አባ፡ ታጠቅ፡ ካሳ፡ የቋራው፡ አንበሳ** (*Abba Taṭäq Kasa yäqʷara anbässa*, ‘Abba Taṭäq Kasa, the Lion from Qʷara’), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.]); JOHN SPENCER, *Explanation in Regard to the 1955 Revised Constitution*, ms., Addis Abäba 1955; MAḪTĂMĂ ŚƎLLASE WĂLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **የኛም፡ አሉን፡ እንዉቃቸው** (*Yäññam allun ənnəwäqaččäw*, ‘Let us Know Those who Said: This is Ours’), Addis Abäba 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.]; MARGERY PERHAM, *The Government of Ethiopia*, London 1948; GEORGE KRZECZUNOWICZ, “The Present Role of Equity in Ethiopian Civil Law”, paper presented at the *Eighth International Congress of Comparative Law*, Pescara 1970; BAIRU TAFLA – HEINRICH SCHOLLER, “Ser’ata Mangest. An Early Ethiopian Constitution”, *Verfassung und Recht in Übersee* 9, 4, 1976, 487–99; BAIRU TAFLA, *The Disposition of Justice in Traditional Ethiopia*: *an Appraisal of Legal Historiography,* Heidelberg 1991; FRANZ AMADEUS DOMBROWSKI, “Cases Before the Emperors: Notes on the Development of Civil and Criminal Procedure”, in: *PICES 10*, vol. 1, 195–203; ABERRA JEMBERE, *Legal History of Ethiopia 1434–1974*: *Some Aspects of Substantive and Procedural Laws*, Leiden 1998; ID., *An Introduction to the Legal History of Ethiopia, 1434–1974*, Münster – Hamburg – London 2000, 226, 228, 238.

Aberra Jembere

Č̣enča

Č̣. (**ጨንቻ**, also Č̣änča; 6°15'N, 37°34'E, 2,700 m A.S.L.) was the capital of ↗Gamo Gofa province (except for a short-period shift of the capital to Gardula) till the early 1960s, when ↗Arba Mənč̣ became the new provincial capital and Č̣. was left with the role of the centre of Gäma *awraǧǧa*. Č̣. is located in the mountainous, densely populated part of Gamo Gofa, on the highland plateau overlooking the western shores of Lake ↗Abbayya. It is largely inhabited by the Gamo. According to the 1994 Census, the population of Č̣. town was 5,787. The 2000 Census estimates the number of inhabitants as 7,869.

Č̣enča in December 2002, photo courtesy of Susanne Hummel

Č̣. was established as a major military post following *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II’s conquest of Wällamo, Gamo and Konso in 1894. He established several military posts (↗*Kätäma*) in this area. In Gamo he established a camp at Č̣., which was crucial to the administration of the southern territories as it was the centre where commanders were based. James Harrison (1901:268f.), who visited the area a few years later, describes the manner in which the farmers of the area were required to bring sheep, cows and other foods upon the arrival of foreign travellers. During the Italian occupation (1936–41) there was a sizable Italian presence in Č̣., as it served an administrative centre. Travel permits were issued, European goods sold, and corvée labour organized.

Among the institutions established in Č̣. after the Italian occupation and in subsequent years are a secondary school, hospital, several Orthodox churches and a training centre for clergy. Missionaries of the Catholic Church and the Sudan Interior Mission have also been active in the town.

Src.: JAMES HARRISON, “A Journey from Zeila to Lake Rudolf”, *Geographical Journal* 3, 1901, 258–74; ARNOLD WIENHOLT HODSON, *Seven Years in Southern Abyssinia*, London 1927, 183; MONTAGU SINCLAIR WELLBY, *Twixt Sirdar and Menelik*: *an Account of a Year’s Expedition from Zeila to Cairo through Unknown Absyssinia*, London – New York 1901, 152f., 166ff.; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa 2000.
Lit.: FRANÇOIS AZAÏS, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Éthiopie, province du Harar et Éthiopie méridionale,* Paris 1931; PankHist II, 199, 358.

Mulatu Wubneh – Wolde Gossa Tadesse

Č̣əqa šum

Č̣.š. (**ቈቃ፡ ሹም**, for short simply *č̣əqa*, from Amh., Tgn. *č̣əqa* ‘mud, earth’, by extension,

Two *čəqa šum* in Wällamo exercizing their duties, early 20th cent., photo no. 4028-499, © Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg

'earth officer') was one of the lower titles in the Ethiopian state hierarchy, accorded to a district chief. As the British traveller/resident Mansfield Parkyns (1853:229ff.) noted, a Č.š. was primarily a tax collector. Antoine d'Abbadie (1881) described Č.š. as a hereditary municipal officer attached to the land, and Augustus Wylde (1901:485) considered the functionary as a "minor chief of a village".

A Č.š. was elected among the leading persons of a few families which were in hereditary possession of land (↗*Rəst*), and then appointed by the governor. The Č.š. was usually in charge of allocating tax obligations among his community, lodging of strangers or travellers on the peasantry, promulgating decrees (↗*ʿAwağ*), enlisting the men to the army etc., thus mediating between the local people and the holder of the political power. In addition, the Č.š. was the lowest official judge. In the 20th cent., with some variations in duties, the Č.š. represented the central government in Təgray, Amhara, Šäwa and most of Oromo-populated regions, but in the 1950s the office was deprived of many of its important functions.

↗Šum

Src.: MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia*, vol. 1, London 1853, 229–33; ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Dictionnaire de la langue amariñña*, Paris 1881, 956f.; BassDic 933; AUGUSTUS BLANDY WYLDE, *Modern Abyssinia*, London 1901, 485; CHARLES CRAVEN WALKER, *The Abyssinian at Home*, London 1933, 203; KaneDic 2220f.
Lit.: DONALD NATHAN LEVINE, *Wax and Gold. Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture,* Chicago – London 1965, 57f., 165, 259; MARGERY PERHAM, *The Government of Ethiopia*, London ²1969, 274ff. (Lit.), s. index.

Richard Pankhurst

Ceramics ↗ Pottery

Cereals ↗ Agriculture; ↗ Food; ↗ Plants

Cerulli, Enrico

C. (b. 15 February 1898, Naples, d. 19 September 1988, Rome) was an outstanding scholar in the field of ↗Ethiopian studies. He graduated from Naples University with his major in law (his doctoral thesis dealt with the customary law of the Somali Majeerteen). At the same time he attended lectures in Ethio-Semitic languages (Francesco ↗Gallina) as well as in Arabic and Islamic disciplines (Giorgio Levi della Vida, Carlo Alfonso Nallino) at the Regio Istituto Orientale. Thereafter, he joined the civil service of the Italian government in the Ministry of Colonies. Sent to Somalia (↗Italian Somaliland) to work in the civil administration as a director for political affairs, C. accomplished researches on ↗Somali languages and culture which remained unsurpassed up to our days. Still today learned Somalis admire the knowledge displayed by C.

Detached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, C. was on duty at the Italian Legation in Addis Abäba [pr. Addìs Ababà] during the years 1926–31. In that position he cooperated, among others, in various diplomatic undertakings. In 1927–28 he undertook his well-known expedition to western Ethiopia, with invaluable results. In 1928–29 he participated in the expedition of the Duke of the Abruzzi to the sources of the ↗Wabi Šäbälle [Somali: Wébi Shabèlle]. During the Italian-Ethiopian war (1935–36), he undertook some diplomatic missions with the aim of settling the disputes between the two countries.

In the year 1937 C. went once again to Ethiopia to hold the appointment of Vice-Governor General of ↗Africa Orientale Italiana (15 December 1937–5 May 1939), when he was on duty beside the Viceroy, Amedeo di ↗Savoia Duke of Aosta, in the city of Addis Abäba, the seat of the Government. Later he was Governor of the province of ↗Harär [pr. Harèr] (5 May 1939–11 June 1940).

In 1940 C. was on reserve. From 1943 until 1945 he lived as a refugee in the Vatican City. During the years 1945–50 he was occupied with diplomatic missions in the dispute concerning the former Italian colonies. In 1950–54 C. was ambassador to Iran, where he had an occasion to study the theatrical tradition of *taʿziya* (Arab. lit. 'mourning, consolation').

C.'s scientific work was carried out in parallel to his official appointments. Founded upon his knowledge and practice of languages, his research achieved paramount results in the fields of Oriental and African studies, apart from his noteworthy contributions in the field of Western human sciences. His works are seminal and cover a vast range of topics of Ethiopian studies. He devoted his most renowned investigations to the so-called "Cushitic" cultures and languages (see, e.g., *Somalia*: *scritti vari editi ed inediti*, 1957–64; *Studi etiopici*, 1936–51). To Semitic and Christian Ethiopia, his manifold contributions – linguistic, historical and cultural – are of prime significance. Suffice it to mention his book on the history and language (modern as well as ancient, the latter in Arabic script) of Harär (published in the series *Studi etiopici*); *Il Libro etiopico dei miracoli di Maria*, a fundamental, deep, wide-ranging treatise shedding new light upon one of the most significant historical and cultural features of Ethiopian Christianity; *Etiopi in Palestina*, a masterpiece analysis reviewing the historical and cultural documentation of the relations between Ethiopia and Jerusalem; *Storia della letteratura etiopica,* together with his extremely valuable *Scritti teologici* (s. full details of his works in the sources listed below and in Ricci 1991, Lusini in Ricci 1990).

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, *Folk-literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia*, Cambridge, MA 1922; ID., *Etiopia Occidentale* (*dallo Scioa alla frontiera del Sudan*). *Note del viaggio, 1927–1928*, 2 vols., Roma 1930–33; ID., *Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia*, Roma 1931; ID., *Somalia*: *scritti vari editi ed inediti*, 3 vols., 1957–64; ID., *Studi etiopici*, 4 vols., Roma 1936–51; ID., *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971; ID., *Il Libro etiopico dei Miracoli di Maria e le sue fonti nelle letterature del Medio Evo latino*, Roma 1943; ID., *Etiopi in Palestina*: *storia della communità etiopica di Gerusalemme*, 2 vols., Roma 1943–47; ID., *Il 'Libro della Scala' e la questione delle fonti arabospagnole della Divina Commedia*, Città del Vaticano 1949; ID., *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI–XVII*, 2 vols., Città del Vaticano 1958–60; ID., *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, Milano 1958 [^{3}1968].

Lit.: LANFRANCO RICCI, "Enrico Cerulli", *RSE* 32, 1988 [1990], 4 (ill.), 5–19 [with "Bibliografia" by GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, 20–44]; ID., [errata-corrige], *RSE* 33, 1989 [1991], 197–98.

Lanfranco Ricci

Enrico Cerulli in the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1980s, from Ricci 1988:4

Chaîne, Marius

Abbé C. (b. 10 August 1873, Tarascon, Bouches-du-Rhône, d. 19 January 1960, Sainte-Marie-du-Désert) was a French ethiopianist and coptologist. C. joined the Society of Jesus in 1897, but abandoned it after World War I for a secular priesthood in the parish of Lévignac-sur-Save (Haute-Garonne). He died at the Cistercian Abbey of Sainte-Marie-du-Désert.

C. devoted his life to Ethiopic and Coptic philology. He first studied Gəᶜəz under Joseph ↗Halévy at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, before turning to Coptic. The works of C. are characterized by their will to provide tools for further research, such as grammars, catalogues, translations and a comparative study of Christian calendars.

Src.: MARIUS CHAÎNE, *Grammaire éthiopienne*, Beirut 1907; ChAbb; ChMonV; ID., "Histoire du règne de Iohannes IV roi d'Ethiopie (1868-1889)", *Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne* 21, 1913, 178-91; ID., *La chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Egypte et de l'Ethiopie*, Paris 1925; ID., *Le manuscrit de la version copte en dialecte sahidique des "Apophtegmata Patrum"*, Cairo 1960.

Eloi Fiquet

Chalcedon, Council of

The C. (Gəᶜəz: **ማኅበረ፡ ኬልቄዶን**, *Maḫbärä Kelqedon*) held 8 October to 1 November 451 in Chalcedon (today Kadıköy, a suburb of Istanbul on the Asiatic side of Bosporus), is known in both Catholic and Greek Orthodox

traditions as the Fourth Ecumenical Council, but its authority is rejected by the Ethiopian and other non-Chalcedonian (sometimes called "Monophysite") churches.

The C. was convoked by Emperor Marcian in order to resolve the controversy raised by ↗Eutychius, an archimandrite of Constantinople, and Dioscoros, patriarch of Alexandria, who at the Second Council of ↗Ephesus in 449 accepted only one, divine, nature in Christ as Church dogma. Their adversaries believed that this opinion made the death of Christ on the Cross pointless, as mankind could be redeemed only by the death of Christ-as-man. The C. deposed Dioscoros, reinstalled bishops that had been deposed in Ephesus, established the patriarchate of Jerusalem, raised the see of Constantinople to a position second only to Rome, and promulgated a new formula of faith. It recognized Christ as one person (πρόσωπον), one substance (ὑπόστασις), but in two natures (ἐν δύο φύσεσιν), the divine and the human, which coexist "without confusion, without change, without division, without separation". This creed did not satisfy everybody and its adversaries, numerous in Syria and Egypt, regarded it as a return to ↗Nestorianism. Although later Byzantine emperors made attempts to bring these anti-Chalcedonians back to the Church, they were not successful, and the "Monophysite" Churches (Syrian Orthodox, Coptic and Armenian) separated from the Imperial (Melkite) Church.

The Ethiopian Church was not represented at the C. and did not take part in the christological controversies after it, but, following the ↗Coptic Church, adopted the latter's rejection of the C. There were attempts on the part of the Chalcedonians to win Ethiopia over to the Chalcedonian Orthodoxy. We know, for instance, of a Jerusalem deacon Thomas, who was consecrated by Timothy II Salofakiolos, the Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria (460–75, 477–82), as a bishop for Ethiopia (Garitte 1962:406; Grillmeier 1990:309, n. 33; Sergew Hable Sellase 1972:110f.). These efforts were not successful, perhaps due to the activities of "Monophysite" monks who may have fled there from the Roman Empire (groups like the ↗Nine Saints).

For a long time thereafter the Chalcedonian theology remained vaguely known in Ethiopia, but was always treated as a heresy, as can be seen from the writings of ↗Giyorgis of Sägla (d. ca. 1426). His *Fəkkare haymanot* ('Exposition of the Faith') includes 40 anathemas against various heresies, of which no. 19 is directed against the C. He is more explicit in his *Mäṣḥafä ↗məṣtir* ('The Book of Mystery') in which ch. 21 is a polemic against the C. The latter became so popular that, notwithstanding its clear antipathy towards the C., an anonymous supporter of ↗Catholicism inserted into it a treatise defending the C., which is preserved in some of the manuscripts of the *Mäṣḥafä məṣtir*.

In the period of contacts with Roman Catholics, the Christological position of the Ethiopian Church was elaborated in polemic works, e.g. ↗*Mäzgäbä haymanot* ('The Storehouse of the Faith', composed 1555–59). According to another text of the epoch, ↗*Mäṣḥetä ləbbunna* ('The Mirror of Understanding', 1622–23, s. Cerulli 1960), the bishops in Chalcedon, the supporters of Nestorius, changed somewhat the latter's opinions, so that these "might be acceptable to the listeners" (Cerulli 1960:156, line 24), but even this device was in the eyes of the author equal to adding a fourth person to the Trinity (Cerulli 1960:157, line 15).

On the other hand, the Jesuit Pedro ↗Paez pointed out that in several Ethiopian liturgical and theological works (↗*Arganonä Maryam,* ↗*Sənkəssar,* ↗*Haymanotä abäw*) there were clear Chalcedonian expressions about Christ's two natures being "without confusion … [etc. as above]", which was recognized by *aṣe* ↗Zädəngəl (Mario da Abiy-Addi' 1956:87ff.; Heyer 1971:306).

After the religious war during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, the opinions of the C. were not tolerated in Ethiopia for a long time. Three Franciscan monks, who had been allowed to settle in the country, were examined in 1716 and having avowed to be supporters of Leo and the C. they were put to death (DombrChr 102 [text] = 264 [tr.]).

The knowledge of the theological problems connected with the C. seems to have subsequently diminished. According to the catechism of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, *Məṣtirä śəllase* ('The Mystery of the Trinity', composed in 1911 under the auspices of *abunä* ↗Matewos), the doctrine of the C. is to be rejected due to arguments similar to those already known from the sources quoted above, but also because it was accepted by a Council which banned Dioscoros, the spiritual son of ↗Cyril of Alexandria and ↗Athanasius.

Mario da Abiy-Addi' (1956:66f.) asserted that the Ethiopian Church rejected the formulations of the C., but not its doctrine. The peculiarity of the Ethiopic christological terminology, in addition to its lack of precision, is that it does not treat "nature" as an abstract (as is the case in the Chalcedonian terminology), but rather as the concrete being (i.e. close to the Chalcedonian "person"). Thus it seems that the Ethiopian theologians fought only what they believed to be the C. position, a pure "Nestorianism" for them, and not the C. position itself.

The discussion, which followed the Amharic edition of Mario da Abiy-Addi's book, revealed reluctance towards the C., until recently common in the country (s. Tesfazghi Uqbit 1973:151, 155, quoting one of the Ethiopian critics of the book; s. Cowley 1970:37, quoting Ayyalew Tamru 1953:143).

The official position of the Church today is stated in a booklet by the Patriarchate of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (1996), in which the editors – the *abun* and the bishops – simply say that the "Church does not recognize and accept the councils which took place after the Council of Ephesus", without any further explanation. This, in view of the current ecumenical dialogue, may indicate a more open attitude towards a future agreement.

↗Christology; ↗Monophysitism; ↗Theology

Src.: YAQOB BEYENE (ed., tr.), *Giyorgis di Saglā, Il Libro del mistero* (*Maṣḥāfa mestir*), Lovanii 1990–93 (CSCO 515, 516 [SAe 89–90], 532, 533 [SAe 97, 98]); ENRICO CERULLI (ed., tr.), *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI–XVII*, II: *La Storia dei Quattro Concili ed altri opuscoli monofisiti*, Città del Vaticano 1960 (Studi e testi 204); 156f. (text) = 183f. (tr.); DombrChr fol. 37r, 102 (text) = 264 (tr.).

Lit.: AYYALEW TAMRU, **መች፡ ተለመደና፡ ከተኵላ፡ ዝምድና** (*Mäčə tälämmädänna kätäkʷəla zəmdənna*, 'When did we Become Relatives with the Wolf's Pack?'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.], 143; ROGER WENHAM COWLEY, "The Ethiopian Church and the Council of Chalcedon", *Sobornost* 6, 1, 1970, 33–38; GÉRARD GARITTE, "La version géorgienne de la vie de S. Cyriaque par Cyrille de Scytopolis", *Le Muséon* 75, 1962, 399–440; MARIO DA ABIY-ADDI' [AYELE TEKLE HAYMANOT], *La dottrina della Chiesa Etiopica dissidente sull'unione ipostatica*, Roma 1956 (OrChrA 147); Amh. tr.: ID., **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ስለክርስቶስ፡ ባሕርያት፡ አካላዊ፡ ተዋህዶ፡ የምታምነው፡ ትምህርት** (*Yäʾityopya betä krəstiyan səläkrəstos baḥrəyat akalawi täwaḥədo yämmətammənäw təmhərt*, 'About the Teaching of the Unity of Natures of Christ, which the Ethiopian Church Confesses'), Asmära 1951 A.M. [1959 A.D.]; PATRIARCHATE OF THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH (ed.), **የኢትዮጵያ፡ አርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋህዶ፡ ቤተክርስቲያን፡ እምነት፡ ሥርዓተ፡ አምልኮትና፡ የውጭ፡ ግንኙነት** (*Yäʾityopya ortodoks täwaḥədo betäkrəstiyan əmnät sərʿatä amləkotənna yäwəčč gənəññunnät*, 'The Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church: Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations'), Addis Abäba 1996, 128; WILLIAM HUGH CLIFFORD FREND, "Chalcedon, Council of", in: *CE* vol. 2, 512–15; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Fəkkare Haymanot or the faith of Abba Giyorgis Säglawi", *Le Muséon* 94, 1981, 235–58; YAQOB BEYENE, "La dottrina della Chiesa Etiopica e il 'Libro del Mistero' di Giyorgis di Saglä", *RSE* 33, 1989, 35–88; ALOIS GRILLMEIER – THERESIA HAINTHALER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche*, Band 2/4: *Die Kirche von Alexandrien mit Nubien und Äthiopien nach 451*, Freiburg 1990, 301–98; ALOIS GRILLMEIER – HEINRICH BACHT (eds.), *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 3 vols., Würzburg 1951–54; ENRICO CERULLI, "'Il Mistero della Trinità': manuale di teologia della Chiesa Etiopica monofisita", *OrChrP* 12, 1946, 47–129; VILAKUVEL CHERIAN SAMUEL, "Proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon and its Historical Problems: a Paper Written from a Critical Point of View", *Abba Salama* 1, 1970, 73–93; SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270*, Addis Ababa 1972; TESFAZGHI UQBIT, *Current Christological Positions of Ethiopian Orthodox Theologians*, Roma 1973 (OrChrA 196).

Witold Witakowski

Chambard, Roger

C. (b. 4 April 1904, Mâcon, Saône-et-Loire, d. 6 May 1982, Paris) was a French explorer and diplomat. He studied at the Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris, graduating in "Abyssinian", Eastern Arabic and Turkish under Marcel ↗Cohen (1925). C. was recruited by

R. Chambard with F. Azaïs, showing *waakaa* statues from Konso, courtesy of IES, Addis Abäba

the missionary Bernardin François ↗Azaïs, for archaeological surveys in southern Ethiopia, between 1921 and 1927. C. remained in Addis Abäba as a *drogman* ('interpreter'), the first step in a diplomatic career, which he completed as ambassador in South Korea.

Src.: FRANÇOIS AZAÏS – ROGER CHAMBARD, *Cinq Années de Recherches Archéologiques en Ethiopie. Province du Harar et Ethiopie méridionale*, Paris 1931; ID., "Folklore Oromo", *Revue d'Ethnographie* 6, 22, 1925.

Eloi Fiquet

Chédeville, Edouard

C. (b. 5 May 1905, Boisset les Prevanches, Normandy, d. 9 December 1996, Paris) was a French officer, social anthropologist and natural scientist. C. graduated at the military school of Saint Cyr (1924–26). He lived for several years in western Africa, Mauritania and Morocco, and held various occupations in ↗Djibouti; in 1938, he was governor of the district of ↗Ali Sabieh, in ↗Dikhil. He left the colony in 1943, but returned in 1953, to remain till 1980. These experiences turned him into the French expert in the ↗ᶜAfar language.

As he had to organize meharist squads in order to face the Italian incursions into French Somaliland, he saw the necessity for a better protection of the colony (creation of the post of Afambó in 1943). His efforts were annulled by the French-Ethiopian boundary agreement of 1954. As a Somali specialist, he drew up a *Recensement généalogique des Issas* in four volumes and later published articles on issues related to the ᶜAfar.

Src.: EDOUARD CHÉDEVILLE, *Recensement généalogique des Issas (1938–1943)*, 4 vols., mimeographed; ID., "Quelques faits de l'organisation sociale des 'Afar", *Africa* [London–Paris] 36, 1966, 173–96; ID., "Noms de parenté en afar-saho", *Comptes rendus du Groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* 6, 1951–54, 57–59; ID., "La formation des noms propres en Afar", *ibid.* 7, 1954–57, 37–43; EDOUARD CHÉDEVILLE – RENATO BAVAZZANO, "La végétation du T.F.A.I.", *Webbia* 26, 1972, 243–66, 267–364.

Didier Morin

Cheesman, Robert Ernest

C. (b. 18 October 1878, Westwell, Kent, d. 13 February 1962, Tunbridge Wells) was a diplomat, military and explorer. After serving in India and Mesopotamia (now Iraq) during World War I, C. was Private Secretary (1920–23) to Sir Percy Cox, High Commissioner to Iraq.

His association with Ethiopia began in 1925, when he joined the Sudan Political Service and received an appointment as Consul in northwest Ethiopia (1925–34), resident at Dangila. Apart from preventing elephant poachers from entering Sudan, C. worked for the Director of Intelligence. Whenever possible, he travelled through Ethiopia. Most of his exploration focused on the Blue Nile and Lake Ṭana. After retiring in 1934, he was made commander of the Order of the Star of Ethiopia and received the Royal Geographical Society's Patron's Medal (1936) for his Ethiopian explorations.

The outbreak of World War II prompted C. to rejoin the armed forces. During the 1940–42 period, he was Head of Ethiopian Section, Intelligence, Sudan Defence Force. In 1942, he became Oriental Counsellor in the British legation. In 1944 C. retired for the second time.

Src.: ROBERT ERNEST CHEESMAN, *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile*, London 1936.

Lit.: HAROLD A. MACMICHAEL, *Sudan Political Service 1899–1956*, Oxford n.d. [1956?].

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Chefneux, Léon

C. (b. 1853, Romania, d. 1927, Grasse, Alpes Martitimes) was a French businessman who participated in arms-trade in Ethiopia. He arrived in Ethiopia at the end of 1877 and associated himself with French traders, first with Arnoux, and later with Soleillet. Together with them, C. delivered arms to *nəguś* Mənilək's Šäwa. Later he continued to trade under his own responsibility, sometimes with associates, especially Alfred ↗Ilg.

C. was honest and efficient in his business activities; Mənilək hailed him as the only European in his entourage whom he could trust entirely. Consequently, he charged him several times with missions to France. Among the various issues he had to manage was the printing of the first Ethiopian stamps, the minting of the Mənilək thalers, the acquisition of a printing machine, fund raising, the receipt of the Italian indemnities for the battle of ᶜAdwa etc. Additionally, he was in charge of political missions aimed at the consolidation of French support for Ethiopian independence. C. was sincerely devoted to the Emperor and to Ethiopian independence, possibly even more than ↗Mondon Vidailhet, and certainly more than Ilg. Thus he held strong reservations about the French presence in ↗Djibouti. The Ethiopians recognized this attachment: whilst Ilg was called ↗*muse*, C. was

addressed as ↗*ato* ("*ato* Yaltäsämma"). In March 1897 Mənilək nominated him "Counsellor of the State".

Together with Ilg, C. founded the Imperial Company of the Ethiopian Railway in 1897 (Compagnie impériale des chemins de fer éthiopiens; later called Compagnie des chemins de fer franco-éthiopiens de Djibouti à Addis Abeba). Its aim was the construction of a railway between Djibouti and Addis Abäba. After having met immense difficulties, this was later realized. C. was engaged in many other projects until his definitive return to France in 1922.

Lit.: PrRosDic; ROSANNA VAN GELDER DE PINEDA, *Le chemin de fer de Djibouti à Addis Abeba*, Paris 1995, 108ff., 125ff., 207ff., 256ff., 283ff., 512ff.

Alain Rouaud

Chemin de fer franco-éthiopien

↗ Railways

Chiarini, Giovanni

C. (b. 1849, Chieti, d. 5 October 1879, Čala), was an Italian traveller. He was chosen to take part in the expedition organized by the Italian Geographic Society to the Equatorial Lakes. C. arrived in Šäwa in August 1876. The organizer of the expedition, Orazio ↗Antinori, was left at ↗Ləṭ Maräfiya due to health problems whilst in May 1878 C. moved on together with Antonio ↗Cecchi towards the south.

The two explorers reached the Limmu kingdom, encountering many obstacles due to the harshness of the area and the hostility of various Oromo leaders in south-west Ethiopia. In February 1879 they were forced to stop at the residence of the Queen of Geeraa, ↗Genne Gummiti, Abbaa Gomol's widow. Mistaken for Mənilək II's agents they were imprisoned. Exhausted and malaria-stricken, C. died there. His sad fate profoundly moved Italian public opinion and his figure, exalted by the nationalist press, played an important role in arousing Italian involvement in an agressive colonial policy.

Lit.: ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, 3 vols., Roma 1886–87; ENRICO DE LEONE, *Le prime ricerche di una colonia e l'esplorazione geografica, politica ed economica*, Roma 1955 (Ministero degli Affari Esteri, L'Italia in Africa, serie storica, *Etiopia-Mar Rosso*, vol. 2), s. index; FRANCESCO SURDICH, "Chiarini, Giovanni", in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 24, Roma 1980, 574–77; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli italiani in Africa Orientale*: *dall'Unità alla marcia su Roma*, Roma – Bari 1976, s. index.

Marco Lenci

Childhood

C. is generally defined as a period in human development between birth and ca. 14 years of age. Since Ethiopia has about 80 ethnic groups, the definitions and the labels given to people below 15 years vary greatly. For instance, in Amharic **ጨቅላ** (*čäqəla*), **ሕጻን** (*ḥəṣan*) and **ልጅ** (*ləǧ*) are used for infant (birth to about 2 weeks), baby (two weeks to 2 years) and child (2 to 14 years), respectively. In some Amhara communities, *ḥəṣan* generally refers to the age below 15 years. **ጉርምስና** (*gurməssənna*; for boys) and **ኮረዳነት** (*koräddannät*; for girls) are the concepts used for adolescence (about 15 to 18 years old). In Oromo, infancy and babyhood are *muč'ummaa* or *daaʾimummaa*, while C. is *iǧoollummaa*. In Təgrəñña, babyhood is **ሕጻንነት** (*ḥəṣanənnät*) and childhood is **ቍልዕንነት** (*qʷəlʿənnät*), 'small child' is **ሕንጢት** (*ḥənṭit*) or **ሕንጦ** (*ḥənṭo*). In Hadiyya the period until adolescence is *čilomeno* (early C.) and *osomeno* (late C.).

Most mothers breast-feed their children for over a year, particularly in rural areas. Children are fed milk (of cow, goat or camel), porridge, bread, *ənǧära,* cabbage, pea sauce, *aṭmit* (a kind of soup), meat and other foods deemed appropriate to their age. Children play various games and team-sports. Wrestling with each other, competing in throwing stones, sliding down the hill, spearing a given target, horse-racing, playing ↗*gäbäṭa*, ↗*gänna*, or football and volleyball, jumping rope and throwing beads into a marked hole, are some of the amusements and games for boys. Telling proverbs, singing, dancing and teasing each other are common recreational pastimes for children throughout the country. Analyses of common children's stories in Ethiopia show that aggression (bold pursuit of one's ends, social domination, power) and altruism (consideration for others, helping the weak) are their main themes.

Generally, Ethiopian families have a large number of children. The average fertility rate is 6.7 children per woman (CSA 1999). Out of the estimated 62 million people (in 1999) in Ethiopia, 44% are children below 15 years old. According to UNICEF (1999), the under-five-years mortality rate is 175 per 1,000 live births. The majority of Ethiopian children do not attend school regularly and assist their parents with farm-work and household chores. In general, most families, particularly the rural ones, tend to have several children and the preference is for boys. Having

more children means a larger labour force, support in old age and more power.

Sex role socialization starts early in life, with day-to-day activities, clothing and games etc. In many parts of the country, boys are taught to show aggression, bravery and courage. They are discouraged from showing love, affection, sorrow and jealousy. Girls are expected to show the latter feelings, including tears.

Chastisement of children and the application of corporal punishment are common. Some proverbs, such as (Amh.) **ከልጅ፡ አትጫወት፤ ይወጋሃል፡ በእንጨት** (*Käläğ attəčč̣awät, yəwägahal bä'ənčät*, 'Do not play with a child, he will poke you with a stick') and **የልጅ፡ ነገር፡ ሁለት፡ ፍሬ፤ አንዱ፡ ብስል፡ አንዱ፡ ጥሬ** (*Yäläğ nägär hulätt fəre, andu bəsəl andu ṭəre*, 'Child's ideas are two light seeds, one is raw and the other is cooked'; s. Dereje Gebre 1996), are expressions of the societies' view of children. Studies by Habtamu Wondimu (1979), Seleshi Zelleke (1998) and others show that the common parenting styles in Ethiopia (at least in the Amhara, Oromo, Təgrəñña, Gurage, Hadiyya and Wälaytta cultures) are both authoritarian (autocratic) and authoritative (democratic, reciprocal) depending on the specific families.

Many children are subjected to traditional practices such as ↗circumcision and scarification (↗Body ornamentation). In some parts of the country, girls between 13 to 15 years are married to older boys by arrangement between their respective parents (↗Marriage).

For many Ethiopians, C. is a period of both happiness and hard work and difficulties. Lack of adequate food and recreational activities, high expectations of parents, farm and household chores, and diseases are some of the difficulties faced in a child's life.

↗Age group systems; ↗Education

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1994; DEREJE GEBRE, "Proverbs on Children in Amharic, Oromo and Tigrigna", in: HABTAMU WONDIMU (ed.), *Research Papers on the Situation of Children and Adolescents in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1996, 175–98; MIO – MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (ed.), *Education Statistics, 1998/99*, Addis Ababa 1999; UNICEF (ed.), *The State of the World's Children, 1999*: *Education*, New York 1999.
Lit.: HABTAMU WONDIMU, "Child Rearing Practices in Bahir Dar and its Surroundings", *Admas* 1, 1, 1979, 7–19; FISSEHA WOLDEMICHAEL, *Psychology of Children's Growth and Development*, Debre Birhan 1997; SELESHI ZELLEKE, "An Exploratory Study of Parenting Styles among Four Ethnic Groups in Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Journal of Development Research* 20–22, 1998, 1–17; SEMIEN OMO CULTURE AND INFORMATION DEPARTMENT (ed.), **የጋብቻ፡ የልደትና፡ የለቅሶ፡ ባህል፡ በሰሜን፡ ኦሞ** (*Yägabbəčča yäləddätənna yäläqso bahəl bäsämen Omo*, 'The Traditional Customs of Marriage, Birth and Lamentation in North Omo [Region]'), Addis Abäba 1997.

Habtamu Wondimu

China, relations with

Ancient relations between China and the Horn

If Han vessels penetrated west beyond India, it could be that the mysterious western kingdom of "Huang Ji" found in Han-dynasty records indicates ↗Aksum as the most powerful state in the area in the early centuries A.D. As mentioned in Chinese sources, this kingdom lay well beyond India; a twelve-month journey was required. The usurper Wang Mang (1–6 A.D.) is recorded as having received a rhinoceros from its ruler, which seems to place "Huang Ji" (= Ag^{c}azi?) in Africa, rather than, for example, ↗Arabia, where Saba^{3} and Qataban were still important states. However, it may not necessarily have been Aksum; possibly the kingdom of Gäbäz (↗Adulis) was still independent at that time. Tortoise-shell and ivory were also products of "Huang Ji", and these are both named as Aksumite exports (through Adulis) by the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (1980:20f.).

A document that places Aksum and its ruler in the same world view with other states, including possibly C., comes from the prophet Mani (d. 276/77 A.D.), said to have described the classic pattern of the four kingdoms of the world as comprising the Persian and Roman empires, the kingdom of Aksum and another mysterious place called "Sileos". It has been conjectured that this refers to C., usually known as Seres, Sini or similar in ancient times.

Cosmas Indicopleustes (6th cent.) also includes the two places as extremes in his account of Sri Lankan trade, which reached "Tzinista" or C., on one hand, and the "Homerite country" (↗Ḥimyar) and Adulis, by now the chief port of Aksum, on the other.

Oddly, a Chinese version of the annals of the prophet Muḥammad, the *Tian Fung Zhi Sheng Shi Lu,* written by Liu Zhi between 1721 and 1724 and apparently based on the work of al-Kāzarūnī in Persian, includes some details about the ↗*naǧāšī,* a famous figure in Islam. This information is not found in other Muslim sources like Ibn Iṣḥāq or aṭ-Ṭabarī: a *naǧāšī* called Sayfu is mentioned, who acceded to the throne in ca. 577 A.D. and was a grandson of another "great

king". Sayfu's own grandson was the *naǧāšī* of Muḥammad's time.

In 751, a Chinese, Du Huan, was captured when Chinese and Muslim forces met at the Talas river in Central Asia. He was sent to "Molin", conjectured to have been ↗Meroë (though that state had long vanished), and left by sea from, presumably, Eritrea (cf. Snow 1988:4ff.; but cp. Smidt 2001). The region was a mountainous land of the blacks, who professed Christianity, Islam and the "Zemzem religion". In 762, Du Huan was able to return by sea to Canton. At this time, the Aksumite state had probably almost lost control over the sea coast, and ↗Dahlak, for example, was employed by the ᶜAbbāsid caliphs as a place of exile for dissidents.

Intermittent contact with East Africa, if not Ethiopia specifically, is attested under Kubilay Khan (13th cent.). This contact, even if often via middle-men, is richly attested by accounts of trade items like ivory, rhinoceros horn, tortoise-shell, ambergris and frankincense reaching C. This corresponds to coinage and Chinese pottery found in substantial quantities at East African sites from perhaps the 8th to the 14th cent. Song and Tang writers offer a certain amount of information about the peoples they heard about, or, more rarely, perhaps even encountered. These descriptions apply to the area south of Somalia. Products of C. were already reaching the region via Indian and Arab merchants since early times, especially ↗silk, which was used at the Ethiopian courts. Sharkfins from Massawa were also exported to C. (Pankhurst 1968:369, 379). Bruce, reporting on the international trade of ↗Dahlak before the 16th cent., mentions the export of tortoise-shell to C. by ↗Banyan traders.

The oldest known map showing Africa, a Chinese world map from 1389 A.D., measuring 17 m², painted on silk and originally carved into rock, already shows the Red Sea and vaguely depicts the Horn of Africa (Cao Wanru 1990).

The most spectacular contacts, that resulted in two giraffes and emissaries from Malindi in Beijing, under the Ming took place in 1414, when huge fleets led by the eunuch Zheng He voyaged as far as the Indian Ocean. Emissaries from ↗Mogadishu and ↗Brava went to C. Further fleets enlarged the contact, but the cost seems to have been too great and, after the Yung Lo reign, such voyages ceased. We have no record of any specific contact with Ethiopia, which in any case by this time was an inland state.

Src.: GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (ed., tr.), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* London 1980, 20f.; CHICH-LIEN LIU, *The Arabian Prophet: a Life of Mohammed from Chinese and Arabic Sources,* tr. by ISAAC MASON, Shanghai 1921, 35, 47, 102; WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS (ed., tr.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès. Topographie chrétienne,* 3 vols., Paris 1968–73 (Sources chrétiennes 141, 159, 197); BruNile; CAO WANRU, *Zhongguo Gu Dai Di Tu Ji* ('An Atlas of Ancient Maps in China'), 3 vols., Beijing 1990–97.

Lit.: HANS JACOB POLOTSKY, *Kephalaia*, with a contribution of HUGO IBSCHER, Stuttgart 1940, 188f.; SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270,* Addis Ababa 1972, 71, 84f.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Teofilo Indiano", *Studi classici e orientali* 33, 1983, 295–331; *ibid.* 34, 1984, 271–308, here 283, no. 30; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, "A Chinese Source for Aksumite History in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries AD", in: RODERICK GRIERSON (ed.), *Miscellanea Aethiopica: Essays in Honour of Richard Pankhurst*, forthcoming; WOLBERT SMIDT, "A Chinese in the Nubian and Abyssinian Kingdoms (8th Century). The Visit of Du Huan to Molin-guo and Laobosa", *Chroniques yéménites* 9, 2001, 17–28 (Lit.); PHILIP SNOW, *The Star Raft. China's Encounter with Africa,* Ithaca – New York 1988.

Stuart C. Munro–Hay

China's modern relations with Ethiopia

In the 19th cent. *aṣe* Mənilək II showed interest in C.'s technological advance, but without any further results (Greenfield 1965:125). The only direct contact during his reign was the unauthorized journey of his representative ↗ᶜAbdullāhi ᶜAlī Ṣādiq to Asia, who also visited Beijing.

When Ethiopia was about to become a member of the League of Nations in 1923, representative Zhu-Wei acted vigorously in favour of Ethiopia, underlining that the League should comprise the whole of humanity, not only states. However, when in the early 1930s imperial Japan occupied parts of C. and created the puppet-state of Manzhou Guo, *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I did not protest. But soon after, in the context of C.'s striving to preserve her independence, Ethiopia acquired some prominence in Chinese debates. When Ethiopia was occupied in 1935, the Shanghai press compared Italy to Japan and C. to Ethiopia, pointing to "the only difference", that Ethiopia fought for its independence, unlike "passive" C. During his preparations for attacking the Japanese in C., Mao Zedong used Ethiopia's fate to motivate his followers. Ethiopia's lack of a communist movement was said to be the major reason for her defeat, the guerilla resistence there, however, giving hope for her revival.

C.'s relations to Ethiopia were ambiguous. As long as Ethiopia was viewed as victimized by Europe, its standing was positive; but this sym-

Ḫaylä Śəllase I during his state visit to China, 1971, with Chairman Mao, courtesy of IES, Addis Abäba (detail)

pathy was reversed when Ethiopia was discovered to be "feudal" and "reactionary". A similar ambiguity is reflected in C.'s perception in Ethiopian literature; it was rather progressive reformers who tended to mention C. positively in their writings. ↗Gäbrä Ḫəywät Baykädañ gives C. as an example of an "ancient" country having understood the necessity of modernization if its independence was to be maintained. In ↗Abbe Gubäññaʼs work **መልክዓም፡ ሰይፈ፡ ነበልባል** (*Məlkəʿam säyfä näbälbal*, 'Mälkəʿam [the name of the main character], Sword-of-Flame', 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.]), C.'s reduced international role is given as an example for the unbalanced world order. The mutual sympathy, however, cannot hide the fact that each side was interested in the other only as an example.

The Peoples Republic of China was not recognized by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase, even though, following U.S. policy, he was decorated by Taipei (Republic of China). The state visit of Prime Minister Zhou Enlai to Asmära in February 1964 during his great tour in Africa was handled so discretely that the public was virtually unaware of it, in distinct contrast to all other countries visited, all of them already being in official diplomatic contact with C. Ḫaylä Śəllase I's promise of the diplomatic recognition of communist C. was not realized until later. Shortly after this visit, C. entered dramatically into the Ethiopian scene. Somalia was provided with weapons by C., these being used later in conflicts around the ↗Ogaden. Via Somalia, the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front established relations with C. in 1966, obtaining quick military aid, followed by training for dozens of their young leaders. Among the first were Isayyas Afäwärqi, later President of Eritrea, who arrived in C. in the midst of the Cultural Revolution in 1967. Mao's teachings on guerilla warfare and peasant-based social revolution proved highly influential for the emerging leaders.

In 1970 C. finally was recognized by Ethiopia in a new, pragmatic move by the West towards communist C. This was soon followed by a state visit of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I to Beijing in October 1971. Even if C., as a consequence, at once stopped its aid to the rebels, this had already had its effect on the armed movements. No material aid was to be expected any more, but ideological moves within the Chinese leadership seem still to have had some influence on the Eritrean leaders, including on the relatively recent decision for economic liberalization.

Since the 1970s C. has awarded generous credits to Ethiopia, which were mainly used for infrastructure projects (for roads, rural electrification, irrigation projects). Ethiopia, like the independent Eritrea, today enjoys a favourable economic relationship with C. Some interest on the part of Chinese scholars of the Association of African Studies at the University of Nanjing has developed since the 1980s, among other factors inspired by 1960s Chinese translations of Ethiopian novels (↗Arʾaya).

Src.: FRANÇOIS JULIEN PIERRE-ALYPE, *L'Empire d'Éthiopie dans la Société des Nations*, Paris 1923, 25; *World Knowledge* 2, Shanghai, 1 May 1935, 4; CHOU EN-LAI, *Peking Review* 6, Peking, 7 February 1964; MAO ZEDONG, "Refutation of the Theory of National Subjugation", in: ID., *Selected Works*, Peking 1967, 127.

Lit.: PHILIP SNOW, *The Star Raft*, New York 1988, 65ff. (67 ill.), 113, 207; PrRosDic; KilHDic 136; TOKASI KANESAKI, "From the Italo-Ethiopian Conflict to the North China Issue", *Gaiko Jiho* 76, 4, 35–51; M.P. LEE, *The Geneva Treatment of the Manchurian and Abyssinian Crises*, Ph.D. thesis, London 1946; SHI XIAO HUI, "Yu Peiwen Chu Shi Aisai'ebiya" ('Yu Peiwen Ambassador to Ethiopia'), in: *Dang Dai Shi Jie Wai Jiao Sheng Ya* ('Diplomatic Careers of Contemporary Chinese Ambassadors'), vol. 6, Beijing, January 1999; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia*: *a New Political History*, London 1965, 125, 155; WEI LIANG-TSAI, *Peking versus Taipei in Africa, 1960–1978*, Taipei 1982; ALABA OGUNSANWO, *China's Policy in Africa, 1958–71*, Cambridge 1974; BRUCE D. LARKIN, *China and Africa, 1949–1970*, Berkeley 1971; "Incontri a Pekino fra S.M. l'Imperatore e Mao Tse Tung", *Sestante* 7, 1/2, Gennaio –

Dicembre 1971, 23–25; VOLKER MATTHIES, *Das "Horn von Afrika" in den internationalen Beziehungen. Internationale Aspekte eines Regionalkonfliktes in der Dritten Welt*, München 1976, 144–51; PATRICK GILKES, "Sales of Arms to Africa", *Annuaire de l'Afrique et du Moyen Orient: les armées et la défense*, Paris 1980.

Wolbert Smidt

Chiovenda, Emilio

C. (b. 18 May 1871, Rome, d. 19 February 1941, Bologna) was an Italian botanist and pioneer in the study of the flora of Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia. He graduated from the Università di Roma in 1896, where he became assistant curator of the herbarium in 1897. He was made curator of the new Erbario e Museo Coloniale in Rome (1904) and Reader in Botany at the Università di Roma (1909). In the same year he made a botanical field trip through Eritrea and Təgray to Gondär and Lake Ṭana, together with the Italian commercial envoy G. Ostini. In 1914 he moved with the botanical collections from Rome to Florence, where they were renamed as the Erbario Coloniale. From 1916 to 1929 C. was professor of botany at the University of Catania, from 1929 to 1935 at the University of Modena and from 1935 at the University of Bologna. C. produced a large number of books and papers on the flora of Eritrea, Italian Somalia and Ethiopia, as well as books and scientific papers on cultivated and medicinal plants. He described more than 1,000 plant species from these countries. However, quite a few species turned out to have been described earlier by others, from other parts of Africa.

Src.: *International Symposium on the Succulent Plants of Eastern Africa*: *History, Botanical Exploration and Research, in Memory of Emilio Chiovenda*, Verbania, 20–22 September 2002; EMILIO CHIOVENDA, *Flora Somala*, 3 vols., Roma 1929, 32, 36; ID., "La culla del cocco", *Webbia* 5, 1921, 199–294, 359–449; ID., *Contributo alla conoscenza della Flora Somala Transjubense. Piante raccolte dal Dr. Pompeo Gorini nel 1925*, Firenze 1926; ID., [255 articles in:] *Enciclopedia italiana di science, lettere ed arti*, Milano – Roma 1929–39.

Ib Friis

Cholera ↗ Diseases

Christian Topography ↗ Cosmas Indicopleustes

Christianity

C., one of the world religions, is represented in the region of the historical ↗Orbis Aethiopicus through a number of traditions. In the northern part of the Ethiopian highlands Orthodox C. was adopted from the Mediterranean world and soon started to play a crucial role in the history of vast regions. It spread over the areas of contemporary Ethiopia and Eritrea, developing and counteracting with other religious traditions, including other Christian denominations, which were introduced later (↗Catholicism, ↗Protestantism etc.), ↗Islam and traditional religions. The introduction of C. entailed deep changes in the nature of the major state tradition existing in the Horn of Africa; besides, it had enormous cultural significance, since it gave the region a link to the rich culture of other Christian communities.

Historically, C. remained the official religion of both the antique state of ↗Aksum and its successor, the Ethiopian monarchy till 1974. Exact statistics on the adepts of Ethiopian C. in the past are missing. The population of the core regions of the monarchy was predominantly Christian, but always included considerable non-Christian communities and was encompassed by non-Christian neighbouring states. In the 1960s the population of the Ethiopian Empire was officially estimated as being to two thirds Orthodox Christian (most of them in the north and centre of the country). In the subsequent years the number of Muslims and Christians of non-Orthodox denominations has been increasingly growing; for the year 2002, according to different sources, the Orthodox Christians are estimated to compose from 35 % to ca. 50 % and Muslims from one third to 45–50 % of the entire population.

History of Christianity

Ethiopia embraced C. comparatively early, around 340 A.D. Prior to this, there may well have been Christian (Greek, Roman, Egyptian etc.) merchants in certain places, such as ↗Adulis or Aksum, and even some local converts. However, by and large Aksum's former religion seems to have revolved around deities such as ↗ᶜAstär, ↗Bəḥer, ↗Mədr and ↗Mäḥräm, attested from the royal inscriptions of ↗ᶜEzana and other Aksumite kings.

The Latin record of the contemporary historian ↗Rufinus of Aquilea and modern research, reveal King ᶜEzana of Aksum as the first king to adopt the new religion. Rufinus does not actually state that the King was converted, nor does he name him, nor even the country, beyond the term "India", often used for Ethiopia over the

centuries. However, evidence from ʿEzana's coins and inscriptions makes the change of religion clear, the cross and Christian terminology succeeding to pre-Christian elements. On the other hand, by the traditional Gəʿəz sources the conversion of the country is attributed to two brother-kings called ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa (some supplying different dates, but many conforming to 333 A.M. [340 A.D.]), who are said to have built the first church in the country, ↗Aksum Ṣəyon.

The instrument of the conversion, as recognized by both Rufinus and the traditional Ethiopian historians, was Frumentius (called later *abunä* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərḥan). Frumentius was ordained and consecrated as first "Bishop of India" by Patriarch ↗Athanasius of Alexandria. Confirmation of this story, and of its Ethiopian setting, is found ca. 356 with the citation of Frumentius's name and his title "Bishop of the Aksumites" in a note in Athanasius's *Apologia ad Constantium Imperatorem*, in which he cites in full a letter from Constantine II, the Emperor of the ↗Byzantine Empire. The letter is addressed to "Aizana and Sazana", the first evidently ʿEzana, the second known from two of ʿEzana's inscriptions to have been his brother. The Emperor demands that Bishop Frumentius be sent to Alexandria for examination by the (Arian) archbishop there, George of Cappadocia, replacing the deposed Athanasius. He makes it quite clear that Aksum is concerned: "If Athanasius has the temerity to come to Aksum, he will only corrupt you with his abominable and impious discourses." Frumentius's consecration by the Alexandrian head of the ↗Coptic Church founded a link, later incorporated into Canon law, whereby the Metropolitan of Ethiopia, the sole bishop in the country with the right to ordain priests and consecrate churches, was always a monk sent from ↗Egypt.

C. in Ethiopia therefore came "from the top", the king of Aksum being the key convert. We may presume that from this stemmed a gradual conversion of the court and other elements throughout the country, since archaeology soon shows the cross form occurring on common-use objects such as pottery, as well as on the official ↗coinage. Churches of Aksumite date — basilical in form, not round as were many later churches in Ethiopia — have been excavated in a number of places, including Aksum, Adulis and ↗Mäṭära.

Usually it is claimed that in the late 5th or early 6th cent., a new impetus was given to C. by the arrival of the ↗Nine Saints, all supposedly foreigners from the Roman Empire, who established themselves in the Aksumite hinterland. Their hermitages became monastic centres, from which C. was propagated. They are said to have learned the vernacular, and to have begun translating the ↗Bible. According to their hagiographies, two were pupils of the great monastic figure ↗Pachomius, who died in 348 A.D.; three were of royal Roman birth, one of them a Roman emperor who had abdicated. They are reported to have come to Ethiopia in the reign of ↗ƎllätʿAmida and to have been active through the reigns of a number of other kings, Tazena, Kaleb (r. in the 520s), his son ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl, Saḥəl etc.

Trying to impose a logical scenario on these traditions, modern historians have suggested that the missionaries had fled from persecution in the empire after the Council of ↗Chalcedon in 451, which had condemned what was to be called the Monophysite interpretation of Christ's nature, followed by much of the population of the Roman/Byzantine empire, including Egypt and Syria (↗Monophysitism). However, even if the schema is more or less correct, none of these missionaries is known from any other source than the hagiographies written about them about a thousand years later. Even although the veneration of the Nine Saints might go back to an earlier period, we lack any concrete proof about the development of monasticism in Aksum, though from the Egyptian example it may have spread in the kingdom.

From the coinage of the Aksumite kings and from archaeological evidence (excavated churches and Christian items) we have firm indications that C. flourished with royal support in Aksum from the 4th cent. Obviously, there is no sign of any relapse into the worship of the former deities. The existence of biblical translation into Gəʿəz is evident from the citations from the Bible in certain Gəʿəz inscriptions (the researches also confirm the existence of the Aksumite period in the history of Ethiopian Gəʿəz ↗literature). Many rulers placed emphatically Christian slogans on their coins: "By this Cross he shall conquer", "By the Grace of God" etc. Even though the area where the C. communities were established might have been initially limited to the biggest political centres of the state (first of all the city of Aksum itself), the new faith was progressing and reached as far as the coastal areas of the

Red Sea on the one side, and such regions as Wag and Lasta on the other side. The influence of C. was felt also in more remote areas, first of all around the military outposts of the Aksumites and along the trade routes.

A clear manifestation of the role of C. as state religion is the crusade which King Kaleb of Aksum is reported to have launched against the Jewish ruler of the Yemen ↗Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar, after persecution of Christians in ↗Nağrān. This was a great event in the history of C. in the Middle East and was written about enthusiastically by contemporary Syrian and other ecclesiastics (e.g., ↗Simeon of Beth Arsham). After the conquest of the Yemen, the recommendations of Kaleb's bishop, Euprepius, concerning the treatment of apostates are recorded in the ↗*Book of the Himyarites*.

Later, records from the history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria attest to the sending of Egyptian monks as metropolitans of Ethiopia, all of them Monophysites deriving from the Coptic Church. Although at first under Frumentius we naturally assume that the Church followed the Orthodox belief of the Roman Empire, rejecting with Athanasius the heresy of ↗Arius, by the end of the 5th cent. the matter is more equivocal. There is a record that a certain Thomas was sent as bishop to "the land of Kusim in Abyssinia" around 480 A.D. But it is not clear who consecrated him, the Monophysite Patriarch Peter III (Mongos), or the diophysite or melkite Timothy (Salofakialos). The same uncertainty continues later in the reign of Kaleb, though it seems likely from the tone of the Syrian records that Euprepius was a Monophysite, and probably his successor John Paramonarius was, too. It seems, therefore, more probable that Ethiopia followed the Monophysite trend from Egypt, though as time went on the Ethiopian Church was also to develop its own particularities. In later times, similar to the Coptic Church, the Ethiopian Orthodoxy was distinguished by strong rejection of the ↗Christology, adopted at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, and by a salient "anti-Chalcedonian" ideology.

The system of using only Egyptian metropolitan bishops caused many problems after the conquest of Egypt by the Muslims in 640 A.D., since the kings of Ethiopia then had to negotiate with the Egyptian rulers to gain permission for the Patriarch of Alexandria to send a bishop, a procedure both expensive and humiliating. Besides, this procedure could have lasted years and during this time the bishopric see remained vacant; in this situation, the Ethiopian C. faced a real danger of decline. Nevertheless, this dependency continued until the mid-20th cent., when finally, after intense diplomatic efforts by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I, the first native Ethiopian patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church was consecrated (*abunä* ↗Basəlyos).

The development of the Christian tradition was marked by the fact that the metropolitans, when they reached Ethiopia, were usually not familiar with the local circumstances and could not speak the local language (though there were rare exceptions). In later times at least — and there must have been something similar from Aksumite times onwards, too — there was a local hierarchy headed by Ethiopian ecclesiastics, such as the ↗*əṗṗäge* and the ↗*ʿaqqabe säʿat*, that maintained the church, apart from the essential elements of ordinations and consecrations of ↗*tabot*, which the metropolitan alone could fulfil.

The earliest record of a "Bishop of Ḥabaša" in the patriarchal histories concerns Metropolitan ↗Yoḥannəs, who lived during the patriarchates of James (819–31) and his successor Joseph (to 849). Under Patriarch Cosmas III (923–34), Metropolitan Ṗeṭros suffered deposition because he selected, by the late king's wish, the younger son of the king as his successor. The bad treatment of Ṗeṭros led to a rupture with Alexandria, where Cosmas refused to consecrate a successor to Ṗeṭros, now dead in exile. Meanwhile, the country suffered a major disaster. It is recorded that a letter from a king of Ethiopia, sent via King George II of ↗Nubia, reached Patriarch Philotheus (979–1003). It told of the terrible distress of the kingdom after an attack by a queen of the "Banī l-Ḥamwīya" (↗Ǝsato) and how, as punishment for the treatment of the former bishop, several patriarchs had ignored Ethiopia. C. was in great peril for lack of priests and the ruin of churches. A certain ↗Danəʾel was sent as metropolitan to Ethiopia, and the Church recovered.

In the late 11th cent., Bishop ↗Säwiros wrote to his patriarch asking him to support his efforts to condemn "Old Testament practices" among Ethiopian Christians and the taking of more than one wife, illustrating that the Ethiopian Church began to follow its separate way early, even while maintaining the link with Egypt. The attempts to shake off the Alexandrian influence continued also in later times.

After the fall of Aksum, the establishment of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty, of presumably ↗Agäw origin, brought dramatic political changes, but did not produce a break in the religious tradition. C. retained its position as the official religion, even though major religious centres, represented now by the famous rock-hewn churches of ↗Lalibäla, were established in Wag and Lasta (where C. had been adopted much earlier, in the Aksumite period). Among the Zagʷe rulers, we find a number of kings, and one queen, who were later recognized as ↗saints and whose hagiographies, written several centuries later, have come down to us. *Aṣe* ↗Lalibäla is particularly well known, since an incident in his reign, concerning the appointment and eventual deposition of Metropolitan ↗Michael, is reported in detail in the patriarchal history. This is the only time that a foreign source names a Zagʷe king and offers some details about him and his religious policy.

After the restoration of the ↗Solomonic dynasty by *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak about 1270, the history of C. in Ethiopia entered a new, active phase. A letter of *aṣe* ↗Yəgbaʾ Ṣəyon, preserved in the Egyptian records, was sent by the king to the Ethiopian monks in Jerusalem: It seems to be the earliest actual proof of the existence of this Ethiopian monastery at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (↗Dayr as-Sulṭān).

Until that period, C. was confined, as far as can be estimated, to ↗Təgray, parts of ↗Eritrea, and the Agäw region. Under the powerful Solomonic emperors, who gave their patronage to the Orthodox Church, C. began to spread southwards into ↗Goğğam, Amhara and ↗Šäwa and other southern regions. The monastic movement, preserving spiritual relationship to the ancient monasteries of northern Ethiopia (especially ↗Däbrä Damo), flourished in the late Zagʷe times under influential abbots like ↗Iyasus Moʾa, but it obtained a new revival during the reign of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I. This Emperor also restored a stable connection to Alexandria; the Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob, who arrived in 1337, appears to have been an extraordinary active figure. In ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's time, he encouraged efforts to reform the Ethiopian Church internally, as well as to mobilize a monastic drive to evangelize new areas. Ethiopian monks, following the spread of the political power with the conquests of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon and his successors, and not seldom enjoying their support, moved into newly conquered areas and converted the local populations, spreading C. deep into Šäwa, Goğğam, Bägemdər etc. Numerous churches and especially monasteries became active promoters of the Christian faith and culture among the local people.

According to many testimonies in the Ethiopian sources, it is clear that, since Aksumite times, the acceptance of C. was often bitterly opposed, especially by members of the local religious and political elites. At the same time, in medieval Ethiopia the ↗conversion to C. could imply different strategies and stages; e.g., local political leaders were attracted to C. by the might of the emperors; they were often the first to accept C., since in this case they could retain their authority, even as vassals of the Christian kings, and, further, had chances to be incorporated into the political and cultural life of the emperor's court. As to the common converts, they did not have immediately to give up all the previous religious beliefs and customs. At the same time, the conversion to other (monotheistic) religions, first of all Islam, was easily done in case of emergency. Retention of non-Christian and magical practices (by both believers and clergy) contributed much to religious ↗syncretism, which in the case of Ethiopia was aggravated by some geographical as well as political factors. After all, one has to stress that religious conformity, being the dream of some emperors, could never be achieved in Ethiopia; the attempts of rulers, like *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, to purify the Christian tradition and to preserve unity within the Orthodox Church had only partial success.

In the course of the time, different aspects of Christian dogma became sources of deep disagreement among the Ethiopian kings, monks and metropolitans, such as those concerning the celebration of the Saturday ↗Sabbath, prostration before images of the Virgin and before the king, or recognition of royal interference in church matters. However, the kings remained firmly at the head of the local church and some made concessions to the dissident monks' demands, despite the opposition of their Egyptian bishops. The two main leaders of monastic dissent in medieval times were ↗Ewosṭatewos in the 14th cent. and ↗Ǝsṭifanos in the mid-15th cent. The Ewosṭatian movement was eventually granted license to observe both Sabbaths (Saturday and Sunday) as they wished, while the Stephanite movement died away under the persecution of Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob.

At least from the 14th cent. onwards, another aspect of Ethiopian C. – veneration of local saints – became visible. Some of the "universal" Christian saints must have been venerated in Aksum from the very beginning of C. In the Solomonic period there appeared a plethora of Ethiopian saints (mostly monastic leaders), honoured locally, and their number kept growing during the next four centuries. The Ethiopian cult of saints became an important promoter of C. The veneration of some of them, like *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot, Ewosṭatewos, ↗Samuʾel of Waldəbba etc., spread far beyond the regions of their own sanctuaries and, together with cults of some "universal" saints, helped to create a common religious base for the ethnically and economically heterogeneous population.

The adoption of the Solomonic identity seems to have led to an emphasis on many Old-Testament identifications in Ethiopian C. After the story developed in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (the 14th cent.), which became the "national saga" of the Ethiopians and provided the ideology and legitimization for the rulers of the Solomonic dynasty, the kings of Ethiopia were regarded as direct descendants of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (↗Makəddа), through their son ∃bnä Ḥakim (↗Mənilək I) and the priests and certain office-holders were ween to be descended from the eldest sons of Solomon's officials (the people of Ethiopia thus credited themselves as being the people of a "new Israel"). The ↗Ark of the Covenant, from Solomon's Temple, was supposed to have left Israel of its own volition and come to Ethiopia with ∃bnä Ḥakim to reside in Aksum. It is symbolically replicated in every *tabot*, the consecrated altar-tablet found in every church in Ethiopia. The layout of the typical round churches of Ethiopia has been likened to the constituent parts of the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, with its outer court, first chamber and Holy of Holies. Later, the symbolics of the circular ↗church buildings was enhanced by purely Christian associations (↗*Śərʿatä betä krəstyan*).

At the same time, claims were made to assert the antiquity of C. in Ethiopia by interpreting references to "Ethiopia" or "Kush" in the Bible (actually referring to ↗Meroë), as denoting the Solomonid realm. Thus, the eunuch of Queen ↗Candace, whose conversion by Apostle ↗Philip is mentioned in Acts 8, was claimed as an early Ethiopian convert long before Frumentius.

On the eve of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's ("Grañ") invasion (first quarter of the 16th cent.), C. remained prevalent in the core areas of the Ethiopian monarchy. With the territorial expansion of C. – through conquest, mission and migration – since the 14th cent., it extended to Bogos (↗Bilin), eastern Goğğam, some parts of Bägemdər (Wägära, Dämbəya) and central Šäwa; in the south, C. was present in the territories of previously Muslim principalities (Ifat, Däwaro, Šarḫa etc.), in Fäṭägar, ∃ndägäbṭän, Damot, ∃nnarya, Bale, Hadiyya as far as the Gamo country (cp. ↗Bərbər Maryam); in the west, the outposts of C. lay behind the Awaš river (cp. ↗Däbrä Asabot). The success of the evangelization was limited, due to the fact that the aforementioned regions, being vassals of the Ethiopian kings, were usually only loosely incorporated into the Empire and, consequently, the possibility to establish the hierarchy of the Orthodox Church there was limited.

Ethiopian C. suffered two major shocks in the 16th and 17th cent. First, from the 1530s, the Muslim irruptions under Grañ resulted in the conquest of many regions and the conversion of many Christians. The record of the conquest, both in the Ethiopian chronicles and the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, emphasizes the destruction of the churches and the killing of monks, but both sources reveal that conversion to Islam was often very much on the surface, out of fear. Many apostates reconverted when the situation changed. But the physical destruction was enormous. Many of the greatest churches of the land, such as ↗Mäkanä Śəllase, ↗Däbrä Bərḥan, ↗Däbrä Ḥayq and Aksum Ṣəyon, were destroyed, together with countless books, accompanied by the deaths of many ecclesiastics. After Grañ's death, the final victory went to the Christian side; but soon very large areas of Ethiopia and the Harari sultanate were overrun when the ↗Oromo people, moving north, penetrated Bale and other provinces, putting a halt to any appreciable expansion of C. further south for some time. This migration changed progressively the ethnic map of Ethiopia. The separation of the southern vassal provinces from the centre of the Empire was both political and religious; in some of them the Christian tradition ceased to exist. A number of ethnic groups originating in the Christian kingdom (as former vassals or having migrated from it) kept a Christian identity and elements of the Christian culture, even if they

were practically excluded from the Orthodox Christian congregation. These Christians from Bogos (called *kostan* in Bilin), Käfa (called there *amaaro* or *kriitino*), Gurageland (like Muḫər and Ǝndägäñ, who claim to have embraced C. before the 16th cent.), from Gamo, Ǝnnarya (called *hinnaro*) only in the 19th cent. again got in touch with the Christian Church. Some of them in the South more easily integrated into the Orthodox Church during *aṣe* Mənilək II's expansion, others converted rather to Catholicism (like many Bilin in the north or the Anfillo in the south-west).

Roman Catholicism was also to have its part to play in the history of Ethiopian C. After the fall of Grañ, the Portuguese, who had sent their first embassy in 1520, despatched a number of ↗Jesuits to the country under *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos and his successors. This was to pose an even more profound danger to Ethiopian Orthodoxy, which, even if somewhat altered by local features, still represented the official Church. Gälawdewos composed his so-called *Confessio* in response to Jesuit accusations of traits of ↗Judaism in Ethiopian C. (circumcision, dietary laws etc.), attributing them to ancient custom and not to a desire to follow Old-Testament beliefs. He refused to change his religion, but he nevertheless permitted the Jesuits to remain in their residence at ↗Fəremona. There was even no ban on the sending of priests to minister to the Portuguese who had remained in the country. As a result, under the care of the Jesuit Pedro ↗Paez, further efforts to convert the rulers were made.

Two emperors, ↗Zädəngəl and ↗Susənyos, impressed by Paez and the Jesuits, converted to Roman Catholicism, together with a certain number of their subjects, seeking an alternative for Orthodoxy as the state religion. Portuguese-style churches were built in several places near Lake Ṭana and in Goğğam. But, as attempts were made to suppress Ethiopian religious practices (e.g., veneration of the relics of local saints), to introduce new ones and to impose Catholicism on the local nobility and their subjects, the answer was revolt and internal bloodshed. Zädəngəl was killed in battle. *Aṣe* Susənyos, whose people protested by rebellion against the strict changes and revisions commanded by the Catholic patriarch, ↗Mendes, finally had to restore the "Alexandrian faith" by proclamation. With the accession of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, the Jesuits were either expelled or slain. The new Emperor is said to have written to his Muslim neighbours, asking them to kill any foreign missionaries who tried to enter the country.

A new aspect of Ethiopian C. can now be observed. Intensely parochial, with a great fear, after the Jesuit interlude, of any overseas connections maintained by the emperors, the monks and clergymen indulged in more and more turbulent religious disputes. The main issue was the interpretation and understanding of the official Alexandrine doctrine. The disputes were initiated by polemics with the Jesuits and doubtlessly stimulated by the need to search more deeply into theological concepts, but they also found fruitful soil in Ethiopian religious thought.

The controversies led the chronicler of ↗Yoḥannəs I to remark that "the devil excited many troubles among the monks". With the foundation of ↗Gondär as a more permanent base for the emperors of the ↗Gondärine kingdom and the installation of the Šäwan ↗Däbrä Libanos community and the *əčč̣äge* at ↗Azäzo Täklä Haymanot nearby, the region around lake Ṭana became the religious centre of the state. At the same time, it was easy for the participants of different parties to present themselves in large numbers at Gondär, Aringo or Yəbaba to protest at the decisions of synods on matters concerning the nature of Christ, or the content of royal decrees supporting one or the other side in the controversy.

The religious controversies manifested the rise of regionalism and coincided with the decline of the Gondärine kingdom; the situation was exacerbated by the absence of the metropolitans. Under *aṣe* Yoḥannəs I and especially Iyasu I one party was represented by the Ewosṭateans from Goğğam ("Unctionists", with their centre at ↗Däbrä Wärq monastery), who promoted the so-called ↗*Qəbat* doctrine. In opposition to them was the Orthodox Däbrä Libanos party of the "Unionists" (↗*Täwaḥədo*), led by the *əčč̣äge*. The theologians of the "house of Täklä Haymanot" of Däbrä Libanos held also that Christ became son of God by the grace of the Holy Spirit (↗*Yäṣägga ləğ*) and elaborated the doctrine of the "three births" (↗*Śost lədät*). The clerics of Təgray particularly favoured the doctrine of ↗*karra* ('knife'), opposing the *śost lədät*, "cutting away" the third birth (↗*Hulätt lədät*).

Arguments concerning the unction or anointment of Christ were discussed at many church councils, but the doctrinal unity of the Ethiopian Orthodoxy could not be restored for more than

two centuries. At the end of Yoḥannəs's reign, a synod was held that centred on a debate between *abba* ↗Niqoläwos and *abba* ↗Akälä Krəstos, to "prove that it was by his union with the Word that the body [of Jesus] became a precious substance (*baḥrəy*)". In Iyasu's reign the monks of the Goğğam monasteries were found to be schismatic in their opinions on matters concerning the Trinity, the union of the natures of Christ, and the unction. Theological disputes continued under *aṣe* ↗Tewoflos, who had issued a decree in favour of the Ewosṭatean view of the unction of the Holy Spirit. His successor ↗Dawit III continued this policy, but in the reign of Iyasu II, disputes about the unction of Christ are still noted in the chronicles. In one case, two ecclesiastics (*abba* Yabbo Barya and *abba* Wärq) brought a letter, apparently from the Egyptian patriarch, concerning the matter, but also this attempt to use the highest ecclesiastical authority to set up the controversy was futile.

In 1701 *aṣe* Iyasu I, writing to Louis XIV of France, declared that "there has never been in our family any faith but one, that of the baptism in Jesus Christ". However, due to the controversies, the apparent weakness of the authority of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the involvement of the ecclesiastic in secular politics (commonly seen as general decline of the moral), the prestige and attractiveness of the Orthodox C. was reduced.

During the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* the situation was aggravated by the gradual spread of Islam, especially from ↗Wällo, and, later, the competetition from the side of the permanent Catholic (marked by the arrival of Giustino de ↗Jacobis in 1839) and Protestant (first in the 1830s–40s, then since 1855; s. ↗Gobat; ↗Krapf; ↗Flad) missions. Still, during this time the idea of any other state religion than Orthodox C. was totally unacceptable: the rulers of the ↗Yägğu dynasty, exercising control over Gondär and adjacent areas, were careful to show at least their superficial affiliation to Orthodox C.

Even though the attempt of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II to unify the Church was unsuccessful, the Orthodox C. was destined to revive as the foundation of modern Ethiopian nationalism, especially during the next period, as the very existence of Ethiopia as an independent country was under question. Religious unification was the central point in the politics of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV (↗Boru Meda); firmly exercised, the expansion of C. into the southern regions accompanied the foundation of modern Ethiopia by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. The idea of promoting Islam was rejected with the deposition of *ləğ* ↗Iyasu, after a short reign. Finally, Orthodox C. became the foundation of the Imperial government of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. Orthodox C. and the Orthodox Church were the symbols of national unity and patriotism during the struggle against the Italians and in the first years of post-war consolidation. Later, however, Ḫaylä Śəllase's deep personal devotion to the Christian faith and firm support for the Orthodox Church were combined with a clear secular tendency in state matters, as well as with the sober understanding that Islam, confessed by a large part of Ethiopians, needed to be recognized and accomodated by the state.

Src.: EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, "Historia Ecclesiastica" [tr. by RUFINUS TYRANNUS OF AGUILEIA], in: JACQUES-PAUL MIGNE (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 21, Paris 1844, Caput IX, here cols. 478f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Documenta ad illustrandam historiam. Liber Axumae*, Parisiis — Lipsiae 1909–10 (CSCO 54, 58 [SAe 24, 27]); ID., "L'evangelo d'oro di Dabra Libānos", *RRALm* ser. 5, 10, 1901, 177–219; ATHANASIUS [OF ALEXANDRIA], "Apologia ad Constantium imperatorem", in: JACQUES-PAUL MIGNE (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 25, Paris 1884, col. 595–642, here 632, 636f.; BassHist; BassÉt; JOB LUDOLF, *Confessio Fidei Claudii Regis Aethiopiae*, ed. by JOHANN MICHAEL WANSLEBEN, London 1661; GuiIohan; Getatchew Haile, "The Homily in Honour of St. Frumentius Bishop of Axum (EMML[1] 1763 ff. 84[v]-86[r])", *Analecta Bollandiana* 97, 1979, 309–18.

Lit.: EIKE HABERLAND, *Altes Christentum in Süd-Äthiopien: eine vergessene Missionsepoche*, Wiesbaden 1976 (Frankfurter historische Vorträge, Heft 2); TadTChurch; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Heiligen der äthiopischen Erde*, Erlangen 1998 (Oikonomia 37); LINO LOZZA, "La confessione di Claudio, re d'Etiopia (1540–1559)", *RSE* 5, 1946, 67–78; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *Aksum. An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity*, Edinburgh 1991; ID., *Ethiopia and Alexandria: the Metropolitan Episcopacy of Ethiopia*, Warszawa – Wiesbaden 1997 (Bibliotheca nubica et aethiopica 5); HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, ***TO ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΙC ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΙC ΕΡΓΟΝ ΘΕΙΟΝ***. *Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum*, Bonn 1994; PHILIP CARAMAN, *The Lost Empire. The Story of the Jesuits in Ethiopia 1555–1634*, London 1985; KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN-PEDERSEN, *Les Éthiopiens*, Turnhout 1990.

Stuart Munro-Hay

Christianity in the Ethiopian society

Since the time the Christian faith was received by the Empire of Aksum and during its existence as the official religion of the country until 1974, a kind of reciprocal osmosis took place between C. and the culture of the region. The lives of the majority of the inhabitants of the country were and often still are marked by the Christian religion. Besides, Ethiopian C. has taken its own form,

which at first glance distinguishes it from other Christian cultures. Nevertheless, many of the characteristics which mark the religious traditions of Ethiopia were common to all Christians of the East, before the majority of these found themselves reduced to a minority role in the midst of countries which had become predominantly Muslim. Rather than speaking of Ethiopian C. as an isolated phenomenon, it is useful, therefore, to show why Ethiopia can be called a living witness of practices which were once widespread. Ethiopian civilization received them, assimilated them and preserved them, right up to the present day, sometimes adding its own features.

The most striking is the influence of C. on social life. Two categories of affecting factors can be distinguished: practices common to diverse Christian peoples of the East and practices originating from the Bible. In both cases, some developments were added to the received tradition. They appear to be particular to Ethiopian C. The Ethiopians appropriated them, causing them to evolve in a way which conformed to the Ethiopian spirit.

Practices in the Orthodox Church

At first glance, numerous traits, which can be seen in an Ethiopian church, can be attributed to the influence of neighbouring peoples. But, in fact, such traits were and often still are common among Eastern Christians. Thus, the habit of taking off one's shoes before entering a church is an ancient sign of respect, attested to in the Bible, Ex 3:5 (not borrowed from Muslims) and widespread throughout Asia, including Japan. ↗Fasting practices, which appear to be extremely severe, as well as the length of the offices, correspond to those of other Christian Churches of the East. Religious syncretism, which flourishes in the use of amulets and magic practices (e.g., protective scrolls; s. ↗magic scrolls), in ancient times was found everywhere, under diverse forms, when it was necessary to accommodate "superstitions" (i.e., remains of previous beliefs) which were deeply rooted in the population being evangelized. The ever-presence of the religion is not surprising since it is frequently found in "pre-industrial" societies where culture is formed in the shadow of religion.

Regarding Ethiopia, one has to emphasize, that Christian religion has a strong impact on social relations. E.g., every Ethiopian Christian is traditionally supposed to wear a cord (↗*Matäb*) around his or her neck. This cord, received when the person is baptized (↗Baptism), is the sign of belonging to the Christian Church. If one's belonging to C. is shown in such a way, it is not surprising that fasting is a public event, whether one is Christian or Muslim. Neither is it astonishing that, when there is a feast which brings together Christians and Muslims, separate meat is prepared. This is because of the importance of the idea of communion: the ancient rules, which forbid the eating of a meal with those who belong to another religion, have not fallen into disuse. This tradition, therefore, has important social consequences since it separates guests according to their religion. It should also be noted that, when there is reconciliation, a meal is served, preferably with meat, precisely because to eat together is a sign of communion.

The church is an important social space; Christians visit it frequently, even during the week. People go there to listen to catechetical teaching or to a homily. People make appointments to meet there. Beggars position themselves at the doors because the place is frequently visited and it is the custom to give ↗alms on entering. On major ↗feasts, most people stand outside the church. This is because those who do not consider themselves worthy to enter the church follow the services from the courtyard (this is also to be related to the diverse divisions, recognized by the ancient disciplines: catechumens, penitents etc.). The married diocesan clergy are very numerous and are close to the faithful. They are in constant contact with them. While their presence is essential on the occasion of the "rites of passage" (↗birth, ↗marriage and ↗burial after the death), they also play the role of counsellor: in daily life, in the education of children, in the maintenance of good relations between couples etc. The ↗*näfs abbat* (or *yänäfas abbat*, *yänəsəḥä abbat*, 'father confessor') plays a singular role for the individual Christian, who normally stays connected with him during his whole life.

Even an institution like the ↗*maḫbär*, i.e. a confraternity of the faithful marked by devotion to a saint, seen as typically Ethiopian, can be compared with analogous institutions which were present in Byzantium during the Middle Ages.

In Ethiopia, monks and nuns (↗Monasticism) seem to be quite omnipresent, whether in Addis Abäba, in places of ↗pilgrimage like ↗Lalibäla, or in the very numerous ↗monasteries. Ethiopian monks have kept alive a "way of life" which dates back to the 4th-cent. Egyptian De-

sert Fathers (cf. Zanetti 1999). A specific group related to monasticism are the **ባሕታዊ** (*baḥtawi*, 'hermit'). They live strictly secluded, practising their spiritual ideal, and appear on major feasts as wandering penance-preachers (↗Hermits).

Biblical origins of Orthodox practices

Faithful to the faith it received, Ethiopia tried to pursue it as consequently as possible. Since the entire Sacred Scripture is the Word of God, the Ethiopians saw no reason why they should drop the "Mosaic Law", the precepts that God gave to the people of Israel and that the Jews still observe. E.g., according to Lev 12:1–7 with regard to the presentation of a new-born (which was observed in the case of Jesus himself, s. Lk 2:22–24), after the birth of a child the mother cannot attend Church for 40 days, if she has given birth to a boy, and 80 days, if she has given birth to a girl. The baby itself (unless there is danger of death) will not be baptized until the appropriate time-interval has elapsed (40 days for a boy and 80 days for a girl). Furthermore, also following the Bible (Gen 17:12; Lev 12:3; and Lk 2:21 for Jesus), a boy will be circumcized eight days after birth, and in every case before his baptism and never after (↗Circumcision). But the African rather than biblical origin of this custom appears in the fact that in certain groups, girls undergo excision, which has no scriptural foundation.

Likewise, the dietary practices follow the Old Testament restrictions, particularly with regard to the eating of meat (Lev 11:1–23; Deut 14:3–21). It is forbidden to eat the flesh of a pig, a horse, a camel, a rabbit, a duck etc. The meat of a cow (or a sheep, a goat) can only be eaten outside of fasting time and only if it has been killed in the correct manner (i.e. by a Christian).

One would be mistaken to take these customs, and others which we have not cited here, as an indication of an influence coming from Judaism: the literal observation of the Sacred Scripture is sufficient to explain them. A number of them can be found in other Churches of the East and were formerly observed also in the West.

Orthodox churches

The tripartite division of Ethiopian ↗Church buildings (**መቅደስ**, *mäqdäs* 'sanctuary', **ቅድስት**, *qəddəst* 'holy', **ቅኔ፡ ማኅሌት**, *qəne maḥlet*, 'vestibule') finds its reference in the Bible. It matches a functional structuring of space which one finds in Egyptian Coptic churches, where, between the sanctuary and the space reserved for the faithful, a "choir of the deacons" (who are also the cantors; s. ↗*Diyaqon*) is found. This was once separated by a grille or partition, analogous to an iconostasis. This corresponds to the chancel, traces of which can be found in the ancient Ethiopian churches (cf. Lepage 1972; Lepage 1997:210, n. 29ff.). The Copts tend to suppress this tripartite division, which for them is purely functional, but the Ethiopians have developed it by specializing the central part in a different way and by placing the deacons and the ↗*däbtära*, the learned cantors – ecclesiastical scholars particular to Ethiopia – in the *qəne maḥlet*.

The churches themselves, which in former times were rectangular in form, as elsewhere in the ancient Christian world, today are often circular. This is an indigenous development which could be ancient. They are covered with a conical roof (generally of thatch), which itself is topped with a cross decorated with a crown of ostrich eggs, often resting on an evocation of the "golden *mäsob*", a bread-basket which evokes both the Mother of God and the ↗Eucharist.

The ↗rock-hewn churches are particularly characteristic, the most famous of them being monolithic and rightly considered to be the masterpiece of Ethiopian art. They could have their origins in a palaeo-Christian funerary function (as suggested in Lepage 1997).

With regard to the churches and their ornamentation, icons and murals are present (↗Painting). This artistic expression, while having its source in Christian Antiquity – like the miniatures of the manuscripts, ancient Palestinian origins of which have been demonstrated (cf. Lepage 1986–87) – and having profited from foreign contributions, European or Indian, in the end result, without question, is absolutely "Ethiopian" and characteristic of the country. As for the ever-present ↗crosses, it is true that in Ethiopia they are clothed in many forms invented by the genius of the artisans; but the origin seems to be found in 5th- to 6th-cent. Palestine, or even in Egypt where, since Antiquity, decorated crosses existed, symbolized and worked into forms which apparently foreshadow those of Ethiopia.

Orthodox liturgical rites

Being related to the Coptic Church, Ethiopia received from Egypt the essential part of her ritual. It is not surprising, therefore, that the ceremonial of the different sacraments (baptism, anointing of the sick, or **ቀንዲል** [*Qändil*, ↗Unc-

tion], marriage, or ተክሊል [*Täklil*, ↗Matrimony], not to mention ordinations which were always, up until the 20th cent., conferred by the metropolitan received from Egypt [↗*Pappas*]), and assimilated offices (like the funeral service, or ↗*Fəṯḥat*) are taken from the Coptic Church, with some modifications. It is not quite the same for the Mass (↗*Qəddase*): its relationship with the corresponding Coptic celebration can easily be seen, but it has taken on its own original appearance in Ethiopia. The "soul" of Christian Ethiopia is expressed in the Eucharist through the intense participation of the people (responses, prostrations), by the music and above all by the sense of mystery which is cultivated. Thus, similar to the practice of other Oriental Churches, the bread destined for the Eucharist must be prepared by the deacons just before Mass and is carried with great ceremony, but in Ethiopia it is carefully covered so that no lay person will see it.

Still on the level of celebrations, the liturgical ↗Calendar, which is used also in civil society, comes from an ancient Egyptian calendar. It is according to it that the liturgical lectionary (or *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gəṣṣawe*) is organized.

On the other hand, the cathedral Divine Office (↗*Dəggʷa*; ↗*Məʿəraf*), as well as the Hours are original, without any parallel elsewhere. The solemn Vigil and Matins offices of Sundays and feast days are unique. The *däbtära* sing original melodies to the sound of drums and systra (↗Music). They dance holding a prayer stick, called a ↗*mäqqʷamiya*, in their hands. At the prescribed moment, they improvise a ↗*qəne* – a theological poem, which is integrated into the prayer (and must be improvised, not composed earlier).

During solemn feasts, the priests go in procession carrying the ↗*tabot*, consecrated to the name of the patron saint of the church and referring back to the ↗Ark of the Covenant. The *tabot* corresponds to the altar-stone that the Latin Church used to use, or the Greek *antimension*.

Orthodox theology and dogma

Dogmatic questions, much more than the liturgy, depended on the ecclesiastical authorities: the Patriarch of Alexandria and the Metropolitan of Ethiopia, nominated by him. Certain metropolitans, in particular ↗Sälama the "Translator", made great efforts to translate into Gəʿəz the books they considered necessary for the good functioning of the Church which was confided to them. These translations, which mostly concerned the liturgy, dogma, or the spiritual life, were added to those works which existed already and which came from other sources.

Thus nourished, the Ethiopians did not fail, however, to reflect on and look for answers to the questions they themselves were asking. As a result, in Ethiopia Christological doctrine has experienced many episodes totally unknown in Egypt (↗Christology). Also Mariology (↗Mary) experienced — for a major part in the 15th cent., because of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob — an unrivalled development. The number of Marian feasts multiplied and the point was reached when readings from the *Miracles of Mary* (↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*) came to be prescribed during the Divine Office.

The observation of the ↗Sabbath, one of many celebrated religious quarrels, is known to have torn medieval Ethiopia apart. But it is often forgotten that the commemoration of Saturdays and Sundays came from Egypt (cf. Zanetti 1985:133–43; but cp. Hammerschmidt 1963). It is on the basis of a tradition received from elsewhere that the Ethiopians built and discoursed.

As for the passage of Europeans in the 16th and 17th cent., its major merit was that it led to the use of ↗Amharic, the lingua franca, instead of Gəʿəz, by Ethiopian clerics, in order to be understood by their flocks.

Traditional literature and education

Ethiopian ↗Gəʿəz literature – the great majority of which is theological and spiritual in nature – matches the setting which has just been described. Quite a number of ancient texts have been preserved in Gəʿəz. Often they had originally been written in Greek (but also in Arabic, Coptic, or Syriac), and arrived in Ethiopia through translations, either directly from the original or, more often, through a series of translations. Lying on the very periphery of the *oikoumene*, Ethiopia, with a different understanding of the ↗Canon, thus preserved ancient pseudoepigraphic texts. Several of those witnesses of early C. and Judaism, like the Book of ↗Enoch or the Ascension of ↗Isaiah, had become lost elsewhere.

Apart from the simply translated documents, others were the object of adaptations and have been in some way "acculturated"; a great deal of others – lives of saints (↗*Gädl*), but also theological treatises – have been written directly in Gəʿəz, and later on in Amharic, by Ethiopians themselves. A beautiful example of original composition can be found in the ↗*andəmta*. They are

really only the final metamorphosis of the ancient "patristic chains" (the so-called catenae), preserved, reworked and augmented by the local tradition. Besides, this is the same development that literature underwent in all countries where Christian culture penetrated from antiquity.

The system of ecclesiastical study and teaching is also rooted in early times (↗Education). The program of study began with learning to read in the ↗*nəbab bet*, using the biblical texts to practice on (the first Letter of John and the Psalms). The students who continued, studied in specialized schools comparable to those of antiquity, both in teaching methods and the way of life of the students. They learnt the commentaries on Sacred Scripture, the art of *qəne*, or how to sing the Mass (↗*Mäṣḥaf bet*, ↗*Qəne bet*, ↗*Qəddase bet*).

Most prominent in Ethiopian C. is the Gondär school for priests (17^{th} – 20^{th} cent.), a traditional school of higher learning with an impressive number of highly educated professors. As guardians of the Ethiopian traditions of C., they taught theology and Gəʿəz, but also traditional history (for lists of professors s. Strelcyn 1954:169f.). A traditional scholar had to receive his education in Gondär, where he could become acquainted with a wide range of manuscripts and learn to produce texts himself.

Even if officially not accepted by the Church, traditional beliefs also play a prominent role in the life of a *däbtära*, for example, in the production of small manuscripts or magical scrolls for daily use. Such scrolls could protect against the evil eye (↗*buda*) and a number of ↗diseases (like the *barya*; cp. Strelcyn 1954:62ff.). Also knowledge about other aspects of traditional healing largely lay in the hand of such specialized *däbtära* (↗Healers).

Non-Orthodox Christians

The preceding paragraphs describe some "originalities" of the Orthodox Christians of Ethiopia and show how, down through the centuries, these characteristics link to ancient C. They also show how the Ethiopians received and reworked traditions which were once widespread.

Since about a century and a half, Catholics and Protestants have been present in the country, to a greater part outside the traditional centre of the ancient Ethiopian kingdom. The latter are growing rapidly in number. These communities, born of missionary activity, have different attitudes with regard to the particularities proper to Ethiopian Christianity. These attitudes range from an attempt to preserve a part of them, at least externally (Ethiopian Catholics of the "Alexandrian-Ethiopian rite"), to a rejection of traditions, accused of being "Jewish" by some Protestant denominations (but not by all, as the ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Iyesus). One will also recall the existence of a community which wishes to link itself, at least remotely, to the Church of Ethiopia, the ↗Rastafarians.

After the Revolution of 1974, Orthodox C. lost its status as religion of the state and non-Orthodox mission within the Orthodox heartland was no longer prevented, but also the *Därg* government tried to regulate and control the religious sphere. However, the number of followers of non-Orthodox C. increased steadily.

The Protestants are the majority in the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State (all denominations included; following numbers according to Central Statistical Authority 1996). The biggest regional population of Catholics is also to be found there (Protestants: 3,611,583; Catholics 307,604; Orthodox: 2,862,734; total: 10,371,192). In Oromiyaa, where the second-biggest segment of the Protestant population lives, the Orthodox Christians form the majority. It has also the second biggest regional population of Catholics (Protestants: 1,588,310; Orthodox: 7,621,727; Catholics: 107,310; total: 18,473,820). In Addis Abäba and the surrounding area, the Protestants number 81,759, while the Orthodox with 1,732,374 followers provide the major part of the population and the Catholic Church has her third-biggest regional population with 16,488 followers (total: 2,112,737). Beside the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Iyesus, important Protestant churches are: the Ethiopian Apostolic Church (Ḥawaryat Church; officially founded in 1978) of Pentecostalist stock, the Ethiopian Qalä Ḥəywät Church (Word of Life Church; officially founded in 1974), which derived from the ↗Sudan Interior Mission, the Mennonites of the Mäsärätä Krəstos Church (Christ Foundation Church; founded in the 1950s) and the Seventh Day Adventist Church – Ethiopian Union Mission (founded in 1938). All these churches today have developed their own identity and are officially independent from their missionary "mother-churches", who still keep contact with and support their co-religionists.

↗Catholicism; ↗Churches and church administration; ↗Missions; ↗Protestantism

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1996; GÜNTER SCHRÖDER, *Religionsgemeinschaften in Äthiopien*, ms.
Lit.: ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Stellung und Bedeutung des Sabbats in Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1963 (Studia Delitzschiana 7); ID., *Äthiopien: christliches Reich zwischen Gestern und Morgen,* Wiesbaden 1967; CLAUDE LEPAGE, "Une origine possible des églises monolithiques de l'Éthiopie ancienne", *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus des scéances de l'année* 1997 [fasc. 1], 199–212; ID., "Premières recherches sur les installations liturgiques des anciennes églises d'Éthiopie (X^{e}–XV^{e} siècles)", *Travaux de la recherche coopérative sur programme R.C.P. 230, Documents pour servir à l'histoire des civilisations éthiopiennes* 3, 1972, 77–113; ID., "Prototypes de deux tétraévangiles du XIV^{e} siècle à cycle court de trois miniatures", *Abbay* 13, 1986–87, 59–76; UGO ZANETTI, *Les lectionnaires coptes annuels*: *Basse-Égypte,* Louvain-la-Neuve 1985 (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 33); ID., "Moines et ermites: des Pères du désert d'Égypte à ceux de l'Éthiopie contemporaine", *Acta orientalia Belgica* 12, 1999, 89–104; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *The Ethiopians*, London 1965; ID., *Ethiopia and the Bible*, London 1968 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1967); STEFAN STRELCYN, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Éthiopiens* (*Collection Griaule*), vol. 4, Paris 1954, 62ff. (Lit.), 169f.

Ugo Zanetti

Christology

From the theological point of view, the development of Christological doctrines in the life of the Ethiopian Church may be divided chronologically into four periods: (1) from the beginning of Ethiopian Christianity up to the 15th cent., (2) from the 15th cent. till the Council of ↗Boru Meda of May 1878, (3) from 1878 to recent times and (4) the current official position. Different types of relevant written sources match these historical periods.

The first period is dominated by the ↗*Qərəllos*, an antinestorian collection translated from Greek into Gəᶜəz in the Aksumite period (indeed after the Council of ↗Ephesus), containinig writings of Church Fathers prior to the Council of ↗Chalcedon, out of which some important works of St. ↗Cyril of Alexandria – whence the name and authority of the collection – stand out both by their number and the influence they exercised in the C. of the Ethiopian Church until the present. According to Fiaccadori (1985), as in contemporary South Arabia, ↗Nestorianism would have soon spread in ↗Aksum, ↗Monophysitism being introduced only later, not earlier than the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th cent., by monks coming, like the ↗Nine Saints, from the eastern provinces of the ↗Byzantine Empire.

The second period begins with the literary renaissance which took place under the reformer *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (r. 1434–68). A century later the coexistence of different christological views already current in Ethiopia was to be the ideal terrain for the development of a theological controversy triggered off by the arrival of the ↗Jesuits in the first part of the 17th cent. The controversy centred on the Christological Chalcedonian formula, "one person in two natures", as well as on the timing, meaning and role of the Unction of Christ by the Spirit. Among other less beneficial consequences, this controversy marked the beginning of the use of the Amharic language (and later on, among Catholics, of the Təgrəññña language) in religious literature. Yet, such controversies caused deep divisions among Ethiopian scholars themselves. This period saw also the translation from Arabic into Gəᶜəz of the ↗*Haymanotä abäw*, a rich collection of patristic doctrines containing, among other things, quotations of Cyril, which became the foundation, along with the ↗Bible, of all subsequent Christological debate, thus replacing to a large extent the use of the ancient *Qərəllos*.

The third period begins with the official ending of the Christological controversies, which took place in the presence of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV and *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa in 1878 at Boru Meda. This last period witnessed the development of the printing press, which contributed both to the availability of theological works in Amharic and the publication of Gəᶜəz liturgical and theological books. It also witnessed the publication of a Catholic study of the Ethiopian C. from the Chalcedonian point of view, which in its turn provoked varied and strong reactions against it from many Ethiopian theologians. Today's official position may be summarized from declarations made on some formal occasions by the representatives of the Patriarchate of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, e.g. on attending the World Council of Churches.

1. From the beginning up to the 15th century

Cyril's formulae, and more specifically those which shaped the basic traditional Christological expressions of the Ethiopian Church, could be summarized in three technical statements: a) the ὑποστάσεις or φύσεις of Christ may not be divided after the union; b) the ἰδιώματα may not be divided between two *hypostases* or two independent *physeis*, but they must all refer to a single

person, to the μία ὑπόστασις [φύσις] τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη; c) the Logos is united καθ' ὑπόστασιν to the flesh which he has taken (cf. Grillmeier 1975–96, vol. 1, 482f). Cyril insists on the fact that "God the Logos did not come into a man, but he 'truly' became man, while remaining God" (*Oratio ad dominas*, 31); incarnation is something quite different from being conjoined with a man (cf. *Quod unus sit Christus*, Migne PG 75, 1329 B). Instead of opposing the *physis* of the Logos to the *physis* of manhood, as in the Chalcedonian definition "one person in two natures", Cyril concentrates on a historical event that has occurred to the *physis* of the Godhead of the Logos, namely that it has taken flesh (cf. Jn 1:14), with a close interpretation of the subject, and a consequent stress on the union of divine and human in Christ. Cf. Weischer 1977:25 (and n. 61): "We believe that he is the Son of God in the Spirit and the son of man in the flesh, not one Son in two natures, to the one they adore and to the other they don't, we do not say that, but one nature of God the Logos incarnate, and to Him together with his flesh we adore with one adoration". This characteristic of Cyril's C. stands at the basis of the Ethiopian Christological tradition. All attempts to interpret Ethiopian doctrine discarding this feature, e.g., from the Chalcedonian point of view, will lead to misinterpretations and false confrontations.

Contrary to what is sometimes said, besides the poverty of theological terms which characterizes the Aksumite Gəʿəz language, the liberty of the translator must also be remembered. What emerges from the reading of the Ethiopian *Qerəllos* is that the Ethiopian Cyrilian tradition is not so much interested in formulae as in the sotereological message of Cyril's teaching. The *synapheia* of Nestorius and hence the "juxtaposition" of the two natures in Christ after the union, as in the Chalcedonian formula, is deemed to be a dangerous "partner relationship" braking the unity in Christ. This continues to be the view of modern Ethiopian teachers. As Lößl (1993:302) remarks about the Gəʿəz translation, "… *orthodox* formulas stressing the unity of Christ are kept and appear highlighted, not as a sign of *monophysite* tendency but as the expression of a strong concern for the unity of person as principle of divine-human action in Jesus Christ who is God and man, *One as the Same*".

Without dwelling on them, two consequences from this strong principle may be noted. On one hand, it being impossible to distinguish between Christ's divinity and humanity, Cyril confesses Mary as *Theotokos* ("Mother of God"; cf. e.g. *Qerəllos,* Weischer 1977:72f.). On the other hand, real belief in the incarnation of the Word, with its key place in Christian salvation, explains the great esteem in which Ethiopia holds ↗monasticism, as the jewel of man's divinization; the monk appears as the one moving constantly towards God, trying to overcome the "separation" brought by sin, the false independence of man from his Creator. Whatever events, tragic calamities, and pressures of all sorts Ethiopian Christianity encountered during its long, obscure and often misinterpreted history, its Christian people have kept in their own way and understanding this part of the genuine legacy of Cyril. The Logos-Christ is One so that we may become One in God through him.

2. From the 15th century to modern times

This Cyrillian C. continued, more or less unchallenged, to be the unique teaching of the Ethiopian Church until the 17th cent. However, theological disputes could have take place in Ethiopia as early as in the 14th cent., harking back possibly to much earlier ages. Some issues of C. were raised within the context of Trinitarian controversies and eschatological expectations in the first quarter of the 15th cent., as may be concluded from the writings of ↗Giyorgis of Sägla, a prominent theologian and church writer. In his *Mäṣḥafä ↗məṣtir* Giyorgis refutes teachings of the heretics of the early Church, some of which deal with christological problems (cp. ↗Arius), but it is mostly unknown, against whom these refutations were directed in the Ethiopian context. Somewhat later, during the reign of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, religious "dissidents" Zämikaʾel and ʿAṣqa (s. ↗Mikaʾelites) endangered the unity of the Church, teaching about the impossibility of perceiving the appearance of God, inasmuch as He has no semblance of the human being; within the Trinity the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are one person, one *hypostasis*, and one aspect nonsimilar to that of the man (cp. Conti Rossini – Ricci 1965:126). The Emperor is reported to have defeated the objectors to anthropomorphism in the public discussion, quoting the dogma of the incarnation and referring to the perfect human aspect of Christ (s. Getatchew Haile 1983:161ff.). Besides, Zämikaʾel and ʿAṣqa argued, that at the last Judgement Christ would

come in the appearance of His incarnation, but without His divinity being manifested; the Father and the Holy Spirit would not appear, since they didn't incarnate. The Emperor refuted their opinion as an attempt to subordinate the Son to the Father and the Holy Spirit. In general, however, before the 17th cent. C. apparently was not the central topic of the religious disputes and controversies, compared, e.g., to the issue of the ↗Sabbath.

In the 17th cent., following the arrival of the Jesuits, the question of the unction by the Spirit of the "Anointed One" (Χριστός) started polemics and divisions which have deeply marked the course of the ecclesiastical and political life of Ethiopia.

The chronicler of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, who became a Catholic under the influence of the Jesuits, reports a controversy between two groups of Ethiopian monks and priests over the theological implication of the unction or anointing of Christ; some maintained that "the Father is the anointer, the Son the anointed and the Holy Spirit the ointment", while the others that "for humanity, the union of the divinity (with it) replaces unction for it", thus meaning that Christ did not need unction to be Son, King, Prophet and High Priest. In a council held in 1612/13, the Emperor decided that "Unction for Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is the grace of the Holy Spirit given to his humanity at the time of the union of humanity and divinity. Although he gives grace to all in his divinity equally with the Father and the Holy Spirit, he received grace in his humanity to give it to his brothers, the children of Adam. The grace which he received from the Holy Spirit was not by measure, as in the case of the prophets and the apostles, but without measure [cf. Jn 3:34]..." (s. Getatchew Haile 1990:vii, quoting Täklä Śəllase Ṭinno after PerChron 216, 237f.).

This thesis could be viewed as indicating the existence in Christ of "two natures" (a divine and a human one), and was then seen as Nestorian by the Ethiopian scholars, who in fidelity to their Church's tradition have kept the Cyrilian understanding of the Union in Christ. "The conservative monophysites, who were later called *karročč* [lit. 'knifes'; ↗*Karra haymanot*], completely reject the notion 'the Divinity performs the acts of divinity and the humanity performs the acts of humanity', which they ascribe to the Dyophysites" (Getatchew Haile 1990:ix). In opposition, the party supported by the Emperor was called *qəbatočč* ('unctionists'; ↗*Qəbat*); a third party was called *ṣäggočč* (lit. 'Gracists', s. ↗*Yäṣägga ləǧ*), or ↗*Śost lədät* (lit. 'Three Births'), because they maintained "that Christ became the Son of God by grace at a third birth which happened when the unction by the Holy Spirit took place, either at conception, at the annunciation, or at baptism. The occasion is called a third birth, birth of adoption, after the eternal birth from the Father and the temporal birth from the Blessed Virgin" (Getatchew Haile 1990:ixf.).

After Emperor Susənyos's abdication in favour of his son ↗Fasilädäs, the latter expelled the foreign Catholics; however, the *qəbatočč* seem to have kept during his reign, and still later, the strong position they had before, as appears from *The Faith of the Unctionists,* a doctrinal treatise presenting the discussions held in a council under *aṣe* Fasilädäs in 1655 (Getatchew Haile 1990).

This document also brings in a new technical vocabulary; አካል (*akal*, 'person'), and ባሕርይ (*baḥrəy*, 'nature') are used, against the unique term ህላዌ (*həllawe*, '*hypostasis*' or '*physis*') meant to translate both concepts in the ancient version of the *Qerəllos* (cf. Weischer 1977:29). The new varied vocabulary of the *Haymanotä abäw,* translated from Arabic, was to be used up to modern times, but not necessarily with the same meaning by all authors (cf. Tesfazghi Uqbit 1973:21–48).

Even though the influence of the Jesuits as a "starting factor" in this controversy is admitted by everyone, it cannot necessarily be extended to every part of the movement (Tezfazghi Uqbit 1973:67–71); in particular, no Jesuit of the period would have sustained the adoptionist theory of the *ṣäggočč* or *śost lədät*. There were already "heretical" tendencies in Ethiopia in earlier times, that could have been rekindled anew at the occasion of the controversies with the Jesuits (cf. DombrChron 290f.). The different Christological schools were previously described by Pedro ↗Paez (Caraman 1988:102, 123ff.). One should not lose sight of the fact that "although it did not become acute until the 17th cent. … its introduction [of the different interpretations given to the Unction of Christ] … lies significantly earlier and can be demonstrably placed in the period around 500–25 even if it did not become fully appreciated at that time" (Grillmeier 1975–96, vol. 2/4, 341).

3. The modern period

In 1878 *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV summoned a council at Boru Meda which Mənilək of Šäwa attended. It clearly condemned both the "Unctionist" and the "Gracist" (*säggočč*) parties. The Church accepted the decision imposed by the Emperor and put an end to further controversies.

However, matters were not definitively settled because there was plenty of room for theological improvement in terms of formal proclamations. The occasion for further clarifications came with the publication, at the Pontifical Oriental Institute, of the book by the Catholic theologian Ayyälä Täklä Haymanot (1956). This study about *The Ethiopian Church and its Christological Doctrine,* translated into Amharic and printed in 1959, gave raise to a strong reaction from Ethiopian Orthodox scholars against Ayyälä's presentation, which was made from a Chalcedonian, scholastic point of view, not far from that of the 17th-cent. Jesuits. However, the fact that none of these Ethiopian Orthodox critics appears to represent the "Unctionist" point of view (still active in ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa) might be understood in the light of a de facto barring of all publications representing their views following their condemnation at Boru Meda.

One can see in the official position of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church the desire to maintain the integrity of its traditional concept. Instead of following "Monophysitism", a charge laid against the Church by Chalcedonians referring to particular formulae on the unction, one can detect the desire to preserve the non-Chalcedonian tradition of Cyril, i.e. the fear that conceding a division in Christ after the union would undermine true salvation, through division-separation of the One Christ-God. The dilemma behind the different schools could be described as follows: Christ is One and He is God, source of our salvation; in order to ensure the reality of this salvation there can be no possibility of any distinction in Christ after the union, i.e. no separate attribution of properties (divine-human) is acceptable. Any distinction is viewed as splitting Christ into two natures, or *physeis*, and lead to Nestorianism.

4. Today's situation

After the establishment of the Ethiopian autocephalous Patriarchate in 1959, the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church was able to participate in her own right in the World Council of Churches, and had the opportunity to express her faith in some official declarations.

1. The first document is the confession of faith of Patriarch *abunä* ↗Tewoflos, issued on the occasion of his enthronement as Patriarch (9 May 1971). The English text of the confession was published by the Ethiopian press on the following day (considerable parts quoted by Tesfazghi Uqbit 1973:184ff.).

This declaration marks the end of long controversies inside the Church, and at the same time is in itself a very rich, balanced witness to the authentic tradition of the Ethiopian Orthodox belief within the wider context of the non-Chalcedonian Oriental churches.

2. In 1970, before the enthronement of the new Patriarch, two books presenting the history and faith of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church were published, thus offering to the world the first ever English language presentation of the Ethiopian Church doctrine and praxis issued under its own auspices. The first book (Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Joachim Motovu 1970) presents the Church's teachings on various dogmatic and liturgical questions. The doctrine on the Incarnation is based on a paper submitted by *liqä səlṭanat* Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh (at that time dean of Holy Trinity Cathedral) to the "Consultation between the theologians of Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches" held in Aarhus, Denmark in 1964 (continued in Bristol in 1967). According to this paper, after the Incarnation it is inadmissible to speak of two persons or two natures, but only of one person and one nature.

3. A second book was also published in English six months later (Patriarchate of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church 1970); it appears to be more conciliatory towards the outside Chalcedonian world, thus diminishing somewhat the long-established distinctiveness of the Ethiopian tradition. However, it quotes for the first time liturgical sources (*Lex orandi*) as theological arguments (*Lex credendi*), the texts being taken from the very rich Ethiopian Euchologium. One of them was the famous text of the *Homologia* that the Ethiopian Church has in common with the Coptic Church, which is recited by the celebrant priest before communion. It contains the four pre-Chalcedonian adverbs, which entered into the Chalcedonian definition ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως (on the importance of this *homologia* and its meaning in the

liturgico-dogmatic context of the Church of Alexandria, and by extension of the Ethiopian Church as well, s. Winkler 1997:173ff.).

4. In 1996 a book appeared under the authority of the current Patriarch *abunä* Ṗawlos, prepared by eminent bishops of the Holy Synod and by other scholars (Patriarchate of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church 1996). It does not enter at all into ancient polemics regarding the unction of Christ; however, to avoid any further possible confrontation, the title *Täwaḥədo* is recognized as belonging to the official denomination of the church. It is not by chance that the title of the book reads *The Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church,* reflecting the position of the *karroč̌č̌.* This implies that the other two parties, both the *ṣäggoč̌č̌*, or *śost lədät*, and the *qəbatoč̌č̌*, are banned. Regarding the recent and current ecumenical activities of the Ethiopian Church, the book gives a detailed presentation of her relations with both the Oriental and the Chalcedonian churches. The refusal to revoke the anathemas, and the reasons given for this, are rather at odds with the last paragraph of the book, where it is clearly affirmed that the Chalcedonian Churches have accepted that there is no difference of doctrine among the Churches (Eastern and Oriental Orthodox). Yet, this statement shows that, in reality, there is no substantial disagreement between the doctrine of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (EOTC) and that of other Churches. As to C.: "If the Chalcedonian churches accept the Christological doctrine of the unity of the two natures in Christ (One nature of the Incarnate God the Logos) without confusion, without change, without division, without separation, the EOTC, in consultation with the other Oriental Orthodox Churches, does not object to the principle of coming together for full union through the guidance of the Holy Spirit" (Patriarchate of the EOTC 1996:145f.).

In the last centuries the accusation of Monophysitism hurled against the Ethiopian Orthodoxy has been less often heard. Ethiopian ↗Anaphoras – also the genuine Ethiopian ones – contain the same formulae as in other Orthodox Churches ("one in essence and undivided", "inseparable", "without undergoing change"; cp. Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom §25, Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles §101). With its statistical majority of "monophysitic" passages, the Ethiopian Orthodox C. shows a more "verbal" Monophysitism.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI – LANFRANCO RICCI, *Il Libro della Luce del negus Zar'a Yā'qob* (*Maṣḥafa Berhān*), part II, Louvain 1965 (CSCO 261 [SAe 51]), 126-31 (text); JACQUES-PAUL MIGNE, *Patrologiae Graecae cursus completus*, Paris 1844–61, vol. 75, col. 1329 B; BERND MANUEL WEISCHER, *Qērellos I*: *Der Prosphonetikos 'Über den rechten Glauben' des Kyrillos von Alexandrien an Theodosius II*, Glückstadt 1973 (Afrikanistische Forschungen 7); ID., *Qērellos III*: *Der Dialog 'Dass Christus einer ist' des Kyrillos von Alexandrien*, Wiesbaden 1977 (AeF 2); ID., *Qērellos IV–1, Homilien und Briefe zum Konzil von Ephesos*, Wiesbaden 1979 (AeF 4); GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Faith of the Unctionists in the Ethiopian Church* (*Haymanot Mäsiḥawit*), Louvain 1990 (CSCO 517, 518 [SAe 91, 92]); YAQOB BEYENE, *Controversie cristologiche in Etiopia*, Napoli 1977; ID., *L'unzione di Christo nella Teologia etiopica*, Roma 1981 (OrChrA 215); ENRICO CERULLI, *Scritti teologici etiopici dei Secoli XVI–XVII*, 2 vols., Città del Vaticano 1958–60 (Studi e testi 198, 204); DombrChr 290–95; PerChron 216, 237f.

Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, *Priests and Politicians*, Oxford 1972; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Homily of Zär'a Ya'əqob in Honour of St. John the Evangelist, EMML 1480, ff. 48-52v", OrChr 67, 1983, 144–66; ID., "Materials on the theology of Qeb^{c}at unction", in: *PICES* 6, 205–50; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Yemen nestoriano", in: S. F. BONDI et al. (eds.), *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, Pisa 1985, 195–212, here 196–205; *abunä* FILƎPPOS, **እግዚአብሔር፡ ከኛ፡ ጋራ፤ የጌታችን፡ ሥጋዌና፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ምሥጢር** (*Ǝgziʾabəḥer käññä gara*: *Yägetaččən śəgawenna täwaḥədo məṣṭir*, 'God with us: the Mystery of the Incarnation and Union of our Lord'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.]; PATRIARCHATE OF THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH (ed.), **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እምነት፡ ሥርዓተ፡ አምልኮትና፡ የውጭ፡ ግንኙነት** (*Yäʾityopya ortodoks täwaḥədo betä krəstiyan. Ǝmnät śərʿatä amlakotənna yäwäčč gənəññunnät*, 'The Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church: Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations'), Addis Abäba, July 1996; ID., *The Church of Ethiopia. Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Ababa [December] 1970; *abunä* GƎBRƎʾEL, **ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ሃይማኖት** (*Ortodoks haymanot*, 'The Orthodox Faith'), vol. 1, Asmära 1966 A.M. [1973/74 A.D.]; AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Abäba 1970; *abba* AYELÈ TEKLEHAYMANOT [MARIO DA ABIY-ADDÌ], *La dottrina della Chiesa Etiopica dissidente sull'unione ipostatica*, Roma 1956 (OrChrA 147) [Amharic tr.: Asmara 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]; English tr.: Addis Ababa 1982]; ID., "The Theological Terminology of the Haymanota Abaw used in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church", in: *Adveniat Regnum Tuum*, Asmara 1986 [offprint]; TESFAZGHI UQBIT, *Current Christological Positions of Ethiopian Orthodox Theologians*, Rome 1973 (OrChrA 196); ALOIS GRILLMEIER, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 2 vols., London 1975–96; JOSEF LÖSSL, "One as the Same. Elements of an Ethiopian Chistology", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 42, 1993, 288–302; BERND MANUEL WEISCHER, "Die christologische Terminologie des Cyril von Alexandrien in Äthiopischen", in: *Der Orient in der Forschung. Festschrift Otto Speiss*, Wiesbaden 1967; DIETMAR W. WINKLER, *Koptische Kirche und Reichskirche. Altes Schisma und neuer Dialog*, Innsbruck – Wien 1997; PHILIP CARAMAN, *L'empire perdu. L'histoire des Jésuites en Éthiopie*, Paris 1988; JOSÉ L. BANDRÉS, "La doctrine christologique de l'Église orthodoxe Tawāḥedo d'Éthiopie", *Irénikon*, forthcoming.

José L. Bandrés – Ugo Zanetti

Chronicles ↗ Historiography

Chronography

As in other oriental cultures, Christian Ethiopia has developed its own ↗calendar and calendrical systems. For its formation the Ethiopian calendar borrowed substantial Greek elements via the Coptic-Arab tradition (Neugebauer 1979:20–25, 70, 163ff.). This is true for the basic structure provided by the 532-year table, and also for the most important eras, the year and month calculations, the shadow tables and calculation moduli, such as, e.g., ↗*abäqte* and ↗*ṭəntyon*.

Generally, there are three different time-counting systems used in the Ethiopian C. The "*ḥassab* ['era'] model" is used for the calculation of the movable festivals. Another system is that based on the ↗*Abušakər* treatise and Islamic astronomy. The third originates from the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Henok* and gives the arithmetical patterns of daylight and lunar phases.

Chronographical texts are found in a series of codices with heterogeneous contents and appear either in the form of chronographical tracts, as surveys in table form, or in the form of direct or indirect datings. Treatises such as the *Abušakər*, ↗*Baḥrä ḥassab* and ↗*Märḥa ʿəwwur* are placed at the very roots of Ethiopian C. However, the numerous errors that appear in the calculations of the texts leads us to conclude that only a limited number of writers possessed a sufficiently competent grasp of chronology.

Starting point of chronology and chronography

The "Alexandrian year" forms the basis of all Ethiopian calculations and dating entries. It dates back to the Roman Emperor August (63 B.C.–14 A.D.) and begins on 29/30 August. In the case of individual questions, it is the 532-year cycle (**ዓውደ፡ ቀመር**, *ʿawdä qämär*) that serves as the practical foundation for calculations. This cycle results from the combination of the 19-year (solar-lunar) cycle with the Biblical/Jewish seven-day week. Eras and festivals are then based on this structure.

Periods and dating points

Events in world or in Biblical/Christian history, political data pertaining to Ethiopian or to neighbouring cultures, as well as astronomical observations and their interpretation, all provide opportunities for calendar-related calculations.

A. The most commonly occurring eras (*ḥassab*) are:

1. "Era of the World" **ዓመተ፡ ዓለም** (*ʿamätä ʿaläm*, 'year of the world'), also known as **ዓመተ፡ አምፍጥረት** (*ʿamätä əmfəṭrät*, lit. 'year after the creation'), which was introduced by the Alexandrian monk Panodorus using calculations existing at the time. It dates the Creation at 5500 B.C., which corresponds to 5493 B.C. (the Old Testament era) according to the Coptic-Arabic Julian calendar (Chaîne 1925:9ff.). The era is based on the 532-year cycle.
2. "Era of the Incarnation [of Christ]" **ዓመተ፡ ሥጋዌ** (*ʿamätä śəggawe*, 'year of the incarnation', with variants such as *ʿamätä śəgahu* 'his incarnation'), begins 5500 years (5493 years according to the Gregorian calendar) after the Creation, that is, in 7–8 A.D.
3. "Era of Diocletian" **ዓመተ፡ ሰማዕታት** (*ʿamätä sämaʿətat,* 'year of the martyrs'), which refers to the Roman Emperor who carried out one of the last Christian persecutions. This era begins 5776 years after the Creation, i.e. in 284 A.D. (also the year of Diocletian's ascension to the throne; Chaîne 1925:12f.).
4. "Era of Grace" **ዓመተ፡ ምሕረት** (*ʿamätä məḥrät*, 'year of mercy' [= A.M.]), with the variant **ዓመተ፡ ቀመር** (*ʿamätä qämär*, 'year of the moon', according to the 532-years cycle, s. also below). It begins 5852 years after the Creation and 76 years after the "Era of Diocletian", i.e. in 359/60 A.D. (*ʿamätä sämaʿətat* is often denoted as *ʿamätä məḥrät* in the codices, sometimes leading to erroneous time datings).

Because of their brevity, both the Era of Diocletian (*ʿamätä sämaʿətat*) and the Era of Grace (*ʿamätä məḥrät*) begin several times during the 2,000 years of Christian history (in the following table, the abbreviation *ʿa.* stands for *ʿamätä*, and the information in italics is the year A.D.).

	ʿa. ʿaläm	*ʿa. śəggawe*	*ʿa. sämaʿətat*	*ʿa. məḥrät*
ʿa. ʿaläm	0(/1) *5493/92*			
ʿa. śəggawe	5500	0(/1) *7/8*		
ʿa. sämaʿətat	5776	276	0(/1) *283/84*	
ʿa. məḥrät	5852	352	76	0(/1) *359/60*
ʿa. sämaʿətat (cycle 2)	6308	808	532	456 *815/16*
ʿa. məḥrät (cycle 2)	6384	884	608	532 *891/92*
ʿa. sämaʿətat (cycle 3)	6840	1340	1064	988 *1347/48*
ʿa. məḥrät (cycle 3)	6916	1416	1140	1064 *1423/24*

In practice, the manuscript colophones often give dates for various eras in parallel and in doing so they "back up" the information from both sides. Here is an example thereof (after BritLib ms. Orient. 680, fol. 192r, printed in UhPal 68):

year 7204 *ʿamätä ʿaläm* = *1711/12*
year 1704 *ʿamätä məḥrät* (*śəgahu*) = *1711/12*
year 288 *ʿamätä qämär* (*məḥrät*) = 360+360+360 = 1423
+288 = *1711/12*

B. Further eras:

5. "Era of the Hiğra" **ዓመተ፡ ዘንባላት** (*ʿamätä tänbalat*, 'year of the Muslims'), which counts from the ↗*Hiğra*, beginning in 622 A.D.

6. "Era of Alexander" (i.e. Alexander the Great, 356–323 B.C.), begins in 311/10 B.C. and is used as a dating basis in a series of manuscripts.

7. "Era of Judith" begins at the same time as the 3rd cycle of *ʿamätä sämaʿət*, i.e. in 1347/48 A.D.

Further eras, such as, for example, "Indictio", "Era of the Hebrews", or "Era 1255" are described in Neugebauer 1979:120–24, 126f., as are Old Testament eras (Neugebauer 1989:43–54).

C. Events in the Old Testament

In literary works, events and characters from the O.T. are connected with dates. However, these differ considerably. The following examples are given:

1. The biblical patriarchs, starting with Adam, are noted both by the age at death and by the age at which they became fathers. The comparison of various time datings results in disparities, for example, with regard to Exodus; this particular disparity extends from the year 3753 until the year 4169 *ʿamätä ʿaläm*, according to Alexandrian calculations (with the Creation dated as the year 0/01, and the birth of Jesus in the year 5500, Neugebauer 1989:13).

2. The Kings of Judah are also connected with dates (for example in ms. 160 Paris, BN, fol. 79r–80r), and David's life-span, for example, is cited as extending from 4441 to 4495 (David's death) *ʿamätä ʿaläm*, according to Alexandrian calculation (Neugebauer 1989:13f), whilst 4447 can be reasonably accepted as being the internal Ethiopian calculation.

D. Ethiopian history

Texts known as "lists of kings" (separated or included into larger chronological tracts) record the succession of kings, sometimes starting from the mythical "snake king" ↗Arwe, proceeding, via Ǝbnä Ḥakim (↗Mənilək I), to "Aksumite" rulers and to the kings of the ↗Zagʷe and Solomonic dynasties. Some of these documents also quote the time-span and/or short accounts of the events the tradition attributes to the reign of a certain king. For example, here is a short excerpt from a "list of kings" in the ms. Vat. Aeth. 1 (after Neugebauer 1989:62): Abrəha reigned 12 years; Aṣfəha 7; Śahəl 14; Adḫano 14; Rətaᶜ 1; Asfəḥa 5; Aṣboḥ 16; Amida 7; Gäbäz 14; Śəhuᶜul 1; Aṣbahu 3; Abrəha 16; Ṣäḥam 28 years.

The "lists of kings" display great divergences in the number and sequence of the names. The registers in 86 mss. studied by Conti Rossini (1909) were classified into eight groups (ranging "A" to "H"), rather distant from each other. Although some of the names provided by the "lists of kings" look similar to the names of the known Aksumite rulers, these sources appear to be of minor historic value. Only a few of the names find historical counterparts, such as ↗Armaḥ, cp. also distribution of the names Tazena and ↗Kaleb (Conti Rossini 1909:272); on the contrary, the existence of such kings as ↗Bazen or ↗Dəgnağan, attested by most lists of kings, is not confirmed by any archaeological evidence.

The C. provided in the "lists of kings" and related sources seem to have developed following some points of the biblical chronological framework (e.g., the life time of David and Solomon, cp. Neugebauer 1989:59). Some of the frequently quoted points in the Ethiopian C. are:

1. the time from Arwe to ↗Makədda ca. 800 years;

2. from Makədda to Bazen – 1,000 years, with the birth of Christ occuring during his reign;

3. From Bazen to the "brother-kings" ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa – 245 years. The year of the conversion of Ethiopia (**ዓመተ፡ እምነተ፡ ኢትዮጵያ**, *ʿamätä əmnätä Ityopya*) is often set at 245 years after Christ's birth = 252/53 A.D. (5745 *ʿamätä ʿaläm*; Neugebauer 1989:20, 65; 1979:69) and connected with Abrəha and Aṣbəha (cp. *abunä* ↗Sälama Käsate Bərhan);

4. the reign of ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl, dated around 5929 *ʿamätä ʿaläm* [436/37 A.D.], or also 5963 *ʿamätä ʿaläm* [470/71 A.D.];

5. the Zagʷe dynasty;

6. *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak, 6762 (variations 6300–6336) *ʿamätä ʿaläm* [1269/70 A.D.] (Neugebauer 1989:57).

From Yəkunno Amlak onwards, the C. include mainly historically confirmed dates, among them also from recent events, such as:

1. "Bad time" (**ክፉ፡ ቀን**, *kəfu qän*), with the

variation **የከብት፡ እልቂት** (*yäkäbt əlqit*, 'destruction of cattle'), stands for the plague year of 1888; 2. "Ǝntičč̣o", the location from which General Baratieri advanced in 1896 towards ↗ᶜAdwa;
3. the coronation of Ḫaylä Śəllase on 2 November 1930 (**የዘውድ፡ በዓል**, *yäzäwd bäᶜal*, 'feast of the coronation').

There are some other sources typologically similar to the "lists of kings", e.g., the so-called "lists of the metropolitans" (cp. ↗*Ṗappas*; s. Guidi 1899). Usually beginning with Fəremnaṭos (*abunä* Sälama Käsate Bərhan), they register heads of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, in some cases adding to the names brief notices with facts on the ecclesiastic history of Ethiopia, e.g., "[the names of the metropolitans, who came from the See of the Apostle Marc are:] … the 30th – *abba* Yaᶜəqob, in whose days there was *abunä* Ewosṭatewos …" (Guidi 1899:3f., 9). Like the "lists of kings", the "lists of metropolitans" known to this date also display considerable differences; their historic value for the period prior to the early 14th cent. is consequently weak.

As centres of the written tradition, at least some of the Ethiopian monasteries are known to have fixed the chronological sequence of their abbots; cp. the well known lists of superiors of the ↗Dabrä Libanos monastic community (↗*Ǝčč̣äge*; s. Cerulli 1943–45; cp. the list of the abbots of the monastery on ↗Kəbran, lake Ṭana, s. HamTana 1, 102 f.).

Calculation moduli

(a) The 532-year cycle is necessary for calculating "moveable" feasts such as Passover and Easter, as these feasts follow the lunar calendar. This lunar cycle is calculated from the facts that the solar and lunar years fall on the same date after 19 years. For the days of the week of both calendars to agree, the factor 7 is needed (= 7 years) for the seven days of the week (= *ṭəntyon*) and the factor 4 (= four years) represents the balance between the Julian and Gregorian calendars. The result is 19 x 7 x 4 = 532.

The first lunar cycle is set at the "Era of Creation" (the first year of *ᶜamätä ᶜaläm*) and also offers the chronological basis for the important "Era of Grace".

(b) Moduli are mentioned in the manuscripts for the exact determination of the lunar and solar calendars:

Abäqte determines the differential of the lunar calendar in relation to the solar calendar by the modulus 11 in the 19-year cycle. *Mäṭqəᶜ* marks the date of the Jewish New Year's day (= of the first new moon) in the Ethiopian (solar) year. *Ṭəntyon* or 'solar epact', counts the first weekday of the first day of *Mäskäräm* (= of the first day) of the Ethiopian year (1 for Wednesday, because the sun was created on Wednesday, 2 for Thursday, etc.). These moduli are recorded in the relevant tables of the manuscripts, as well as in reference works (e.g. Chaîne 1925; s. below).

(c) The four "Evangelists' years" – called *ᶜawdä ᶜamät* ('cycle of years'). The leap year, in which the month *Ṗagʷəmen* has six days instead of five in the other years, is connected with Luke's name. These years are often mentioned as a dating element and offer to the copyist a simple reference point. Some selected data for the years 1615–35 follow as an example (after Chaîne 1925:166):

ᶜa. ᶜaläm	A.M.	A.D.	lunar year	Evan. year	*Abäq.*	*Mätq.*	*Ṭənt.*
7107	1607	1615	1	Lk	00	00	6
7108	1608	1616	2	Jh	11	19	1
7109	1609	1617	3	Mt	22	08	2
7110	1610	1618	4	Mk	03	27	3
7111	1611	1619	5	Lk	14	16	4
7112	1612	1620	6	Jh	25	05	6
7113	1613	1621	7	Mt	06	24	7
7114	1614	1622	8	Mk	17	13	1
7115	1615	1623	9	Lk	28	02	2
7116	1616	1624	10	Jh	09	21	4
7117	1617	1625	11	Mt	20	10	5
7118	1618	1626	12	Mk	01	29	6
7119	1619	1627	13	Lk	12	18	7
7120	1620	1628	14	Jh	23	07	2
7121	1621	1629	15	Mt	04	26	3
7122	1622	1630	16	Mk	15	15	4
7123	1623	1631	17	Lk	26	04	5
7124	1624	1632	18	Jh	07	23	7
7125	1625	1633	19	Mt	18	12	1
7126	1626	1634	1	Mk	00	00	2
7127	1627	1635	2	Lk	11	19	3

Time units

1. Year, month and season

In the Julian calendar 365 days make one solar year (or 366 for every fourth or leap year); in Roman Egypt this was divided into 12 months of 30 days each, which equals 360 days plus five epagomenal days; this gives us the "Alexandrian year" (Neugebauer 1979:228). The lunar calendar, specially important for the Easter cycle, encompasses 354 days of 29.5 hours and requires

Calculation of the lunar phases (*kekros* and *käntoros*), diagram from the BritLib ms. Orient. 816, fol. 16b, from Neugebauer 1979, plate III

special moduli: for example, *abäqte*, in order to come into agreement with the solar year, with the help of a 19-year cycle.

The seasons are either divided into four equal parts of 91 days with four *maʿəzən* ('corners'; documentary evidence in ms. Berlin or. quart. 370, fol. 4v, mentioned in Neugebauer 1979:204; cf. Hen 82:4–6), or vary in length: three seasons of 90 days each and one season with 95 (96) days – in accord with the Alexandrian calendar.

2. Length of the daylight and hours

The relationship between longest and shortest daylight hours is mentioned repeatedly in chronographical tracts and leads to a schematic (but not astronomically confirmed) division of 15 + 9 = 24 parts, or a division of 12 + 6 = 18 parts (as in En 72:8–32; cf. the overview in Uhlig 1984:640), where the months of the year demonstrate the increasing and decreasing parts; this means, in the case of 24 hours (according to Neugebauer 1979:181):

Month	Parts of daylight	Parts of darkness
Mäskäräm	12	12
Ṭəqəmt	11	13
Ḫədar	10	14
Taḫśaś	09	15
Ṭər	10	14
Yäkkatit	11	13
Mäggabit	12	12
Miyazya	13	11
Gənbot	14	10
Säne	15	09
Ḥamle	14	10
Naḥase	13	11

3. Moon phases and "minutes".

Chronographers need to use small units of time, above all for the description of the increasing and decreasing moon phases (= "minutes"). *Kekros* (from the Greek κίρκος 'cycle') and *käntəros* (from the Greek κέντρον 'centre') are used, but are sometimes interpreted either independently as "large part" (*kekros*) and "small part" (*käntəros*), or as units of the same length (for example, in Vat Aeth 119, fol. 69r; Neugebauer 1979:175).

(d) Although the shadow tables are admittedly of no use for practical time measurements, they appear relatively often in the manuscripts. They are measured "in feet of a man standing upright" (Neugebauer 1979:209) and they appear to be based ultimately on a very early form of Greek astronomy – as the medieval models in Europe and the Near East. According to what is known, the treatment of this subject was purely diagrammatic and academic.

On the whole, the chronographers were not oriented through exact astronomical facts, but rather through traditional cosmologies, wherein numbers such as 30, 60, 90 and 360 provided foundational patterns.

Direct and indirect time dating

Ethiopian C. uses two methods of time dating. First, direct dating, which provides the year (e.g., "in the xth year of the era..."), not infrequently the year of reign of a ruler, the evangelist year and sometimes such moduli as *abäqte*, *mätqəʿ* or *ṭəntyon*. It also makes use of indirect dating, which allows to date codices through the mention of well-known personalities, such as emperors, metropolitans etc. From time to time one finds entries about natural events such as earthquakes and droughts, so that the time when the codex, or at least the contemporary note, was created can be established.

Here is an example of traditional C. as found in the ms. Orient. 578 (cp. UhPal 492): **ተፈጸመ፡ ዝንቱ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ አመ፡ ወርኀ፡ ዘመኑ፡ ለንጉሥነ፡ ፋሲለደስ፡ በ፲ወ፫ዓመት፡ እምአመ፡ ነግ[ሠ]፡ ወእምኮነ፡ ዓለምሂ፡ በ፼፱ወ፭፻ወ፷ዓመት፡ ምሕረት፡ በ፷ወ፮መጥቅዕ፡ በ፲ወ፪አበቅቴ፡ በ፫ጥንትዮን**, 'This

book is completed in the time [of reign] of our *nəguś* Fasilädäs [1632–67], in the 13th year after he reigned, from the creation of the world in the 7138th year of grace, with *mäṭqəʿ* 18, with *abäqte* 12, with *ṭəntyon* 3 [=1646 A.D.]'.

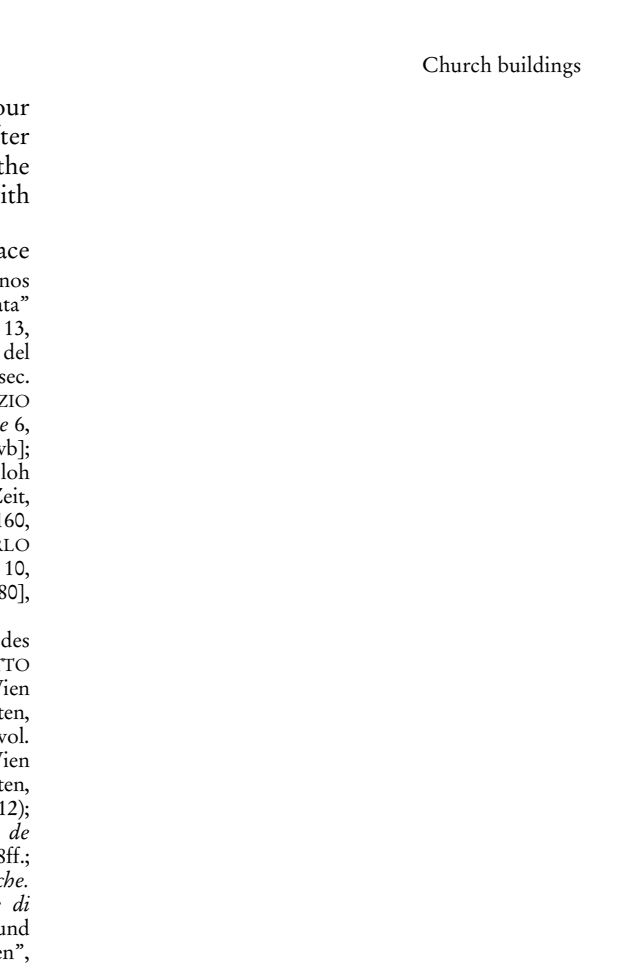
↗Time and space

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli Abbati di Dabra Libanos capi del monachesimo etiopico, secondo la "lista rimata" (sec. XIV–XVIII)", *Orientalia* 12, 1943, 226–53; *ibid.* 13, 1944, 137–82; ID., "Gli Abbati di Dabra Libanos capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo le "liste ricenti" (sec. XVIII–XX)", *Orientalia* 14, 1945, 134–71; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione* 6, 1899, 1–17; HamTana 1, 102f. [ms. Ṭānāsee 6, fol. 37vb]; SIEGBERT UHLIG, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, Gütersloh 1984 (Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit, Band 6, Lieferung 6), 640; ZotBNat 261–64, ms. Éth. 160, fol. 79r–80r; GreTisVat 484, ms. Aet. 119, fol. 69r; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Les listes des rois d'Axoum", *JA* ser. 10, 14, 1909, 264–325; WrBriMus 66, no. 104 [Orient. 680], fol. 192r; 122, no. 188 [Orient. 578].
Lit.: AUGUST DILLMANN, "Zur Geschichte des abyssinischen Reichs", *ZDMG* 7, 1853, 338–64; OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus*, Wien 1979 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, vol. 347) [Ill.]; ID., *Chronography in Ethiopic Sources*, Wien 1989 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 512); MARIUS CHAÎNE, *La chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie,* Paris 1925, 9–13, 166, 168ff.; MAURO DA LEONESSA, *Dissertazioni cronologiche. Cronologia e calendario etiopico. La tavola pasquale di Anatolio*, Tivoli 1934; SIEGBERT UHLIG, "Kolophone und zeitgenössische Vermerke in äthiopischen Handschriften", *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 76, 1986, 307–19; JOACHIM MAHR – BERTOLD SPULER (eds.), *Wüstenfeld-Mahler'sche Vergleichungstabellen zur muslimischen und iranischen Zeitrechnung mit Tafeln zur Umrechnung orientalischer Åren*, Wiesbaden ³1961; MURAD KAMIL, "The Ethiopian Calendar", *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts* [Fouad I University, Cairo] 12, 1950, 91–111; UhPal 492.

Siegbert Uhlig

Church buildings

By the 4th century, established convention of the Universal Christian Church dictated that the consecrated Christian meeting place or church should be "oriented", i.e. directed toward the east, and that the sanctuary (Gəʿəz: መቅደስ, *mäqdäs*) where the altar is located be at the eastern end of the structure. The most common plan of church edifice during the Late Antique period was the basilica. It may be described generally as an oriented rectangular structure with a central broad aisle or nave lit by clerestory windows and with a lower aisle flanking the nave on its north and south sides. The nave terminates at the east with a sanctuary in the form of a semi-circular apse. The entrance portal of the church is usually at the center of the western wall. To its basic scheme were added regional variations (Krautheimer 1986:94f., 97f.).



Ground plan of an ancient basilica-type church (in Adulis, based on data of Paribeni, sketched by Theodor v. Lüpke [dotted lines added by v. Lüpke]), from DAE II, 166

Remains of Ethiopian ecclesiastic architecture from the late Aksumite period (i.e. the 6th or 7th cent.) have been excavated at ↗Aksum, ↗Mäṭära, ↗Adulis, and ↗Yəḥa. Each reflects the general Late Antique basilica plan which, along with other essential elements of Christianity, such as the Sacred Scriptures (↗Bible), had been introduced to Ethiopia from the Mediterranean world. Several distinctive features are incorporated into Aksumite basilicas. Often a pair of rectangular or square chambers flanks the semi-circular apse. Sometimes the curve of the apse is embedded within the eastern wall of the church so that the exterior wall is flat. In other instances, the semi-circular apse is replaced by a square chamber. Each of these dis-

Ground plan and side view of a rectangular church (Ǝnda Qəddus Mikaʾel in Ğäffa, 5 km south of Mäṭära, Eritrea), from DAE III, 66

tinctive features reflects exchanges with the great urban centers of the eastern Mediterranean. Lateral square chambers flanking the semi-circular apse were a characteristic feature of basilica churches on the south coast of Asia Minor as well as in Syria and Palestine during the 5th cent., and the practice of embedding the curve of the apse within a straight-sided exterior wall was typical in Palestine and Syria during the 5th cent. (Krautheimer 1986:106–10).

Excavated remains of the basilica church at Mäṭära in Eritrea indicate that galleries had existed above the side aisles. The ↗rock-hewn churches of Betä Maryam and Amanuʾel at the 12th/13th cent. pilgrimage site of ↗Lalibäla have vestigial galleries, and it is reasonable to assume that the incorporation of galleries over the side aisles was another distinctive feature of the Aksumite basilica plan. Galleries were a characteristic feature of the 5th-cent. basilica in Constantinople, from whence it was introduced to the urban centers on the east coast of the Mediterranean and to Palestine (Krautheimer 1986:105f.).

Few Ethiopian constructed churches datable to the period before 1500 are extant, having been destroyed by war, fire or water damage. The church of St. Michael at Däbrä Sälam in Təgray (13th or 14th cent.) is constructed of stone, mud-mortar and wood and sits within a cave overhang; it has thus been sheltered from water and enemy attack. Churches hewn from rock are better preserved, but are difficult to date with any precision. Nevertheless, the ↗rock-hewn churches of Lalibäla may be confidently dated to the 12th and 13th cent., and the rock-hewn church known as ↗Gännätä Maryam was created for *aṣe* Yəkunno Amlak (r. 1279–85). The rock-hewn church at ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon in Təgray was founded and carved by the monastic leader *abunä* Abrəham who died during the reign of *aṣe* Dawit II and thus his church may be dated to the late 14th or early 15th cent. Each of these churches follows a basilica plan, with the exception of several churches at Lalibäla, which is cruciform in plan, and the churches of the Cross, Saint Gabriel, and Mercurius (Gerster 1970, figs. 67f.), the layouts of which indicate that they were not intended to be churches.

Presently, the sanctuary of basilican churches is completely closed off from view by cumbrous curtains or an added sturdy wooden door. The result is a darkened sanctuary, a secret and holy space, entered only by the priest who celebrates the liturgy. Originally, however, because the entrance to the sanctuary was open, the sanctuary was visible, and the separation between nave and sanctuary was marked only by chancel screens. Presently, a few carved wooden chancel screens remain installed in their original positions.

A radically different plan was introduced around 1500 which subsequently replaced the basilica form. The essence of this new plan is an enclosed square sanctuary located at the core of the church structure. The more common form of the new plan is a circular (or octagonal) church with walls of wattle and daub or stone and with a conical thatched roof (metal roofs are more recent innovation). Two concentric aisles encircle the central square sanctuary or *mäqdäs*, the innermost part of the church. The inner aisle, the *qəddəst* (ቅድስት, 'the Holy') is the priest's domain the outer aisle where hymns are sung, *qəne maḫlet* (ቅኔ፡ ማኅሌት), is accessible to the laity. The four walls of central square sanctuary are aligned according to the four cardinal points of the compass, and doors in the west, north, and south walls give the officiating priest entrance to the sanctuary. The primary entrance is the west door, just as the primary entrance to the church is placed at the west/east axis of the plan. Those laity not in a state of purity gather for liturgical service outside the western entrance of the church or beyond the entrance to the church yard.

Typical of northern Ethiopia and Eritrea is a rectangular version of the circular plan, with an enclosed square sanctuary situated in the eastern half of the rectangular space and the two subdivisions of *qəddəst* and *qəne maḫlet* located

beyond. The rectangular church is built of stone with wooden doors and window frames. The flat is constructed of wooden beams covered with rock, gravel and a final layer of lime.

The distinctive centralized sanctuary arrangement appears to be an independent invention and is unique to Ethiopia. Considering the erudition of Ethiopian religious leaders and their respect for ecclesiastic tradition, this plan is likely to have been a bold innovation, supported by well informed patrons. The earliest documentary evidence of the circular plan is found in Manoel de Almeida's account of the miracle concerning the church of Our Lady Mary at ↗Amba Gəšen, begun by *aṣe* Naᶜod (r. 1495–1508) and completed by *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl (r. 1508–40). Almeida describes the church as being round and having two concentric rows of stone columns and a "chapel" at the centre (BeckHuntAlm 99).

The result of this subdivided interior is a church plan with little visible space, because only limited portions of the interior may be seen from a single vantage point. The primary aesthetic experience of the centralized plan is not provided by architectural space, but the brilliantly painted exterior walls of the sanctuary, covered with portraits of the saints and narrative scenes of the lives of Christ and of Our Lady Mary. The outer wall of the inner aisle may also be covered with religious ↗paintings.

The church precinct of village churches is often filled with trees. Priests explain that the trees are a source of wood for necessary repairs to the church. However, the grove of the trees may also suggest the garden of Eden, because the church precinct include a building that serves as the church treasury (↗*ᶜƎqa bet*), where books, liturgical umbrellas, and other possessions of the church are stored, and a small, usually circular structure known as *betä ləḥem* (ቤተ ልሔም, lit. 'Bethlehem'), where the bread for the liturgical sacrifice is prepared by a deacon. The precinct of larger and wealthier churches may be surrounded by a high stone wall with a handsome entrance portal.

The 20th cent. saw a shift beyond the distinctive centralized plan of Ethiopian tradition to the adoption in the larger cities of a wider variety of church plans and architectural styles. For example, the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral of Addis Abäba may be described as Neo-Baroque in style, while the new church at ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, the church of St. Mary at ↗Asmära and the pilgrimage church of the Archangel Gabriel at Gullubi represent the modernist idiom. Perhaps the most distinguished of Ethiopia's 20th–cent. churches is the new cathedral of St. Mary of Zion at Aksum (↗Aksum Ṣəyon), designed by the Greek architectural firm of Constantinos Doxiadis associates and dedicated in 1965. A broad, rather shallow dome topped by a large cross of traditional style rests upon a rectangular base.

Ground plan and side view of a round church (Church of Mädḫane ᶜAläm, ᶜAdwa), from DAE III, 54, 55

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 99; DAE III.

Lit.: CLAUDE LEPAGE, "L'église de Zaréma (Éthiopie) et son apport à l'histoire de l'architecture éthiopienne", *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1973 Juillet–Octobre*, Paris 1974, 416–55; ID., "Bilan des recherches sur l'art médiéval d'Éthiopie, quelques résultats historiques", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 47–55; GEORG GERSTER, *Churches in Rock. Early Christian Churches in Ethiopia*, London 1970; GUY ANNEQUIN, "De quand datent l'église actuelle de Dabra Berhan Sellasé de Gondar et son ensemble de peintures?", *AE* 10, 1976, 215–26; MARILYN E. HELDMAN, "Architectural Symbolism, Sacred Geography and the Ethiopian Church", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22, 3, 1992

222–41; MARIO DI SALVO, *Churches of Ethiopia. The Monastery of Nārgā Śellāsē*, Milano 1999; RICHARD KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Harmondsworth ⁴1986; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985 (Lit.).

Marilyn E. Heldman

Church Missionary Society

The C.M.S., a Protestant organization, was founded within the established Church of England in 1812. Its Ethiopian mission grew out of its interest in the Mediterranean and the Orthodox churches of the eastern Mediterranean. The C.M.S.'s goal was to effect a reformation within those churches, which would then renew their own missionary activities among the region's non-Christian peoples. It did not intend to convert Orthodox Christians to Protestantism.

In 1830 the first C.M.S. missionaries – Samuel ↗Gobat and Christian ↗Kugler, the former Swiss, the latter German – arrived in Ethiopia. Gobat proceeded to Gondär where he spent six months in conversation with the clergy of the town. Kugler died at the end of the year. Although a disturbed political situation forced Gobat to leave Ethiopia in December 1832, he remained convinced that the C.M.S. strategy would work with the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Gobat returned to Ethiopia in 1834 accompanied by Carl Wilhelm ↗Isenberg. They settled in ᶜAdwa. Sickness precluded Gobat's having any impact in Ethiopia, which he left in 1836. He was replaced that same year by Carolus Henricus ↗Blumhardt. At the end of 1837, Johann Ludwig ↗Krapf joined the mission, but a scant three months later, in March, following a confrontation with the ᶜAdwa clergy, exacerbated by Isenberg's intransigence, all the missionaries withdrew. Krapf and Isenberg re-directed their attentions to Šäwa, which they entered in May 1839. Krapf remained there until March 1842. While he made useful contacts with the Šäwan clergy, doctrinal struggles within the Orthodox church negated these advances and and when Krapf and Isenberg attempted to return to Šäwa in November 1842 they found the door shut. Direct C.M.S. involvement in Ethiopia effectively ended, but not without some lasting effects.

Books published by Isenberg, Krapf and Gobat remain vital sources of information about the period. The evangelical Protestant torch was passed to a mission which was the joint creation of Samuel Gobat, then Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, and the ↗St.Chrischona-Pilgermission of Switzerland. This mission sent Protestant artisans to *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, a group which withdrew on the Emperor's death. The last years of the Chrischona mission were the first years of activity by the ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission, which planted the seeds from which the ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Iyesus grew.

Src.: SAMUEL GOBAT, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia in Furtherance of the Objects of the Church Missionary Society*, London 1834; CARL WILHELM ISENBERG, *Dictionary of the Amharic Language*, London 1841; CARL WILHELM ISENBERG – JOHANN LUDWIG KRAPF, *Journal of the Rev. Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf, Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, Detailing their Proceedings in the Kingdom of Shoa, and Journeys in other Parts of Abyssinia, in the Years 1839, 1840, 1841, and 1842*, London 1843; CAROLUS HENRICUS BLUMHARDT, *Outlines of Amharic, Containing an English, Oordoo and Amharic Vocabulary, Phrases in English and Amharic, and a Rudimentary Grammar, for the Use of the Force Proceeding to Abyssinia*, Serampore 1867.

Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, *Priests and Politicians. Protestant and Catholic Missions in Orthodox Ethiopia, 1830–1868*, Oxford 1973, 29–57; GUSTAV ARÉN, *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia. Origins of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus*, Stockholm 1978, 45–84.

Donald Crummey

Churches and church administration

While the high hierarchy of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Tawaḥədo Church, headed by the Metropolitan (at present by the Patriarch), strives to lead the national church in general, the institutions meant to bring the spiritual message to the population are the local individual churches (**ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን**, pl. **አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት**), attended by their clergy. The official number of churches provided by the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church for 1970 was 12,596 (Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Motovu 1970:125); but cp. the number 13,154 given by Kidanä Maryam Getahun (1957:15, 22) or ca. 13,000 by Heyer (1971:27). According to the 2000 statistics of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawaḥədo Church, the number of local parish and other churches was estimated as 32,530 (Chaillot 2002). An outline of the internal organization of individual churches is presented below. This has been little studied so far, as compared with the national superstructure and the history of the church hierarchy.

Historically, the construction of a church depended mainly on local initiative. A church was

an essential component of the rights of the local community. The founder(s) of the community would confirm their people's land ownership by establishing a church (and constituting the local parish, ↗*aṭbiya*). Consequently, no-one could found a church without the permission of the local community. Rulers could build a church only with the agreement of the local population and implicitly without claiming ↗*rəst* right on the land. Otherwise, the community rights would be abused.

Today the foundation of a church is a centralized process. Church construction is not allowed unless the community has official permission from the ecclesiastical authority, normally issued by a bishop, the head of the diocese. The ↗*tabot* of the church must be consecrated by a local bishop (or ↗*qomos*, who receives the delegation) or the Patriarch himself. Both liturgical rites are conducted according to the *Mäṣḥafä ṗappas*, i.e. 'The Pontifical' (but cp. Kənfä Gäbrəʾel Altayyä 1992:9, 16f.).

A church, once built, has to be regularly maintained and supplied with books, utensils, oil, incense, wine, wheat etc. Consequently, a group of people that did not have enough resources to build and run a church of its own would have to be dependent on the church of another community for having the Christian rituals performed, attending liturgy etc.

The network of individual churches has become a solid foundation for the entire structure of Ethiopian society. The church organizes the spiritual life of Ethiopians by performing religious rituals, but at the same time it provides a base for interactions in all other spheres of life. The life of a community centres around its church. The relationship between the faithful and the church clergy is very close and is based upon close co-operation between the two parties in every-day issues, both religious and secular. Priests and deacons participate in settling controversies and conflicts of different kinds between the members of the parish. An individual church is an important instrument for the transmission of moral values to the younger generations. Besides, it is often the only institution to help the poorest members of the parish.

There are churches of different ranks, such as ↗*gäṭär*, ↗*däbr* (pl. *adbarat*) and ↗*gädam* (pl. *gädamat*). Most of the churches are of *gäṭär* rank. They are smaller, possess no land and depend on the local community and occasional donors; nevertheless, most of the *aṭbiya*-parishes are constituted by churches of this type. They have enough priests and deacons to meet only the most immediate religious needs of the people. In these churches the liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) is usually celebrated once a week and on the occasions of major feasts. The large and rich churches are the *adbarat*, where the liturgy can be held almost every day. The *gädamat* are monasteries and through their position supersede *adbarat* (though sometimes the term *gädam* is used to designate a church served by monks). A church could be elevated to a higher rank, or, on the other hand, reduced in rank if its services discontinued for some reason and the church became deserted. A large *däbr* can have several smaller or poorer churches under its supervision, lending them liturgical vessels, books etc., or even delegating its own priests or deacons (so-called **ቅፋፍ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን**, *qəfaf betä krəstiyan*) to celebrate the Holy Mass. During the rest of the time the building of such a subordinate church can remain empty. Sometimes a priest is appointed to be in charge of such a church and to celebrate ↗*Kidan zänägh* there.

Providing a donation sufficient for the construction of a church was considered a highly pious deed. Consequently, many churches were founded by rich and influential patrons, among them, by Ethiopian emperors, members of their families and other notables. In the periods of relative stability, when the emperors were able to spend some time at one and the same place, a church would often be built nearby. Such churches would usually be staffed by a considerable number of priests, deacons and ↗*däbtära*, richly provided by their founders with liturgical utensils, books, vestments and extensive land possessions and proclaimed to have the right of ↗asylum. Nevertheless, even such a church could face decline, e.g., when the king moved to another residence.

The revenue of a local church is collected from several sources. First of all, there are the believers who regularly support their church. When going to the church for a special ritual (baptism, memorial service etc.), people are expected to bring at least food and drink for the priests (*mäkfält*). Moreover, the tithe (↗*ʿAśrat*) is traditionally regarded as destined for the local church. Money and grain are also often donated to the churches on the occasion of a commemoration service

(↗*Täzkar*). Formerly plots of land could also be donated, so that in the course of time some large churches could come to possess a considerable amount of land. The land offered to a church could, in its turn, be lent out.

Due to the conditions prevailing in Ethiopia, an individual church had little responsibility to anybody as far as its revenues were concerned. The degree of independence of an individual church was formally reduced much later, mainly through a decree of 1942, which officially obliged the clergy to pay substantial donations to the Central Treasury of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, and the users of the church land to pay taxes. After 1974, during the *Därg* government, the financial situation of many of the individual churches became more difficult, since the Ethiopian Orthodox Church lost most of its land properties. Nowadays, priests and deacons are theoretically considered to be employees of the Patriarchate, but the income of the latter is only sufficient to pay salaries to the priests mostly in urban areas.

The development of the administration of an individual church resulted in the emergence of numerous titles and offices. Due to the specific conditions of Ethiopia, they have never been standardized. Therefore, it is possible that in the churches of different regions there exist unique local titles and offices, for which no equivalents can be found elsewhere. Alternatively, some common titles can be interpreted in remarkably different ways. Nevertheless, there are some common features in the administration of all the individual churches. As to responsibility and functions, the internal organization of an individual church has three levels:

1. The head of a *däbr* church has the title of ↗*aläqa*. An *aläqa* can also be installed over several *adbarat* and at present he often has the responsibilities of the head of a parish (*aṭbiya*). The head of a *gädam* (monastery) is usually a ↗*mämhər,* with **አፈ፡ መምህር** (*afä mämhər*) in second place after him. He can also have the title of **አበ፡ ምኔት** (*abä mənet*) or a ↗*mäggabi*. The head of a *gäṭär* church has the title ↗*qesä gäbäz*.

The heads of important or famous *däbr* churches bear honorary titles, often connected with special privileges. For example, the head of the famous Aksum Ṣəyon Cathedral has borne the title of ↗*nəburä əd* since early times. The same title was conferred by *aṣe* Mənilək II upon the head of St. Mary's Church built in ↗Addis ᶜAläm in Šäwa. The Chronicle of *aṣe* Zärᵊa Yaᶜəqob reports that this Emperor conferred the title of ↗*liqä kahənat* upon an ecclesiastic who was put in charge of two churches, Märṭulä Mikaᵊel and Aṣädä Mikaᵊel in Fäṭägar, as well as upon the head of ↗Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad in Ḍähaya, Amhara. The title of **መክበብ** (*mäkbəb*, lit. 'who convokes, who summons, preacher') was reserved for the churches of ↗Atronsä Maryam and ↗Däbrä Məśwaᶜ; **በትረ፡ ያርክ/ ፓትሪያርክ** (*bäträ yarək/patriyarək*, 'patriarch') for ↗Tädbabä Maryam; and **ርእሰ፡ ርኡሳን** (*rəᵊəsä rəᵊusan*, 'head of heads') or **መልአከ፡ ብርሃን** (*mälᵊakä bərhan*, 'angel of light') for ↗Märṭulä Maryam. The head of St. Michael's Church at the court of the Gondärine emperors held the title **መልአከ፡ ገነት** (*mälᵊakä gännät*, 'angel of paradise'). The title **መልአከ፡ ፀሐይ** (*mälᵊakä ṣäḥay*, 'angel of the sun') was reserved for the head of ↗Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷäsqʷam. The title of **መልአከ፡ ሰላም** (*mälᵊakä sälam*, 'angel of peace') for the Gondärine church of Ewosṭatewos built by *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I and ↗Bərhan Mogäsa; **መልአከ፡ ብርሃናት** (*mälᵊakä bərhanat*, 'angel of lights') or **ሊቀ፡ ብርሃናት** (*liqä bərhanat*, 'head of lights') for ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase of Gondär. The title of **ድማሐ፡ ገነት** (*dəmaḥa gännät*, 'top of paradise') was given to exalt the abbot of ↗Däbrä Gännät Elyas in Goğğam. The administrator of the famous ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral in Addis Abäba has the title of **ሊቀ፡ ስልጣናት** (*liqä səlṭanat*, 'head of authorities') and the head of Bäᵊata Maryam church of Addis Abäba holds the title of **ሊቀ፡ ሊቃውንት** (*liqä liqawənt*, 'head of heads').

Many new churches have been established according to this initial pattern. Their heads receive titles related to the rank of their church. In this way, the *aläqa* of, say, Däbrä Sälam Church will bear the title of *mälᵊakä sälam* ('angel of peace').

2. The next level consists of the ordained priests (s. ↗*qäsis*) and deacons (↗*diyaqon*) who celebrate the Holy Mass, and those who carry out other tasks connected with the performance of the eucharistic service. For example, **ሊቀ፡ መዘምራን** (*liqä mäzämmərən*, 'head of cantors', or the **ሊቀ፡ ጥበብት**, *liqä ṭəbbäbt*, 'head of the wise') is in charge of the church choir (consisting of *mäzämmərən* 'cantors'). Being himself a master of ↗*zema* chanting, he trains the church cantors and prepares ↗hymns and chants for the liturgy. During the liturgy the cantors stand

on the left and right of the ቅኔ፡ ማኅሌት (*qəne maḫlet*) and the *liqä mäzämmərän*'s task is to achieve a co-ordinated and smooth performance. The ↗*märi geta* is considered superior to the *liqä mäzämmərän*; he is expected to act additionally as an expert and a teacher of ↗*qəne*, *zema* and ↗*aqʷaqʷam*. Sometimes, the *märi geta* is assisted by a ቀኝ፡ ጌታ (*qäññ geta*) and a ግራ፡ ጌታ (*gra geta*), the heads of the singers on the left and right sides of the *qəne maḫlet*, respectively. These three clergymen traditionally enjoy great respect; the most skilful are admired and their service is greatly desired. These titles and the respective offices, especially that of *märi geta*, can only be claimed by those who have completed a long course of traditional education.

The ሊቀ፡ ዲያቆናት (*liqä diyaqonat*, or ሊቀ፡ ዲያቆን, *liqä diyaqon*) supervises the work of deacons and priests performing the Holy Mass. It is he who is in charge of all the liturgical texts to be read and all the liturgical rituals to be held at their correct time and in a proper way. The *liqä diyaqonat* is delegated to organize such rituals as ↗Baptism or Absolution of the dead (↗*Fətḥat*). In the current church practice, *liqä diyaqon* is a deacon with the administrative ecclesiastical authority over a *wäräda*.

3. The third group are the functionaries who take care of everyday routine tasks. They are headed by a ↗*gäbäz*. He supervizes the usage and preservation of the church's property and the organization of banquets; he takes care of incense, candles, wheat, raisins, wood for baking the host etc. The ቄሰ፡ ገበዝ (*qesä gäbäz*) is responsible for the ↗*ᶜəqa bet*, or sacristy; he is in charge of books, clothes and other moveable properties of the church. At the banquets the *gäbäz* can be assisted by a ↗*mäčäne* (lit. 'measurer', or ሊቀ፡ መጣኒ, *liqä mäṭṭani* 'master of measure') and/or an ↗*aggafari* ('a master of ceremonies'), who welcomes the guests as they enter the banqueting hall and leads them to their places, according to their ranks. The *aggafari* is sometimes also in charge of transporting and distributing liturgical books, sistrums (↗*Ṣänaṣəl*), drums (↗*Käbäro*) and sticks (↗*Mäqqʷamiya*) used as support by elderly people. Finally, there can be quite a number of minor functionaries: the አንጣፊ (*anṭafi*, lit. 'who spreads') decorates the church with carpets, the ጐዝጓዥ (*gʷäzgʷaž*, 'one who spreads grass, reeds') covers the floor of the church with fresh grass; the አቃቢት (*aqqabit*, lit. 'custodian') is a woman who grinds the wheat for the Eucharistic bread; the ደዋይ (*däwway*, 'bell-ringer') sounds the church bell (ደወል, *däwäl*); the ቃንዳሌጭት (*qandaleft*, 'candle-lighter') lights the candles. These tasks, however, do not always have to be fulfilled by the same persons.

The number of clergy required to celebrate the Holy Mass (ቀዳሾች, *qäddašočč*, lit. 'celebrants') has historically been set as follows: a church must have at least two priests (one as the main celebrant and one as his assistant priest) and three deacons for a service (in urgent cases the number of deacons can be reduced to one). Otherwise, the number of officiating clergy may vary according to the place, circumstances and availability of able ministers. As to the number of clergy serving a church, it has been unrestricted. An important *däbr* can be run by a large number of clergymen: traditions report hundreds of (married) priests, deacons and ↗*däbtära* in large churches, such as Tädbabä Maryam, Aksum Ṣəyon and the cathedrals of Gondär, such as Däbrä Ṣähay Qʷəsqʷam, of ᶜAdwa etc.

Priests and deacons performing the service in weekly "shifts" are called *sämonäññočč* (an equivalent would be "hebdomadarians"). A number of clergy sufficient to organize more than two "shifts" characterizes a well-established church which can perform the rituals (first and foremost the Eucharist) regularly, thus meeting the religious needs of a large number of the faithful. The clergymen who are free of office have more time to perform rituals outside the church; it should also be remembered that most of the clergy still have to earn their own living tilling their fields, like their parishoners.

Not all of the above-mentioned functionaries must be ordained. An *aläqa* is expected to be a priest; he can also be a respected monk (but ordained priest anyway). Nowadays, an *aläqa* is usually appointed by the bishop. The *qesä gäbäz*, who is responsible for the sacristy, has to be an ordained priest. Only ordained clergymen may officiate in the liturgy, even though the liturgical positions are usually the result of a rearrangement among the persons involved. For the "minor orders" the blessing used to be performed. The *liqä diyaqonat* is an ordained deacon (in practice, today he is given the ecclesiastical administrative authority over a *wäräda*). The *mäzämmərän*-cantors are usually deacons trained for chanting (all the *däbtäras* are at least deacons).

Apart those deriving from the ordination, the titles are usually given by the Church hierarchy (bishops, archbishops, the Patriarch). Otherwise, the title can reflect the acknowledgement of competence in one field or another (e.g., *märi geta*), and it can be given by the head of a monastery or church or the *liq* of the traditional school. The title can be authorized by a document or other witnesses. Sometimes it happens that the bishop, on the occasion of an individual meeting, decides to reward him with a title or solemnly confirm a title (and position) already acquired. The newly given title can be unique or without a corresponding office.

Nowadays the heads of individual churches are appointed by the hierarchy of the Orthodox Church at patriarchal or diocesan level (previously by the emperor as well), but the candidates can also be chosen and promoted on the local level. The following titles are conferred by the decision of the *aläqa*, the head of the *däbr*-church: *märi geta*, *gra geta*, *qäññ geta*, *liqä mäzämmäran, liqä ṭəbbäbt, liqä diyaqonat* and *aggafari*. For a particular service, the *aläqa* can entrust deacons with the following functions: sub-deacon (**ንፍቀ ዲያቆን**, *nəfqä diyaqon*), cantor (**መዘምር**, *mäzämmər*), reader (**አናጓንስጢስ**, *anagʷanəsṭis*) and door-keeper (**አጸፋ ኖኅት**, *aṣawe ḫoḫət*, the one who locks the gates and the doors of the church and closes the curtains of the **ቅዱሰ ቅዱሳን**, *qəddusä qəddusan*, 'the Holy of the Holiest').

The tradition of church administration was given an impetus by the Parish Council Regulation (the first version was issued by the Patriarchate in 1972 and revised in 1978 and 1998/99) known as **ቃለ ዓዋዲ** (*Qalä ʿAwadi*, 'The Herald'), which introduced representatives of the laity into the administration of individual churches through membership of Parish Spiritual Assemblies (**የሰበካ መንፈሳዊ ጉባኤ**, *yäsäbäka mänfäsawi gubaʾe*) at different levels.

A special branch in the administrative hierarchy of an individual church is formed by the church schools, which are found at almost every well-established church (↗Education). Many of these schools, especially those at the large and famous churches, e.g., of the time of the Gondärine kingdom and, later, the cathedrals of Addis Abäba, developed into major centres of traditional learning, with a separate system of internal administration.

Src.: AmhChurchDic, esp. vol. 4, 1–18; AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU (eds.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 31ff.; *liqä səlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƎNÄH, **ጥንታዊ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ትምህርት** (*Təntawi yäʾityopya śərʿatä təmhərt*, 'The Ancient Ethiopian Order of Teaching'), Addis Abäba 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.], esp. 300–05; *liqä kahənat* KƎNFÄ GABRƎʾEL ALTAYYÄ, **ሥርዓተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን** (*Śərʿatä betä krəstiyan*, 'The Order of the Church'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999/2000 A.D.]; *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Abäba ²1988 A.M. [1996 A.D.] (Amharic, English), 146; KIDANÄ MARYAM GETAHUN, **ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያንና፡ ሥርዓትዋ** (*Betä krəstiyanənna śərʿatəwa*, 'The Church and its Order'), Addis Abäba 1957 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.], 15, 22; *Qalä ʿAwadi*: **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ቃለ፡ ዓዋዲ – የቅድስት፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ አንድነትና፡ አስተዳደር፡ ለማጠናከር፡በ1991ዓ.ም. ለሦስተኛ፡ ጊዜ፡ ተሻሽሎ፡ የወጣ፡ የሰበካ፡ መንፈሳዊ፡ ጉባኤ፡ ደንብ** (*Yäʾityopya ortodoks täwaḥədo betä krestiyan qalä ʿawadi – yäqəddəst betä krəstiyan andənnätənna astädadär lämaṭänakär bä1991 ʿamätä məḥrät läśostäññna gize täšaślo yäwäṭṭa yäsäbäka mänfäsawi gubaʾe dänb*, 'The Voice of the Herald of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. Regulation of the Parish Spiritual Council Improved and Published for the Third Time in 1991 A.M. in Order to Strengthen the Unity and the Administration of the Holy Church'), Addis Abäba 1991 A.M. [1997/98 A.D.].

Lit.: CHRISTINE CHAILLOT, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition*, Paris 2002; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopien. Christliches Reich zwischen Gestern und Morgen*, Wiesbaden 1967, 120, 130; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens*: *Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Berlin – New York 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), 27; BAIRU TAFLA, "Titles, Ranks and Offices of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahdo Church: a Preliminary Survey", *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 76, 1986, 293–304.

Denis Nosnitsin – Emmanuel Fritsch – Dimetros Weldu

Cimmaruta, Roberto

C. (b. 2. May 1898, Milan) was an Italian soldier who fought in World War I in 1917, serving in Libya between 1919 and 1920, then in Somalia from 1926 as a Lieutenant of a camel artillery unit. In 1928 he was transferred to the Dubat detachment. As a Captain, he assumed leadership of the military command of the ↗Wälwäl border front where on 5 December 1934 he opposed the unauthorized border crossing of Ethiopian troops accompanying a British delegation there to demarcate the border. Now promoted to the rank of Major, he attended the international judiciary commission at Berna and Aia to testify on the Wälwäl incident. In 1940 he was given responsibilities as Commander of Artillery in the troops command of Eritrea with the rank of Lieutenant-colonel.

Lit.: ROBERO CIMMARUTA, *Ual ual*, Milano 1936.

Gian Carlo Stella

Cinema

In the early days of Ethiopian C., C. houses were called **የሰይጣን፡ ቤት** (*yäsäyṭan bet*, 'The Devil's House'), a definition which well suited the technological "devilry" of cinematographically combined images and movement. It was only after World War II that C. became a popular form of entertainment in the country.

In 1898 a Frenchman from Algeria brought one of the first cinematic artefacts to Ethiopia (s. Pankhurst 1968:712). *Aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, an assiduous C.-goer, also owned a film projector. However, C. was only popularized further by the ↗Italians during the occupation in 1936–41. Italians used C. extensively as an instrument of propaganda (both to the "natives" and to their own nationals) and as entertainment (mainly to their nationals). They built new C. houses for themselves and projected outdoor films for the natives.

The first C. in Eritrea was built in 1918, in Asmära, also by Italians: the Teatro di Asmara, a circular hall with a double set of stalls and a gallery, was also used to show films. Theatre-goers and C.-goers in Eritrea were primarily of Italian origin. By the end of the Italian occupation, all major towns in Ethiopia and Eritrea had a film-house. In Ethiopia, C. houses were built in Addis Abäba (four), Ǧimma (two), Harär (two), Gondär, Däse and Dərre Dawa. In Eritrea, apart from Asmära (five) and Massawa, there were venues in Kärän, ʿAqordät, and Däqämḥare.

In the post-war years, the two leading Ethiopian national theatres in Addis Abäba (Hagär Fəqər Theatre and Ḫaylä Śəllase I Theatre) showed films, in addition to nationalistic plays. In the late 1950s, Ḫaylä Śəllase I Theatre performed a growing number of its stage plays across rural Ethiopia. Due to a shortage of plays, films were also shown to the large audiences.

By the early 1970s there were about 25 cinemas in Ethiopia, including 10 in Addis Abäba, one of which was a drive-in. In order to understand fully the impact of C. on the Ethiopian spectator, and especially on young people, it should be recalled that C. houses showed three different films consecutively each day. A C.-goer could thus see three films with a single ticket. Young people developed the habit of narrating film stories to friends and enchanted listeners in tea-rooms and elsewhere. Words coming from the cinematic world, such as action (*akšən*), actor (*aktär*), adventure (*advenčər*), California (*Kalifornəya*), car (*kar*) etc. became common in everyday language.

One of the three cinemas in Addis Abäba in early 1935, from Rikli 1935:49

Attempts were made to produce films locally. One highly acclaimed film was **ሂሩት፡ አባትዋ፡ ማን፡ ነው** (*Hirut, abatwa mann näw*, 'Hirut, who is her father?'), a black-and-white film portraying the conflicts of a couple in the developing urban society of Addis Abäba. The director of the film, Jokaris Lambros, was a Greek born in Ethiopia, who, after spending time in Europe, returned to set up the National Film and Publicity Company together with Ilala Ibsaa, who worked with him on the film script and was the production manager. *Hirut, abatwa man näw* was edited and processed in Italy, where 25 copies were made. The National Film and Publicity Company ceased its activities in the mid-sixties, soon after the distribution of this film.

The Ethiopian actor Däbbäbä Ǝšätu appeared in three international movies in the 1970s: *Una stagione all'inferno*, a film about the life of Jean-Arthur Rimbaud (Italy 1971), *Shaft in Africa* (USA 1973) and *Zelda* (Italy 1974). Considerable parts of the first two films were filmed in Ethiopia. ↗Wägayyähu Nəgatu also appeared in these two movies. In these films Amharic, the national language, appeared for the first time alongside English and Italian.

From 1970 onwards, Zäwde Arʾaya, actress, film producer and former Miss Ethiopia, living in Italy, became a popular figure in entertainment. She appeared in ten films during the 1970s and 1980s, working with Italian film directors

such as Giuliano Montaldo and Sergio Corbucci, and starring alongside Burt Lancaster, Ingrid Thulin and Marcello Mastroianni.

Major cinematic achievements with Ethiopia as the main topic, produced by both Ethiopians and non-Ethiopians, were mainly non-fiction feature films and documentaries. Most of them aimed at showing aspects of the history, politics and culture of the country: *Ethiopia, the Hidden Empire* (1970); *Ethiopia* (1987); *Falashas* (1987); *The Hamar Trilogy* (1990–94); *Sankofa*, by Ethiopian-born film-maker Ḫayle Gärima (1993); *Deluge* by Salem Mäkʷəriya (1995) and *The Lost Tribe* by Bälay Wärqənäh (1997). *Endurance* was made by the British director Leslie Woodhead (1999), portraying the life of the Ethiopian marathon hero Ḫayle Gäbrä Śəllase. Abbatä Mäkʷəriya directed **ድምቡልቃ** (*Dəmbulqa*, 'Beautiful Girl') a video film featuring the Ethiopian singer Käbbädä Ali.

Tewodros Täšomä and Aida Aššänafi are among the young Ethiopians engaged in the film industry today. Tewodros Täšomä's first work, **ግልባተ፡ ዓለም** (*Gəlləbatä ʿaläm*, 'The Lightness of the World'), a film co-written by Ǝndalä Ǧənko, recounts the story of a young man who finds his way through the "difficult" town of Ǧimma. Aida Aššänafi is co-owner of Sauce Entertainment, a film and music production company based in New York and London. Her first professional work, *Village Idiots*, was warmly received in England, Russia and Poland. She has since produced music videos and has been involved in the making of a second film, *The Naked Man*.

In the mid-1990s, the organization of the European Annual Film Festival in Ethiopia cleared the way for the development of qualitative entertainment. The construction of a modern amphitheatre ("The Mega Amphitheatre") on the site of the oldest C. in the capital (in Tewodros Square, on the spot where the "*yäsäyṭan bet*" once stood) illustrates the new cultural trend the country is undergoing.

Thus, by the end of the millennium, Ethiopia had already accepted the challenge and opened its cultural borders, but C. has yet to develop as a mass audience entertainment industry. It is still understood as a product destined mainly for an audience of idle and amorous or otherwise distracted individuals.

↗Theatre

Lit.: *CinEnciclopedia 2*, CD-Rom edition, Roma 1994; ZÄWDE ARAYA, *Biografia, Zeudi e Franco Cristaldi Film*, Roma 1996; *Guida* 175–287, 350–494; THOMAS P. OFCANSKY – LAVERLE BERRY (eds.), *Ethiopia: a Country Study*, Washington DC, Library of Congress 1999 (*http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/ettoc.html*), here ch. 2–3; THOMAS LEIPER KANE, *Ethiopian Literature in Amharic*, Wiesbaden 1975, 135–49; REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, *Tradition and Change in Ethiopia: Social and Cultural Life as Reflected in Amharic Fictional Literature ca. 1930–1974*, Leiden 1980, 201–30; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Development in Addis Abäba during the Italian Fascist Occupation 1936–1941", in: *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Centenary of Addis Abäba*, Addis Abäba 1987, 119–36; ID., *Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800–1935*, Addis Ababa 1968, 712; TÄSFAYE GÄSSÄSSÄ, **አጭር፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ቲያትር፡ ጥናት፡ ከመጀመሪያው፡ እስከ፡ ከበደ፡ ሚካኤል** (*Aṭṭər yäʾityopya tiyatr ṭənat kämäğämmäriyaw əskä Käbbädä Mikaʾel*, 'A Short Study of the Ethiopian Theatre, from the Beginning till Käbbädä Mikaʾel'), in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 302–28; JOHN WAKEMAN, *World Film Directors*, New York 1987; MARTIN RIKLI, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1935, 49 (ill.).

Ettore Million Bonnano

Cipolla, Arnaldo

C. (b. 1877, Como, d. 1938, Rome), was an Italian traveller and journalist. He was assistant-editor of important daily newspapers, such as *La Stampa* and *Corriere della Sera*, and worked as a foreign correspondent. He travelled at length across Africa, at first to the Congo, then to Somalia. Unlike all previous journalists who followed the eastern caravan route from Dərre Dawa, in 1909 he reached Addis Abäba proceeding directly from Asmära across Təgray, Wag, Wällo and Šäwa.

C., who went as far as Lake Abbayya, compiled a book on this journey (1911), describing in detail the situation in Ethiopia during the last years of Mənilək's reign. He witnessed *ətege* Ṭaytu Bəṭul's removal from power and the consolidation of the regency around the designated heir to the throne, *laǧ* Iyasu. Among his numerous works, there is also *L'Abissinia in armi* (1935), written on the eve of the fascist aggression.

Src.: ARNALDO CIPOLLA, *Nell'impero di Menelik*, Milano 1911; ID., *L'Abissinia in armi. Numerose illustrazioni fuori testo ed una cartina*, Firenze ³1935; ID., *La mia vita meravigliosa*, Roma 1949; ID., *Continente nero*, Roma 1937.

Marco Lenci

Circumcision

Female circumcision

Female C., or female excision is a ritual operation on the vulva that is common in many parts of the African Continent. In Ethiopia ca. 90 %

of women are genitally "circumcized" (lat. *circumcidere* 'to cut around'). From a medical-morphological view the standard definition is inaccurate as the operation comprises an excision, i.e. the operative extraction of tissue or organic material. The operational procedure can range from merely scratching the clitoris to the total removal of the vulva, including subsequent restriction of the vaginal opening. Instruments used are stones, ritual knives, razor blades, and recently scalpels. The age of the initiate for the procedure may range from shortly after birth till early adolescence.

The practice exists across all social, religious and geographic boundaries, distinctions occurring only according to ethnic group. In Ethiopia all three common types of female C. are practised. Clitoridectomy, the partial or complete excision of the visible clitoris, is practised by the ↗Amhara who use the verb ገለጠ (*gälläṭä*, 'to reveal, disclose, to expose' etc.) to define the procedure. With the excision-type the entire visible clitoris and the labia minora are partially or totally removed. The resultant scar tissue can lead to a reduction of the vaginal opening. This most common form is prevalent, e.g., amongst the ↗Arbore and ↗Boorana. Infibulation or "Pharaonic excision" comprises the most radical intervention and is probably performed on around 15 % of circumcized women. Here, the visible clitoris and labia minora are completely removed, and the entire labia majora scraped out or surgically cut off. The remaining tissue is sewn or tagged up above the vaginal opening. Similar to the excision-type, the initiate will have her legs bound for several days or weeks during the healing process to prevent rupture of the wound. Infibulation is found in the eastern region of Ethiopia with the ↗[c]Afar and ↗Somali.

The more radical excision-types, and especially infibulation, require a defibulation, i.e. mechanical or surgical widening of the vaginal opening during first intercourse or birth. The subsequent reinfibulation as practised by some ethnic groups seems to be of recent origin.

The motivation governing female C. is multifaceted. Common tradition, religious obligation, and the construction of positive female characteristics are cited. Its origins are based in the social sphere. Female excision forms part of a rite of passage serving as a symbolic transcription to define a social turning point for the individual. It helps to position and integrate the individual within a given social framework. This is achieved by means of the construction of a guiding framework consisting of clearly defined recurrent actions as an expression of a culturally specific system of values. The somatic constitution after excision is not perceived by those concerned as a pathological state, as the artificial transformation of the initiate's constitution defines normality as social standard. Female excision is an ancient, traditionally undisputed method of marking a status transformation. Most authors assume the custom originated in the region around the Nile Springs; it is also speculated to have originated between 2000 B.C. (UNICEF 1979:26) and 200 B.C. (El Dareer 1982:iii).

Advocates of the tradition argue in dualistic terms such as purity and depravity, or social integration and segregation, to apply pressure on the individual to conform to the norm. Social conditions are represented and regulated via the individual's body. With the physical marking of her body the initiate obtains her legitimization for marriage and pregnancy irrespective of when they are accomplished. The initiate achieves her change of status within a given social rhythm, in a repetitive and stylized way. This change must be discernible for the community. Apart from the change in appearance through jewellery and clothing more extreme and irreversible elements such as pain and scars are also used. Within the context of their socialization, both initiates and executioners of female excision are therefore convinced of the appropriateness of their actions. This outlook is formed in an automated routine beyond reflection and theory. It is difficult for active campaigners against the harmful practice, such as the National Committee for Traditional Practices in Ethiopia, to counter such rigidly entrenched cultural dispositions with arguments, such as the detrimental long-term effects on health.

Lit.: ESTHER HICKS, *Infibulation*, New Brunswick 1993; HANNY LIGHTFOOT-KLEIN, *Das grausame Ritual*, Frankfurt 1996; ANNI PELLER, *Chiffrierte Körper, Disziplinierte Körper. Female Genital Cutting. Rituelle Verwundung als Statussymbol*, Ph.D. thesis, Berlin 2002; PETRA SCHNÜLL (ed.), *Weibliche Genitalverstümmelung. Eine fundamentale Menschenrechtsverletzung*, Göttingen 1999; NAHID TOUBIA, *Female Genital Mutilation: a Call for Global Action*, New York 1995; ANNE CLOUDSLEY, *Women of Omdurman. Life, Love and the Cult of Virginity*, London 1983; ASMA EL DAREER, *Woman, Why do you Weep*?, London 1982; UNICEF (eds.), "UNICEF's Position on Female Circumcision", *Win News* 4, 1979, 26.

Anni Peller

Female circumcision in Harär

In Harär two types of female C. were known: *aräb absum* (lit. 'Arab C.'), which is clitoridectomy only, and *gē absum* (lit. 'the C. of the city [of Harär]'), which consisted of clitoridectomy plus infibulation of the lips of the vulva. This type of female C. is also known under the term "Pharaonic C.". In particular the latter type is carried out by Somali women specialists, who are also the ones who have to open the infibulation prior to the wedding-night or prior to the birth of a child. Today this surgery is often performed by medical doctors. C. can be performed on girls as young as four, yet it is most often done between the ages of seven and ten.

Lit.: ROSE OLDFIELD HAYES, "Female Genital Mutilation, Fertility Control, Women's Roles, and the Patrilineage in Modern Sudan: a Functional Analysis", *American Ethnologist* 2, 1975, 627–37; ELISABETH-DOROTHEA HECHT, *Die traditionellen Frauenvereine* (*Afočа*) *der Harari in Harar und in Addis Ababa, Äthiopien*, Berlin 1993 (Marburger Studien zur Afrika- und Asienkunde, Serie A: Afrika vol. 30), 182; ANNIE DE VILLENEUVE, "Étude sur une coutume somalie: les femmes cousues", *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* 7, 1, 1973, 15–33; K. MISSAILIDIS – MEKARI GEBRE-MEDHIN, "Female Genital Mutilation in Eastern Ethiopia", *The Lancet* 356, 2000, 137–38.

Elisabeth-Dorothea Hecht

Male circumcision

Male C. is the surgical removal of the foreskin from the penis. Sometimes it also refers to less common practices such as the removal of some of the foreskin or cutting the foreskin away but leaving it as two flaps. Although the physical act of C. is identical, or at least similar, in most parts of Ethiopia and its performance inevitably is a sign of a passage from one status to another among most ethnic groups of the country. The ritual differs significantly with regard to its timing in life. Moreover, among some peoples it is performed as an individual act, whereas among others it is performed in groups. Similarly, some peoples have ritual specialists (sometimes non-members) who perform C., while others do not. In many cases C. is accompanied by periods of seclusion of various lengths. Thus, while C. is performed widely throughout Ethiopia, it would be misleading to view it as a single, unified "pan-Ethiopian" phenomenon.

Historically, the Ethiopian Christian practice of C. (**ግዝረት**, *gəzrät*) of boys on the eighth day after birth was the subject of comment and controversy. As is well known, many Christian groups have abandoned this O.T. (e.g., Gen 17:12) practice and Ethiopian Christians were criticized for its continuation. Both the *Confessio Claudii* and the ↗*Fəṭḥa nägäśt* view the practice of C. as a custom, rather than a religious requirement. However, the 15th-cent. Emperor ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob in his *Mäṣḥafä ↗bərhan* commended the act of C. as distinguishing the Christians from the uncircumcized people in their midst. C. on the eighth day was also practised by the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, although they do not perform C. on the Sabbath until after the sun has set. Either a man or woman can perform the act and after the ritual he/she must undergo purification.

In addition to adherents of these two monotheistic faiths, C. was also practised in Ethiopia, like by many peoples in East Africa. Usually, this occurs much later in life than among the aforementioned groups. Thus among the ↗Konta, specialists belonging to a particular class are responsible for the C. of boys at about the age of 14. In some cases the C. ritual is associated with entry into manhood and is a precondition for marriage, as it is among the ↗Wälaytta, ↗Gofa, ↗Hadiyya and some Somali groups. Among the first of these, the act is performed by potters.

C. is often associated with stages in an ↗age-group system. Thus, the ↗Konso perform C. on men who have attained the fourth age-class as part of the ↗*gadaa* festival. Among the ↗Burǧī, the age-grade system has fallen into disuse. However, boys are circumcized at around the age nine or ten in a two-month ceremony during which they are secluded. Among the ↗ᶜAfar, C. takes place at around 15, after which boys can wear a knife.

Although C. is widespread among the ↗Oromo, there appear to have been variations between different groups and over the course of history. *Abba* Baḥrəy (BeckHuntAlm 115) reported in the 17th cent. that *luuba*, the term which refers to an age-grade, meant "those who are circumcized at the same time" and that C. was crucial to the formation of an age-group. If this was true, in his time, it is no longer the case, because C. takes place relatively late in the ↗*gadaa* cycle. He also reports that only after being circumcized can an Oromo man raise his children. "Those who are not circumcised abandoned their children both male and female" (BeckHuntAlm 118). "Moreover, when they are circumcised […] they attack a country, which none of their predecessors have attacked" (BeckHuntAlm 122). More recently, however,

the ↗Boorana performed C. during the middle of the sixth grade in the *gadaa* system, when the members are in a leadership role. Anyone can perform C. on most members, but the C. of the ↗*abbaa gadaa* is performed by the ↗*waṭa* caste of hunters and craftsmen. Men remain indoors for a month after the ceremony and eat specially prepared foods. The Oromo who have accepted Islam tend to perform C. in the early years, more in keeping with Muslim custom, while others mimicking their Christian neighbours circumcized their infant boys.

Among the ↗Sidama, C., which is known as *ofolle* ('to sit down'), is performed at the end of the age-grade cycle. Although formally part of the age-grade system, it is performed individually or in small groups. Because of the resources required to fund the C. ceremony, different individuals can afford to perform it at different points in time. The exact day of the C. is determined through consultation with elders and an astrologer. The C. is performed by an Oromo, so that no Sidama spills the blood of a tribal member. After the C., the celebrant is isolated for several months, during which he must not be seen by any woman, cut his hair or fingernails, or wash.

As with many aspects of Ethiopian ethnography, the record on C. is incomplete and even when material is available, it is not always of the highest quality.

Src.: PAULOS TZADUA (tr.), ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት (*Fəṭḥa nägäśt* 'The Law of Kings'), Addis Abäba 1968, 309f.; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "The *Confessio Fidei* of King Claudius of Ethiopia", *JSS* 32, 1, 1987, 42–50; BeckHuntAlm 115–22; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI – LANFRANCO RICCI, *Il libro della luce del Negus Zar'a Yā'qob* (*Maṣḥafa Berhān*), Louvain 1964 (CSCO 250 [SAe 47]), 154ff.

Lit.: EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, Oxford, 1968, 107ff.; STEVEN KAPLAN, *Les Falashas*, Tournhout 1991, 143; ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada*: *Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York – London 1973, 90; VSAe II, 178ff.; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa*: *Somali, Afar and Saho,* London 1955 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa, North Eastern Africa 1), 134f., 166; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Galla of Ethiopia*: *the Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero*, London 1955 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa, North Eastern Africa 2), 41, 47; ERNESTA CERULLI, *Peoples of South-East Ethiopia and its Borderland*, London 1956 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa, North Eastern Africa 3), 22, 57, 102, 121; JAN BRØGGER, *Belief and Experience among the Sidamo*, Oslo – Oxford 1986, 117–24.

Steven Kaplan

Civet ↗ Zibeth

Civil Code

Antecedents

The oldest Ethiopian law book, the ↗*Śərᶜatä mängəśt*, does not contain civil law. Civil law is, however, contained in the ↗*Fəṭḥa nägäśt*, which was introduced to Ethiopia by *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob in the middle of the 15th cent. The Imperial Court (↗*Čəlot*) used the *Fəṭḥa nägäśt* as the legal source and guideline. In more recent times, litigation followed to a greater or lesser extent the traditional law of the different ethnic groups. The autochtonous law was applied not only by the traditional open-air courts, but also by state-organised courts. Commerce and international trade relations made it necessary to establish on the basis of the Klobokowsky Treaty (↗Franco-Ethiopian treaty of friendship and commerce) the so-called Ethiopian Special Court. By this legal institution, modern continental and common law was introduced into Ethiopia some time before the codification of civil law was initiated (↗Customary law).

Sources of the Civil Code

At the end of the 1950s, the famous French comparative lawyer, René David, was asked by the Ethiopian government to present a draft of an Ethiopian C. in collaboration with Ethiopian legal experts. The draft was written in French. The comparative method was used to borrow from continental C.C., especially from the French, Swiss, Italian and Greek. However, David also used other sources like the Egyptian C.C., the C.C. of Lebanon and Germany (*Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*). The codification was an attempt to offer a very modern code to the Ethiopian people.

Outside the area of obligations, a wider group of sources was used. A Portuguese draft law and an Israeli draft law served as the basis for the successions' provisions. Rules were borrowed from the former Turkish C.C. (*Meğelle*) and from the Iranian C.C. concerning the ownership of water. Even the agrarian code of Soviet Russia was used, along with a Russian treatise on kolkhozes, in order to regulate the position of certain collective farms. Finally, some parts of the Ethiopian C.C. are "original" in the sense that they are based neither on Ethiopian customs nor on provisions of foreign legal systems. Of particular note are the rules governing water rights, those on registers of civil status, and to a lesser degree the provisions on registers of immovable property, and on guardianship and wills.

When the preliminary draft of the C.C.'s various titles was produced, it was accompanied by a commentary, setting forth the rationale of the preliminary draft and indicating the underlying sources used. Unfortunately, the commentaries in question have not been published. The compilation of a manual on the Ethiopian C.C. in Amharic was envisioned in Ethiopia, where such a manual seemed a necessary complement to the code.

The C.C. and the Commercial Code (↗Commercial law) were promulgated on 5 May 1960 to become effective on 11 September 1960, the first day of the Ethiopian calendar year 1953.

Basic principles and general contents

The principles which guided the draft of René David are still of great importance for any new adaptations or codifications of the Ethiopian C.C. The contents are divided into four books with the following headings: Book I: Persons, Book II: Family and Succession, Book III: Goods (Ownership and Possessions), Book IV: Obligations.

It is of interest that the C.C. starts with a codification of basic rights. The relevant provisions are included in the following Articles of the C.C.: 11 (Restrictions on Freedom and Searches), 12 (Freedom of Residence), 13 (Inviolability of Domicile), 14 (Freedom of Thought), 15 (Freedom of Religion), 16 (Freedom of Action) and 18 (Physical Integrity). Other basic principles are freedom of contract and of marriage. A problem of the C.C. is the attempt to codify or to provide for the codification of Ethiopian land law. The C.C. provides a system by which the different customary land laws on the basis of family or village should be laid down in charters.

Scope of customary law

One important question was the extent to which Ethiopian customary law could still continue to exist, although Article 3347 (1) repealed customary law with the following wording, "Unless otherwise expressly provided, all rules whether written or customary previously in force concerning matters provided for in this Code shall be replaced by this Code and are hereby repealed."

The following exceptions were made by the C.C. or accepted by the legal profession: incorporation of custom into transactions or relations, references to custom, filling gaps in the code by legal interpretation based on customary law, incorporation by the Code (family law, compromise and associations). Within the area of family law, the following incorporation of custom by the C.C. should be mentioned: Article 567 (Form of Betrothal), Article 573 (Moral Prejudice) and Article 577 (Kinds of Marriages).

A large core of Ethiopian customary law is preserved through its incorporation into the C.C. In this way, formulated custom becomes general statute law. Here are a few of the C.C. articles which seem to incorporate, wholly or partly, important customary rule: Articles 560 ff., 652, 725, 852 (implying exclusion of spouse from intestate inheritance), in family matters 580, 606, 624, 807, 808; the law of intestate inheritance, while incorporating the general customary rule of paterna paternis, materna maternis (849ff.), disregards local variations in the order of intestacy, whereas local practices may, in turn, disregard that law through effecting compromises in accordance with custom; property: 1132, 1168, 1371, 1489, 1490, 1496f.; contracts: 1713 and 2116.

Application of the Civil Code

It is difficult to obtain details on the application of civil law, because there is no rule requiring publication of court decisions. However the Federal Supreme Court in Addis Abäba has a record of important decisions, while the *Journal of Ethiopian Law* publishes articles dealing mainly with problems concerning the application of the C.C.

The application of the C.C. has differed much between urban and rural areas. The judges of the First Instance Courts and even High Courts were not trained lawyers and therefore often followed traditional law. Even in towns the application of the C.C. to family law and the law of succession was limited. Commercial cases and cases which fall under maritime law are regulated by the Ethiopian Commercial Code and the Ethiopian Maritime Code. To a certain extent the law of obligations of the C.C. has to be applied to fill gaps in the Commercial Code. Another limitation on the application of the C.C. was the socialist law introduced during the Ethiopian ↗Revolution of 1974 and continued afterwards.

Problems and reforms

The Ethiopian Constitution of 1994 adopted a

federal system, limiting the competence of the Federal Legislature to those areas of civil law which were essential for the economic unity. Therefore family law and the law of succession are now within the competence of the member states (Article 55 Ethiopian Constitution 1994). The family law of the C.C. is now to a large extent in contradiction with the Constitution of 1994, which provides in Articles 34 and 35 for the equality of men and women. This will have a decisive influence on family law and the law of succession because, according to Article 9 of the Constitution, all contrary laws are null and void. Təgray has already announced a new C.C. for a regional law of family and succession in the local language. Moreover, Articles 34 and 78 acknowledge customary and religious courts with regard to family law and the law of succession, retaining state competence only for the procedural laws which will be applied by the religious or cultural courts. The newly established institute for law reform in Addis Abäba undoubtedly faces many problems in the necessary re-statement and consolidation of the Ethiopian C.C. It will also study and prepare for the reform of civil law on the federal level.

The Family Law has already undergone a remarkable reform by "The Revised Family Code" (2000).

Src.: "Civil Code of the Empire of Ethiopia. Proclamation No. 165/1960", *Nägarit gazeta* 19, 2, 5 May 1960; "The Revised Family Code. Proclamation 213/2000", *ibid.*, extraordinary issue 1, 2000.

Lit.: RENÉ DAVID, "Sources of the Ethiopian Civil Code", *Le droit éthiopien du mariage*, Milan 1965; ID., "Administrative Contract in the Ethiopian Civil Code", *Journal of Ethiopian Law* 4, 4, 1967, 143-53; ID., "Sources of the Ethiopian Civil Code", *ibid.* 4, 2, 1967, 341–49; JERZY KRZECZUNOWICZ, "Code and Custom in Ethiopia", *ibid.* 2, 2, 1965, 425–39; GEORGE KRZECZUNOWICZ, *The Law of Extracontractual Liability* (*General Part*), Addis Ababa 1970; ID., "Products Liability in Ethiopia", *Journal of Ethiopian Law* 12, 1982, 167-84; RICHARD PANKHURST, *State and Land in Ethiopian History*, Addis Ababa 1966; JACQUES VANDERLINDEN, *Introduction au droit de l'Éthiopie moderne*, Paris 1971, 207–60; NICOLAS C. VOSIKIS, *Le trust dans le code civil ethiopien*, Geneve 1975.

Heinrich Scholler

Civil Procedure Code

History

Historically there was little emphasis on judiciary procedure in Ethiopia. Thus, after the Restoration, when Ethiopia began to modernize her legal system, no written procedural law existed. It is nevertheless incorrect to assume that there was no law of procedure in Ethiopia. Although it was not written, it was traditionally developed and highly structured. The *Administration of Justice Proclamation* of 1942, which established a system of courts, authorized the court to promulgate procedural rules with the approval of the Minister of Justice. In 1943 the High Court promulgated some procedural rules, which governed actions in the High Court and subordinate courts, and in subsequent years additional rules were promulgated. However, these rules were generally not very detailed and some areas of procedural law were not covered. It was generally agreed that the absence of a comprehensive C.P.C. adversely affected the administration of justice in civil cases. Work on such a code began in the Ministry of Justice.

Unlike the other codes, the basic text of the C.P.C. was drafted by the Codification Department of the Ministry of Justice rather than by foreign experts. In some instances, the C.P.C. incorporated existing provisions of law, although these were also substantially modified or enlarged. Many of the new provisions were based on provisions contained in other codes such as the Indian C.P.C., but the borrowing was highly selective. The C.P.C. was promulgated as a decree by the Emperor, acting in accordance with his power under Article 92 of the Revised Constitution (↗Constitutions). It was effective as of 8 October 1965 and was applicable to all suits pending on that day or instituted thereafter. The Decree No. 52 of 1965 was introduced by a foreword by the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Pen (↗*Ṣähafe təʾəzaz*).

Main aspects of the Civil Procedure Code

The C.P.C. comprises the following books: Book I: Jurisdiction of Courts; Book II: Parties to Suits; Book III: General Provisions regarding Civil Suits; Book IV: Special Procedures; Book V: Appeal, Opposition and Revision; Book VI: Execution of Decrees; and Book VII: Costs.

The Minister of Justice was given the power to make rules that add to or amend the provisions of the C.P.C. This enables the Minister to make changes deemed necessary in light of experience, without having to go through the entire legislative process.

Certain provisions of the substantive law have an appreciable effect on procedural matters and certain provisions of the C.P.C. must be interpre-

ted in light of the substantive law. In this connection, some problems arise, because the substantive codes and the C.P.C. were drafted independently. The form of the substantive codes follows that employed in civil-law countries, while the form of the C.P.C. follows that employed in common-law countries. Some confusion in terminology results and it may be difficult to relate certain procedural concepts to the precise terminology of the substantive codes.

Main steps of the procedure

The Ethiopian C.P.C. regulates all court procedures, starting from the First Instance Courts to the Federal Supreme Court. These include: which court is responsible for a given litigation; the question of local and hierarchical or functional competence of the courts involved; preconditions for being party to a law suit; what claims may be joined against a party and how the plaintiff should bring the defendant before the court (the question of service of process). After a suit has been instituted, the parties have to place their respective contentions before the court. These statements are characterized as "pleadings" and the pleadings play an important role in the Ethiopian C.P.C. This is not surprising, because in traditional justice, pleadings also played an important role in the presentation of the case. After the pleadings and before the proper trial, pre-trial measures must be taken either by the parties concerned or by the court. Finally, the parties concerned present the merits of their case to the court and the court prepares its decision. A party who is not satisfied with the decision can seek a review of the court decision. In Ethiopia, a review can be sought before the same court which rendered the decision. The pre-Revolutionary Ethiopian C.P.C. also allowed an appeal to the ↗*čəlot*. The final question is the execution of the judgment or the problem of how the winning party can obtain satisfaction. The code also determines the *res iudicata*, i.e. the effect of the judgement upon future litigation between the parties.

With regard to religious or customary Courts and Court Procedures, the Ethiopian Constitution of 1994 in Articles 34 and 78 recognized such litigation, but laid down that the Procedure Law in those religious- and customary-law disputes must also be established by state law. The procedure of the Council of Constitutional Inquiry was recently regulated by a special proclamation.

Src.: "Civil Procedure Code of the Empire of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 185/1961", *Nägarit gazeta* 21, 7, 2 November 1961; "Civil Procedure Code of the Empire of Ethiopia Decree No. 52, 1965", *ibid.* 25, 3, 8 October 1965.
Lit.: HEINRICH SCHOLLER, *The Special Court of Ethiopia 1920–1935*, Wiesbaden 1986 (AeF 15) [Lit.]; ROBERT ALLEN SEDLER, *Ethiopian Civil Procedure*, Addis Ababa 1968; JACQUES VANDERLINDEN, *Introduction au droit de l'Éthiopie moderne,* Paris 1971.

Heinrich Scholler

Clement VII

Pope C. VII (Giulio de' Medici; b. 26 May 1478, Florence, d. 25 September 1534, Rome) was the son of Giuliano de' Medici and was raised by Lorenzo de' Medici "The Magnificent". In 1513 Giulio was appointed Archbishop of Florence by his cousin Giovanni, who had been elected Leo X. In the same year he became a cardinal and on 19 November 1523 he was chosen to succeed Adrian VI. The Emperor of Ethiopia ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl dispatched Francesco ↗Alvares as his ambassador with a letter and with a golden cross, which was meant as a personal gift to the Pope. In his missive, Ləbnä Dəngəl declared that he would obey the Pope and requested teachers to instruct his people. C. received the Ethiopian delegation on 29 January 1533 at Bologna, where he had gone to crown Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor. The reply of the Pope and the eventual outcome of the meeting are unknown.

Src.: *Legatio David Aethiopiae Regis, ad Sanctissimum D.N. Clementem Papam VII. una cum obedientia, eidem sanctiss. D.N. praestita*, Bononiae 1533; SIEGBERT UHLIG – GERNOT BÜHRING (ed., tr.), *Damian de Góis' Schrift über Glaube und Sitten der Äthiopier*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 39), 195–207.
Lit.: MAURO DA LEONESSA, *Santo Stefano Maggiore degli Abissini e le relazioni romano-etiopiche*, Città del Vaticano 1929, 221–24; ADRIANO PROSPERI, "Clemente VII, papa", in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 26, Roma 1982, 237–59; LUDOVICO Barone VON PASTOR, *Storia dei Papi dalla fine del Medio Evo*, vol. 4: *Storia dei Papi nel periodo del Rinascimento e dello scisma luterano dall'elezione di Leone X alla morte di Clemente VII*, part 2: *Adriano VI e Clemente VII*, Roma 1956, 535; SIEGBERT UHLIG, *Hiob Ludolfs "Theologia Aethiopica"*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 14), s. index.

Osvaldo Raineri

Clement VIII

C. VIII (Ippolito Aldobrandini; b. 24 February, 1536, Fano, d. 5 March 1605, Rome) was the child of Silvestro and Lisa Deti. In 1585 he was named cardinal and a few years later, in 1592, elected Pope. He worked with real devotion and pastoral zeal to better the Church and promoted

the cause of the foreign missions. In 1595 C. ordered Gerolamo Vecchietti to send the "Act of Union of the Patriarchate of Alexandria with Rome" to Ethiopia, "so that it might be promulgated and observed (Beccari 1906:179). On 26 June 1604, *aṣe* ↗Zädəngəl wrote to Philip III of Spain, asking him to dispatch troops to repel the ↗Oromo invasions and to expel the Ottomans from the area of the Red Sea. He sent another letter to pope C., asking the pontiff to intercede with Philip III. He also requested the pope to procure trained missionaries for Ethiopia, capable of instructing the people in matters of religion. He concluded his missive with a pithy aphorism: "a word to the wise is enough" (letter of 26 June 1604; s. Beccari 1906:248).

Src.: CAMILLO BECCARI, *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, vol. 3: P. PETRI PAEZ S. I., *Historia Aethiopiae, Liber III et IV*, Romae 1906, 246ff.

Lit.: LUDOVICO Barone VON PASTOR, *Storia dei Papi dalla fine del Medio Evo*, vol. 11: *Storia dei Papi nel periodo della riforma e restaurazione cattolica. Clemente VIII (1592–1605)*, Roma 1958, 501; BudHist vol. 2, 378; AGOSTINO BORROMEO, "Clemente VIII", in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 26, Roma 1982, 259–82.

Osvaldo Raineri

Clewer, Selby

C. (b. 1917, Moreton, Shropshire, d. 2001) was a British architect prominent in post-liberation Addis Abäba. C. attended the Holly Lodge Secondary School in Birmingham, before studying architecture at the Birmingham College of Art and becoming a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects. A Quaker by religion and a conscientious objector in World War II, he joined the Friends Ambulance Unit in Ethiopia in 1943. Later employed by the Ethiopian Ministry of Education, he was for a time virtually the only foreign architect in the country. He was responsible for a number of important Addis Abäba buildings, including the northern annexe of the Emperor's palace (↗Jubilee Palace), the Sadatana Mädḫane ᶜAläm Church, the original University College of Addis Abäba building, the Princess Śäḫay Memorial Hospital, the Duke of Harär's palace and the General Wingate Secondary School. He also designed the dormitories and other extensions to the Mənilək II Secondary School, the Ṭäfäri Mäkʷännən Secondary School and the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Secondary School, besides most of the provincial secondary schools erected in this period, at Däse, Wäliso, Ǧimma, Neqemte and elsewhere. On leaving Ethiopia in 1952, he worked for the Bournville Village Trust of Birmingham, designing houses for disadvantaged people.

↗Architecture

Src.: Oral information from C.'s widow HILDA CLEWER (née STREET) and from his Ethiopian friend and sometime assistant GETAČČÄW BÄQQÄLÄ; *New Times and Ethiopia News*, 20 May 1949.

Richard Pankhurst

Climate

The C. for Ethiopia, as for much of the eastern African continent, is complex. The country lies within the tropical latitudes, and therefore experiences a typical tropical C. in which seasonal variations in temperature are minimal yet precipitation can vary greatly. The significant elevation differences within the country are partly responsible for variations from moist to dry C. The climatic complexity is evident both in the significant interannual variation of precipitation, and in the difficulty over identifying the predictors of that variation. This variation is largely influenced by the seasonal north-south movements of the Intertropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ), the locations of the north-east and southerly trade winds, and oceanic-atmosphere interactions even outwith the African region. Significant variations in Ethiopia's C. over historical and geological timescales have been identified.

Temperature within the country is controlled primarily by the high zenith angle of the sun, since it lies within the tropical latitudes, and the large variations in elevation. The highest mean annual temperatures occur on the lowland borders of the country (including present-day Eritrea) where elevations are lowest, mean annual temperatures are between approximately 27° and 30° C. The coolest mean annual temperatures are in the interior highlands. At ↗Goba city in the Eastern Highlands (↗Bale region), at an elevation of 2,740 m, the annual mean is 13° C. Local names for the temperature zones are given below:

Altitude (m)	Mean annual temperature	Climate	Local Equivalent
>3,300	<10 ° C	Cool	*Qur / wərč*
2,300–3,300	10–15 ° C	Cool Temperate	*Däga*
1,500–2,300	15–20 ° C	Temperate	*Wäyna däga*
500–1,500	20–25 ° C	Warm Temperate	*Qʷälla*
<500	>25 ° C	Hot	*Bäräha*

Drafted by Matthias Schulz after Last 1962:96, 97

The seasonal temperature fluctuations are most pronounced in the Red Sea Coastal Plain: December and January are the coldest with a mean of approximately 24° C, rising to ca. 36° C in July and August. Seasonal extremes of approximately 29° C in June, and 21° C in December are reached at the northern section of the Main Ethiopian ↗Rift Valley (in the ↗Harärge, ↗Arsi and ↗Šäwa regions). Generally the average variation in mean temperature between the hottest and coolest months ranges from just 2° to 6° C since the seasonal variations in solar radiation are minimal. Between October to February, occasional sub-zero temperatures lead to frost. Frost may occur on both sides of the Rift Valley, although it is relatively more frequent in the highlands than lowlands. However, daily fluctuations in temperature can reach 20° to 30° C either in the desert regions (↗Deserts), or in regions above 2,000 m A.S.L.

The general pattern within the country is of increasing precipitation as one proceeds from the eastern arid regions either to the south-west, or upwards in elevation. Precipitation is lowest in Ethiopia's eastern regions, and adjacent Eritrea. The physio-geographic regions with a hot arid C. are the Red Sea coastal plain, ᶜAfar Triangle, ᶜAnsäba-Barka lowland, and the Wabi Šäbälle and Ganaalee plains. Rainfall ranges from less than 50 to 450 mm annually. The Eritrea-Təgray, and the Harärge plateaus have from 400 to 800 mm rainfall annually: the C. is classified as hot semi-arid to warm temperate. The amount of precipitation increases within the western and eastern highlands: annual precipitation usually exceeds 800 mm where elevation is greater than 2,000 m. Annual precipitation is greatest on the south-western plateau, where it may exceed 2,800 mm. This is a warm temperate C. in which there is usually no dry season. West of the Rift Valley on the Šäwa plateau, and on Arsi-Bale-Sidamo highlands to the east, total precipitation ranges from 1,200 to 2,000 mm approximately. These are warm temperate to tropical C. in which there are dry seasons. However proceding towards the south-western confines of the country, with an overall decrease in elevation, precipitation decreases. The Täkkäze, Abbay-Dinder, Baro, and Gibe lowlands have a tropical C. with an evident dry season, annual precipitation often being lower than 1,000 mm.

Seasonal variations in rainfall are more complicated. The regional patterns of seasonal rainfall are different from the pattern of total annual precipitation. One, two, or possibly three rainy seasons can be identified; these are also referred to as unimodal, bimodal and trimodal rainy seasons. A single summer rainy season, centred on the months of July or August, is apparent in central and north-western Ethiopia and Eritrea, from the cities of Mäqälä and Asmära in the north, southward to Neqemte and Addis Abäba. This single rainy season is apparent even though Asmära is within an arid C. where total annual rainfall is approximately 400 mm while in Neqemte it exceeds 2,000 mm. In the south-eastern highlands and lowlands (eastern parts of the Harärge and Bale, and most of the Sidamo regions), rainfall is bimodal and concentrated in the months of May and June, and then in October. A trimodal rainy season is seen in the northern part of the Rift Valley and into the Eritrea-Təgray plateau and Red Sea coastal plain: here peak rainfall occurs in April/May, August and November. The trimodal pattern is also evident in the southwestern corner of the country: in the Č̣äw Baḥər Rift and the Gibe lowlands (the Gamo Gofa, western Sidamo and very western Bale regions). These patterns are evident when evaluating many decades of data from the 20th cent., single years can, however, fluctuate significantly from the pattern. Important changes in precipitation can occur over distances of just tens of kilometres.

Rains concentrated in the months of June to September are called the **ክረምት**, *kərämt*, or big rain, a longer period of heavy rain. The little rains, a shorter less heavy period, are called the **በልግ**, *bälg*. The *bälg* occurs in the spring, autumn, or winter. The terms *bälg* and *kərämt* are not applied to those parts of Ethiopia where rainfall is equally distributed or in which the two rainy seasons are of equal strength.

Analyses of meteorological station data, which usually commences in the beginning of the 1900s, shows that precipitation on the African continent has experienced multi-annual positive and negative departures from the record's mean. A trend toward increasing aridity since 1970 may be typical for the continent. Within Ethiopia, such a trend is evident although the precipitation anomalies can vary from positive to negative over short distances (a few tens of kilometres) and from year to year. Planetary-scale changes in atmospheric circulation, along with desertification due to anthropic impacts, have been proposed as possible causes of recent C. changes.

Historical records including ↗famine and drought chronologies, and records from the ↗Nile River give some sense of C. in earlier centuries. A more moist period from the 1730s to the 1750s, relative to the period from 1700 to 1840, is interpreted for the Ethiopian Highlands based upon records of Nile River floods. By contrast, in the 1790s drought commenced, with severe drought from about 1828 to 1839. Humid conditions may have returned after 1870. Lakes ↗Awasa and Šala in the Ethiopian Rift were probably higher at the end of the 1800s than at any time since. The seasonal distribution of rainfall may also have changed although precise information for Ethiopia is lacking.

Geological studies, often based on past fluctuations in lake levels and changes in vegetation, show that the African C. has fluctuated throughout the Holocene (the last 11,500 years), and the Pleistocene (the last 1,800,000 years) periods. Reconstructing past fluctuations of temperature and precipitation from indirect indicators, such as the variations in lake levels or plant pollen assemblages over time, can qualitatively indicate the direction of C. change. During the Pleistocene age, there is geomorphologic evidence for glaciation of some of the mountains in Ethiopia, including high Səmen, Badda, Č̣ača, Č̣əlalo, Ǝng^{w}älo and Bale. The most recent deglacierization of the mountains may have happened about 13,500 years ago. In general, in the few thousand years preceding the Holocene, the C. in Saharan, sub-Saharan and eastern regions of Africa was drier than at present, as evidenced by lower lake levels and an expansion of deserts. Then a major reduction in extent of the Saharan desert and an increase in the savannahs, along with a general rise of lake levels, higher than their present day values occurred. This C. change may have occurred in the early Holocene era, or just prior to the commencement of the Holocene, from approximately 14,000 to 10,000 years ago. This general picture has significant local and regional variation and is still the subject of research. Improving the accuracy of the dated events in Holocene and Pleistocene times remains an area of active research.

A few sites in Ethiopia have yielded information regarding the Holocene C. Lake ↗Abyata in

the Rift Valley is now surrounded by deciduous ↗bushland and thickets. In the early Holocene, it was surrounded by montane forest (↗Forests) and alpine vegetation, thus indicating temperatures cooler than present. The C. was warmer and wetter than present in the mid Holocene. Vegetation near Mount Badda, in the Arsi mountains, presently consists more of dry than wet montane forest (mostly *Podocarpus, Juniperus*, and *Olea*). However, some 6,000 years ago, the wet elements were greater than today, suggesting the C. was wetter. At Danka in the Bale Mountains, an increase in wet montane forest elements (e.g. *Macaranga kilimandscharica* and *Rapanea*) in the mid Holocene with respect to their modern levels again suggests a moister C. While a general wet phase characterized Ethiopia, and parts of tropical Africa from approximately 14,000 to 5,000 years ago, lake level oscillations in the Z^{w}ay-Šala basin are indicative of moist-dry oscillations during this period. At least three high stands may have occurred in this period centred at approximately 11,500 to 10,000, 8,800 and 5,700 years ago. Lake levels may have been from approximately 70 to 110 meters higher than the 1972 reference level. Lake levels during the intervening drier periods may have stood a few meters below the 1972 reference level. Some time after 5,000 years ago, in the Z^{w}ay-Šala basin, the C. became drier except for a short return to more moist conditions, evidenced by high lakes levels, centred ca. 2,000 years ago. Relatively more *Podocarpus* pollen in Lake Langano, approximately 2,100 years ago, is followed by pollen from dry evergreen bushland plants: this succession also indicates a last interval of moist C. before the relatively drier conditions, typical of the present-day C., took hold. There is clear geological evidence of substantial C. fluctuations in the Holocene and Pleistocene eras. However, data is lacking from lowland and desert regions, and thus important regional fluctuations may remain unknown.

↗Agriculture; ↗Ecological zones; ↗Environmental degradation; ↗Plants

Lit.: ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY, *National Atlas of Ethiopia,* Addis Ababa 1988; GEOFFREY LAST, "The Geography of Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 2, 1962, 82–103, here 96, 97; RICHARD GILLESPIE – FRANCES ALAYNE STREET-PERROTT – ROY SWITSUR, "Post-glacial Arid Episodes in Ethiopia have Implication for Climate Prediction", *Nature* 306, 1983, 680–83; M. UMER MOHAMMED – RAYMONDE BONNEFILLE, "The Recent History of Vegetation and Climate around Lake Langeno (Ethiopia)", in: KLAUS HEINE (ed.), *Palaeoecology of Africa and the Surrounding Islands,* vol. 22, Rotterdam 1991, 275–86; SHARON NICHOLSON, "The Nature of Rainfall Variability over Africa on Time Scales of Decades to Millennia", *Global and Planetary Change* 26, 2000, 137–58; ID., "Recent Rainfall Fluctuations in Africa and their Relationship to Past Conditions over the Continent", *The Holocene* 4, 1994, 121–31; ID., "Saharan Climates in Historic Times", in: MARTIN A. J. WILLIAMS – HUGUES FAURE (eds.), *The Sahara and the Nile. Quaternary Environments and Prehistoric Occupation in Northern Africa,* Rotterdam 1980, 173–200; ID., "A Review of Climate Dynamics and Climate Variability in Eastern Africa", in: THOMAS C. JOHNSON – ERIC ONYANGO ODADA – KATHERINE T. WHITTAKER (eds.), *The Limnology, Climatology and Paleoclimatology of the East African Lakes,* Amsterdam 1996, 25–55; FRANCES ALAYNE STREET-PERROTT – R. A. PERROTT, "Holocene Vegetation, Lake Levels, and Climate of Africa", in: HERBERT EDGAR WRIGHT, JR. – JOHN E. KUTZBACH – THOMPSON WEBB et al. (eds.), *Global Climates since the Last Glacial Maximum,* Minneapolis 1993, 318–56.

Margaret Kneller

Clochette, Henri Nicolas

C. (b. 4 February 1861, Nancy, d. 25 August 1897, Gore) was a French colonial officer. After his studies at the Ecole Polytechnique, he was appointed captain in the Navy artillery in 1889 at Lorient and soon sent to ↗Obock on the order of General Bornis-Desbordes.

While in charge of indigenous affairs in the colony of Obock, a function at that time quite undefined and obscure, he conducted several confidential missions. These included an information gathering mission in Ethiopia in 1892, when France began to be interested in matters concerning the Nile. During the absence of governor Léonce ↗Lagarde, he acted as an interim governor.

In 1894 he left the army for private reasons and went to Ethiopia. *L'Illustration* claims that *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II had appointed him to participate in the reorganization of his army, where he played an important role. It also narrates of a legend which made C. the commander of Mənilək's artillery in the battle of ↗^{c}Adwa.

Lagarde, then Minister of France at Mənilək's court, asked him in 1897 to travel as quickly as possible to the Nile to help the Marchand mission in ↗Fashoda. This decision was much criticized, as this was done before the arrival of the Bonvalot-Bonchamps mission and forced them to compete with each other. The reason was political. Lagarde acted following the interests of the French government, whereas Bonvalot and Bonchamps were indebted to Belgian interests in the Congo. C., however, was not well prepared for his mission and failed. He died, exhausted, under

atrocious circumstances in an accident involving a horse. A street in Djibouti bears his name.

Lit.: MARC MICHEL, *La mission Marchand 1895–1899*, Paris 1972, 144–48; [Anonymous], "Le capitaine Clochette", *L'Illustration* 2854, 1897.

Lukian Prijac

Clothing

The C. of Ethiopians has long been determined by the availability of appropriate materials. These range from ↗leather and skins, ↗cotton, ↗wool in some highland areas, and imported ↗silk for use by royalty and the nobility. If, as has been hypothesized, the widespread cultivation of cotton for woven textiles was not established in Ethiopia until the 12th or 13th cent., when its production would have been reserved largely for use by the upper classes, it is probable that early C. needs were met primarily by the use of leather and skins. Herdsmen every-

Fig. 1: a simple *qämis*

1. A single length of *šämma* cloth is cut into two equal lengths. The two lengths are then folded double.
2. Both lengths are folded again to give a fourfold thickness.
3. The two thicknesses joined by a fold at the bottom form the front of the garment: the two thicknesses loose at the bottom are left unjoined and form the back of the garment. The folding is done in such way as to bring the coloured end-band to the bottom of the outside thickness at the back.

The two pieces are joined with a central seam at back and front and with seams up the sides. Openings are left at the top of the side seams as armholes.

Illustration courtesy of the author

where, and especially cattle herders, make C. from the skins of their animals. An inscription of ca. 350 A.D., attributed to King ʿEzana, states that Ethiopians have long been pastoralists and the booty taken in an expedition against the Noba people consisted of 10,560 cattle and 51,050 sheep (DAE IV, 33, 38f.; cp. Uhlig 2001:7–31). Significantly, Muḥammad's biographer, Ibn Isḥāq, wrote in 767 A.D. that the embassy sent to the *nəguś* by Muḥammad's opponents carried with them "presents of the choicest wares of Mecca". He added that "leatherwork was especially prized [in Ethiopia] so they took a great many adam [i.e. camel or deer] skins to be able to give some to the Negus and his patriarchs" (Ibn Hišām 1900:33f.; Guillaume 1955:150ff.). During the first millennium, then, there is a good reason to suspect that fine leather was highly acceptable as apparel for the upper classes.

More than 800 years later, Manoel de Almeida noted that the "poorest [women] have no pieces of cloth except dressed ox skins" (BeckHuntAlm 60), while Francisco Alvares reported that many highlanders were bare to the waist and wore only a sheepskin (BeckHuntAlv 510). Baumann and Westermann (1957:281) hypothesize that prior to weaving cotton on the loom, the Agäw and "les Chamites orientaux" would only have worn a leather pagne and a skin mantle. In the late 20th cent., among the ↗Guğği, who do not have indigenous weavers, most women still wore a traditional leather dress. This is generally the case in the less prosperous regions of Sidamo, among many women of the Gamo highlands, also among groups in the south-west (Mursi, Bodi, Baale, Suri), and until recently of the Konso area as well. However, over the centuries, the economy permitting, there has been a general process of substitution of "leather and skins for clothing purposes by textiles" (Karsten 1972:120).

As far as can be determined, all cotton weaving in Ethiopia has until recently been carried out on the pit-treadle loom, whose specific characteristics are unknown elsewhere in Africa. The type is common to Arabia and the Indian subcontinent, however, and was very likely brought from one or other of these places at the same time as the introduction of cotton itself. That date is not known, but towards the end of the 13th cent. Marco Polo reported the manufacture of good cotton cloth in Ethiopia (Marco Polo 1959:297, 307). Thereafter, one finds rela-

Fig. 2: a *qämis* with insert sleeves

1. A single length of *šämma* cloth is cut into two equal lengths. One of them is then divided again, and half of it is set aside to be used for making sleeeves. The two unequal lenghts are then folded double.
2. The two lengths are folded again as shown in the diagram, providing the necessary fourfold thickness (two thicknesses for the front and two for the back).
3. The two lengths are joined at back and front with an off-centre seam. The open side and shoulder are sewn up. Sleeves are made separately and inserted.

The coloured end-band borders the garment along one third of the front and the whole of the back. The *qämis* illustrated beside has had embroidery added.

Illustration courtesy of the author

tively frequent reference to cotton there in the reports of foreign travellers (Nicholson 1960:10f., 14). Amharic vocabulary describing the basic stuff of textiles supports the theme of importation. The term **ሸማ** (*šämma*) is frequently used among the highlanders for cloth and clothing. It may derive from Persian *ǧāma*, meaning 'garment' (whence also the English "pyjama" for 'leg garment'), which in turn may come from the ancient Vedic word for garment, *ksauma*. The word *šämma* serves to denote both a length of material as it comes off the loom, or the traditional shawl-like garment made from it. There are many types of *šämma*, all distinguished by individual modifiers. Thus **ሸማ፡ ኩታ** (*šämma kuta*) describes a "two-ply" garment (made of "adjacent" pieces); **ሸማ፡ ድርብ** (*šämma dərrəb*) is thick or "double", while **ሸማ፡ ነጠላ** (*šämma näṭäla*) is "single" or light-weight. The **ሸማ፡ አጥፍ** (*šämma aṭəf*, lit. 'folded'.) is made of heavy cotton and is larger than the *näṭäla*. The **ሸማ፡ መርገፍ** (*šämma märgäf*) relates to the verb *rägäfä*, meaning 'to fall down'. This *šämma* has fringes which fall, or hang, down. Common to all these *šämmas* are modifiers which describe the physical appearance of the material or the garment. Another group includes the **ሸማ፡ ጃኖ** (*šämma ǧano*), a very expensive garment reserved for the nobility and priesthood; the **ሸማ፡ ቡሉኮ** (*šämma buluko*), a heavy *šämma* which is more blanket than garment; and the **ሸማ፡ ጋቢ** (*šämma gabi*), which is like a *kuta*, but thicker and also double ply (Rohrer 1932:167).

Some words for garments are revealing of the link to Arabic. The dress commonly worn by women and called **ቀሚስ** (*qämis*) has a precise counterpart in the Arabic *qamīṣ* signifying 'blouse' or 'shirt' (hence Latin *camisia*, Italian *camicia*). A silk *qämis* is referred to as a **ቅፍጣን** (*qəfṭan*, Arabic *qufṭān*, from Turkish). The hooded woollen highland cloak called **በርኖስ** (*bärnos*), known from Mänz, Tägulät and Ankobär in the central highlands (an area that also produces black woollen tents), has a precise equivalent in name and garment in Arabic. The Dokko from the Gamo highlands weave the **ፎጣ** (*foṭa*, Arabic *fūṭa*, s. Ibn Manṣūr 1992:373), a plaid cloth worn as a wrap-around skirt.

As mentioned above, the Ethiopian weaver, or *šämmane*, produces *šämma* on the pit-treadle loom. This loom creates woven cotton of widely varying qualities, as well as a broad range of cotton articles. One of these is the traditional wrap-around garment of the country, worn by men, women and children alike of all social classes. The lightest in weight is the most sought after: a single layer of white cotton muslin handsomely brocaded with a colourful, patterned band of varying width at each end. This type is worn as a sign of elegance and wealth, not for warmth. Women wear it over a dress of the same material. Today, the finest muslin *šämma* cloth is often woven in Addis Abäba by men of the ↗Dorze ethnic group, originally from the highlands of Gamo Gofa province in southern Ethiopia. This highly popular material is carried by tradesmen to the major marketplaces of the country. As a result, the fashionable style preferred by the inhabitants of the capital is gradually replacing a range of traditional dress styles in other parts of Ethiopia.

A more practical *šämma*, the *gabi*, is woven of considerably heavier cotton and is undecorated. The length varies from about two to over three metres, and the width from about 120 cm to 180 cm. The *gabi* is generally of double thickness; thus, to achieve the necessary width, four loom-widths of material are sewn together along one selvedge and opened out down the middle. The garment is recognizable in Almeida's 16th-cent. account of Ethiopian apparel (BeckHuntAlm 58–62).

The *šämma* serves a myriad of protective uses. It is an over-garment by day and a bed-roll, blanket, or sheet by night. When a woman mounts a mule or horse, it is not unusual for her family or attendants to raise the large rectangle of cloth around both her and the animal for the sake of modesty. In the baptism of adults, men and women awaiting the holy water squat naked behind *šämma* curtains held up by godfathers and godmothers. Infants are carried on their mother's back inside the garment. Those who have taken the Eucharist at communion hold a *šämma* covered hand over their mouths. *Šämma* cloth would seem to represent purity or to act as a means of purification, a quality enhanced by the whiteness of the material. In another context, the heavy cotton blanket, or *buluko šämma*, is known once to have been offered by tenants as annual payment for a unit of land called a *gaššа* (about 57 acres). Land held in this fashion was known as "spinner's land" (Walker 1933:188).

The *šämma* reflects the mood or status of its owner according to the manner in which it is worn. When draped around the torso and

thrown over the shoulders like a scarf creating a turtleneck effect in the middle, it symbolizes an open, optimistic mood, but if one corner trails on the ground and the other is thrown across the opposite shoulder, sadness is indicated. To protect himself against *buda*, or sickness from the evil eye, the wearer will raise the edge of the garment to cover his mouth. For additional protection, or as an expression of pride, the same section might be raised even higher to cover the nose. On the other hand, self-abasement or servitude is indicated if the *šämma* is not wrapped around the upper body, which is left naked. As a sign of respect, in or near a church or in the presence of a respected person, one is expected to drape the flaps of the garment across the chest in the form of a cross, and to leave the head uncovered. This garment language, which includes numerous other forms, probably developed because the *šämma* was everybody's everyday garb for every occasion. Only the very wealthy could distinguish mood, manner and social status by wearing different types of apparel, such as silk.

The names for different materials and garments entered the Ethiopic vocabulary when Arab traders brought goods to the shores of East Africa from Arabia, Persia and India. At the turn of the 19th–20th cent., large quantities of *šämma* cloth were being imported to Ethiopia not only from India, but also from America, England and France. A British Foreign Office Report of 1897–1900 indicates that cotton goods were a "staple import" of Ethiopia. Shortly after that period, however, the availability of inexpensive imported warp thread led to a decrease in the import of cloth and a corresponding rise in local production (Burley 1978:146; Nicholson 1960:5). It may be, therefore, that the diffusion of weaving outside the highland market towns and areas of cotton production is a development of the 20th cent.

Below the *šämma*, men commonly wear only a shirt and knickers. Ecclesiastics and the upper classes wear ankle-length breeches. Women wear a "dress" called *qämis* (s. fig. 1). In its basic form this is a straight-cut garment consisting of two pieces of *šämma* cloth rendered double by folding back half the length, and then folded again to form the front and back of the garment, both of double thickness. The pieces are then sewn together along the selvages giving a central front and back seam. A small section in the central front is left unsewn, at the top of which a half-moon cut is made across the selvage for the neck. The sides are sewn together, leaving 20cm openings at the top for the arms, but the back hemline is left open. The arm-openings serve as "sleeves" which can be pulled up over the shoulders to leave the arms free for working. The voluminous width of the *qämis* is gathered at the waist and covered by a long sash, or **መቀነት** (*mäqännät*), which today invariably incorporates brightly coloured, decorative banding at either end. *Maqännätoč* display enormous variety in length and width, and plain ones for men measuring up to 55 m x 1 m have been recorded. Another sash, worn by married women, is the **ድንቆ** (*dənqo*).

There are a number of variations of the basic *qämis*. One common form, which has attached sleeves, seems to derive from the Arabic version of the Coptic shirt (s. fig. 2). In this case, one of the two pieces of *šämma* cloth is cut in half. One half is again divided, then folded lengthwise and the edges sewn to make the two sleeves. The remaining half is folded lengthwise and then doubled over to provide four thicknesses, two for the front and two for the back of the garment. The long edges are sewn to the corresponding edges of the other piece of *šämma*, resulting in an off-centre seam both front and back and a width only three-quarters that of the basic *qämis*. A 25-cm-long vertical centre cut is made in front as a neck-opening. A 3.5 cm red band, invariably woven across each end of the *šämma* cloth, is carefully preserved as a border along the back and one-third of the front "hem line". A typical *qämis* of this type from the Gondär region would be embroidered on the cuffs and down the centre front from neck to hem line, with a cross at the bottom. A similar cross would extend below the neckline down the centre back to a depth of at least 15 cm.

Jerónimo Lobo (1984:172) uses the term "camizas" also to describe a men's silk shirt. Historically, silk garments made of imported cloth were much in demand by the upper classes, whose use of such articles was protected from at least the 16th cent. by sumptuary laws. They were presented de rigueur as gifts by emissaries to the court. Silks imported from Arabia, China, Egypt, India and the Yemen are frequently mentioned in the reports of foreign travellers from the early 16th cent. onwards. There was a preference at court for garments of "Turkish style", but velvet and silk in "Ethiopian

style" were also noted in the royal tent. Now, as then, the silk cord necklace, or ↗*matäb*, often intertwined with a chain of precious metal, identifies its wearer as a Christian.

↗ Weaving, weavers

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 58–62; BeckHuntAlvar 510; DAE IV, 33, 38f.; CrawItin 109; EMERI JOHANNES VAN DONZEL, *Foreign Relations of Ethiopia 1642–1700: Documents Relating to the Journeys of Khodja Murād*, Leiden 1979 (Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 46); ᶜABDALMALIK B. HIŠĀM, *The Life of Muhammad, a Translation of Ishāq's "Sīrat Rasūl Allāh"*, ed. by A. GUILLAUME, Lahore – Karachi – Dacca 1955, ²1990, ³1997; ID., *As-Sīra annabawīya*, vol. 1, Beirut 1900; IBN MANṢŪR, *Lisān al-ᶜArab*, Beirut 1992; JERÓNIMO LOBO, *The Itinerário of Jerónimo Lobo*, ed. by MANUEL GONÇALES DA COSTA, tr. by DONALD MERRIT LOCKHART, London 1984 (Works of the Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., 162); MARCO POLO, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, ed., tr. by RONALD LATHAM, London 1959.

Lit.: HERMANN BAUMANN – DIEDRICH WESTERMANN, *Les peuples et les civilizations de l'Afrique*, tr. by LILIAS HOMBURGER, Paris 1957; WITOLD KAZIMIERZ BRZUSKI, "Arabic Loanwords in Amharic Connected with Textiles, Leather Products and Jewelry", *Africana Bulletin* 20, 1974, 63–71; ID., *Zapożyczenia arabskie w dawnym i współczesnym języku amharskim*, Warszawa 1983; DEXTER BURLEY, "The Despised Weavers of Addis Ababa", in: *PICES* 5, 145–49; MICHAEL GERVERS, "Shamma, Gābi, and Kamis", *Rotunda* 16, 1983, 38–44; ID., "Cotton and Cotton Weaving in Meroitic Nubia and Medieval Ethiopia," *Textile History* 21, 1990, 13–30 [repr. in: PIOTR O. SCHOLZ—RICHARD PANKHURST—WITOLD WITAKOWSKI (eds.), *Orbis Aethiopicus. Studies in honorem Stanislas Chojnacki natali septuagesimo quinto dicata septuagesimo septio oblata*, Albstadt 1992 (Bibliotheca nubica 3), 13–29]; DETLEV KARSTEN, *The Economics of Handicrafts in Traditional Societies; an Investigation in Sidamo and Gamu Gofa Province, Southern Ethiopia,* München 1972; MAURICE LOMBARD, *Les textiles dans le monde musulman du 7e au 12e siècle*, Paris – The Hague – New York 1978; G. EDWARD NICHOLSON, "The Production, History, Uses and Relationships of Cotton (*Gossypium spp.*) in Ethiopia", *Economic Botany* 14, 1960, 3–36; ERNST FRIEDRICH ROHRER, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur der Amhara*, Bern 1932; RAYMOND AARON SILVERMAN (ed.), *Ethiopia. Traditions of Creativity*, East Lansing – Seattle – London 1999; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Matab", *Bulletin of the Ethnological Society* 9, 1959, 38–43; SIEGBERT UHLIG, "Eine trilinguale 'Ezana-Inschrift", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 7–31; CRAVEN HOWELL WALKER, *The Abyssinian at Home,* London 1933, 188; ANDREW M. WATSON, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World*, Cambridge 1983.

Michael Gervers

Clothing in Harär

Women's garments in Harär are of a simple cut. *Gē irāz* refers to the traditional dress worn over an ordinary one when going out. Since most often such a dress is made of black material, it is also called *ṭay irāz* ('black dress'). Such a dress may be about two metres long and is then tied up with a shawl as a belt in such a way that the upper part covers – like a blouse – part of the lower one. The upper part of the gown, triangular-shaped, is of a material dyed in a different colour. This upper part ends in the apex of the triangle at the lower part of the gown, while the basis of the triangle is at the top. It is often made in such a way that it can be worn double-face: that is a richer and more colourful side for festive occasions, a simpler one for daily use. Sleeves and the upper part are cut and sewn in Kimono style. The openings for the sleeves, shoulder parts, the V-shaped neck-opening and the apex of the triangle are decorated with rich and delicate embroidery in geometric and floral designs. Such dresses are often part of an engagement or a pre-wedding gift the bridegroom's family give to a bride.

Women's trousers with tight, elaborately hand-embroidered leggings made of silk, velvet or rayon are called *gē gannāfi*. Since the skirts are shorter, the leggings can be seen. The custom of wearing such trousers began after the Egyptian occupation of the 1880s. Burton neither mentions nor shows in his sketches such leggings.

Men have largely adopted Western-type clothing. They used to wear a type of sarong of imported material and turbans or caps hand-crocheted by Harari ladies. Occasionally an Arabian-type costume of white trousers and a long white shirt, both of factory-made cotton, are worn. Imported Indian machine-embroidered shawls of artificial wool are worn folded over the shoulder. For a bridegroom such a shawl is de rigueur.

Src.: RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON, *First Footsteps in East Africa*, ed. by GORDON WATERFIELD, London 1966, 185; PHILLIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar, Forschungsreise nach den Somal- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari,* Berkeley – Los Angeles 1963 (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 1), 66, 73.

Lit.: ELISABETH-DOROTHEA HECHT, *Die traditionellen Frauenvereine* (*Afoča*) *der Harari in Harar und in Addis Ababa*, *Äthiopien*, Berlin 1993 (Marburger Studien zur Afrika und Asienkunde, Serie A: Afrika 30); PERI KLEMM, *Women's Costumes from Easter Ethiopia. IES Museum Exhibition Catalogue November 2000*, Addis Ababa 2000.

Elisabeth-Dorothea Hecht

Ecclesiastical vestments

According to custom, a person's rank, position, or office in the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church is indicated by certain items of C. Beside the national dress, church people are differ-

A group of clergymen in festive vestments, carrying the *tabot* at the head of a procession at Aksum Ṣəyon in 1906, from DAE III, plate VIII

entiated according to their place, rank and achievement.

The dress of the priests (↗*Qäsis*) varies little from that of the laity. The distinctive mark of the priest's C. is the way the *šämma* is worn: it is draped around the shoulders and either drawn up over the chin or down over the head leaving only the eyes exposed. The *šämma* is lowered from the face as a mark of courtey and respect. Another distinctive feature is the narrow red strip bordering the *šämma*, which according to tradition represents the blood of Jesus Christ. Priests and persons of high rank have a border, varying in width from 12 to 18 inches, which is often elaborately ornamented. They often wear ቆብ (*qob*, a brimless flat-topped skull-cap), also worn by monks and nuns.

The other articles peculiar to the clergy are used mostly upon religious occasions (Hyatt 1928:54). Among these are the ጭራ (*č̣ära*, fly-whisks made of horsehair often dyed red with henna, the handles are usually attractively carved, s. Bent 1893:65), ጥምጥም (*ṭəmṭəm*, a turban-like headdress made out of a long piece of cloth), special types of caps and cloaks.

Priests can usually be identified by the hand-cross (↗Crosses) made of iron or wood, that they carry in their hands or in their shirt pocket; these crosses are used for blessing others. The priests shave their heads and grow beards, in contrast to the laity who usually shave their faces and grow the hair on their heads (Pankhurst 1990:36)

A monk's modest clothing, which is full and reaches the ground, consists of a tunic and belt, a hood open in the front and top, and wide breeches. This apparel is often worn with a hat and a በርኖስ (*bärnos*, a full, flowing black cape, which reaches to the ground, sometimes with a pointed hood, cp. Pankhurst 1990:37; KaneDic 885) or a ባና፡ በርኖስ (*bana bärnos*, a broad white mantle). They also frequently wear a rough wool sackcloth. Those who have made a pilgrimage are entitled to wear a ወይባ (*wäyba*, a yellow-coloured gown). Sometimes they additionally wear tanned goatskins and rough leather girdles about their loins in imitation of John the Baptist. Some monks substitute a 4 inch wide heavy iron chain for this girdle to lacerate the skin (Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Motovu 1970:26). A monk

who is not content with his penance wears a hair-cloth woven with ox-tail bristles and an iron girdle (Pankhurst 1990:44). Monks make three professions. Upon the first they receive the **ቅናት** (*qənat*, a belt or girdle of fibre, worn around the waist or across the chest). Upon the second, they receive the *qob*; and at the final (*fəṣṣäma*) monks in certain monasteries like Dima Giyorgis or Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa receive the ↗*askema*, a scapular make of a strip of braided leather or sinew one end of which hangs down over the breast and the other down the back, with twelve crosses (KaneDic 1175; Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Motovu 1970:23).

The deacon (↗*Diyaqon*) wears a traditional garb with a yellowish cap made of sheepskin. On holidays the officiating deacons may be dressed in richly coloured silk robes like the priests (Levine 1986:168)

The ↗*däbtäras* are normally very well dressed in a traditional way. Some may wind a turban around their heads, like priests do. The ones with more prestigious posts may be seen with fly-whisks or wearing a *bärnos* (Levine 1986:172).

Nuns wear *wäyba* and also shave their heads and wear *qobs* which they receive from the ↗*qomos* (Walker 1933:114), the older ones sometimes wear a leather strap round the head instead (Pankhurst 1990:37). At night they often wear a **ሳቅ** (*saq*, a broad leather or palm fibre belt) under their clothes, in order to chafe the skin and to create discomfort (during the day it is girded over the shirt like a normal belt). The nuns usually carry their ↗*mäqq*^{ə}*amiya*, fly-whisk, hand-cross and *mäquṭäriya* (praying beads).

↗Hermits are recognizable by their hair, which is uncut and shaggy with butter rubbed into it. They wear animal skins with chains around their waists and a large cross on their necks. They carry a long iron cross and a wood or leather-covered, hand-written Bible, suspended by a thong from his neck.

The ↗*abun* can be recognized easiest of all. He wears a black silk mantle, a turban with a silk ribbon of the same colour, and a zucchetto (a monk's cap, which is red instead of the usual black). His collar is marked with a cross (Hyatt 1928:49). As befitted his high status, he is always finely dressed, sometimes in a delicate Indian white cotton robe with a blue silk hood, and a large blue turban (Pankhurst 1990:37).

↗Monasticism; ↗Qəddase

Src.: KaneDic 885, 1175; BeckHuntAlvar.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, *A Social History of Ethiopia,* Addis Ababa 1990, 36f.; HARRY MIDDLETON HYATT, *The Church of Abyssinia*, London 1928, 49, 54; CRAVEN HOWELL WALKER, *The Abyssinian at Home*, London 1933, 114; GEORGE ARTHUR LIPSKY, *Ethiopia*: *its People, its Society, its Culture*, New Haven, CT 1962; JAMES THEODORE BENT, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopian*, London 1893, 65; DONALD NATHAN LEVINE, *Wax and Gold*: *Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture*, Chicago 1965, 168, 172; AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU (eds.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 23, 26; TadTChurch; HERMANN AMBORN, *Differenzierung und Integration. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Spezialisten und Handwerkern in südäthiopischen Agrargesellschaften*, München 1990, 147–51; EIKE HABERLAND, *Hierarchie und Kaste. Zur Geschichte und politischen Struktur der Dizi in Südwest-Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1993, 94–97, 303f.

Ill.: DAE III; RICHARD PANKHURST – DENIS GÉRARD, *Ethiopia Photographed*: *Historic Photographs of the Country and its People Taken Between 1867 and 1938*, London – New York 1996, 25, 131; DAVID RODEN BUXTON, *The Abyssinians*, London 1970, s. plates; HANS O. LEUENBERGER – T. SCHNEIDER *Aethiopien*, München 1963, 43; GEORG GERSTER, *Äthiopien*. *Das Dach Afrikas*, Zürich 1974, 88, 139.

Merdassa Kassaye

Coffee

The history of the origin of C. (Amh. **ቡና**, *bunna*) has been and still is a topic of great controversy among scientists. Many argue that C. originated in Africa and identify four major species, namely: *Coffea arabica*, *Coffea robusta*, *Coffea liberica* and *Coffea esliaca*. These species are all found and grown in the natural forests of Africa. *Coffea arabica* is believed to have originated in the south-western forests of Ethiopia. The rest, *Coffea robusta*, *Coffea liberica* and *Coffea esliaca* are believed to have originated in Uganda, Liberia and the southern Sudan respectively.The coffee bush is believed to be indigenous to Ethiopia. Many etymologists connect the origin of the word C. with the name of ↗Käfa. At the same time historians testify that the C. plant was first discovered growing wild in the Käfa region. C. has been traced to ancient Ethiopia where the bush still grows wild in abundance, and to southern Arabia, where the mysteries of roasting and brewing of the bean evolved.

C. is grown in most parts of the country. In general, favourable climatic and soil conditions exist in the highlands of Ethiopia for growing the beans. C. is the most important cash crop grown by peasants. 98 % of this cash crop is grown on peasant farms and 2 % is produced on government or state farms (Coffee and Tea

Coffea arabica, from Köhler 1887–98

Authority 1978/79–1995/96). C. is grown in farms ranging from 1,300 to 2,100 m A.S.L. The total area cultivated for C. is roughly estimated to be ca. 450,000 ha. An additional 150,000 ha are known to produce wild C. in natural forests, which are only partially exploited. The national average C. yield is about 400 kg/ha with considerable variations from region to region and area to area within a region. The major C.-growing regions experience sufficient or abundant rainfall for C. production, this measuring more than 1,700 mm of rainfall. In Ethiopia these regions are confined to the southwestern part of the country including Käfa, ↗Illubabor and ↗Wällägga. The production of the major C.-production regions amounts to 95 % of the total C. production in the country. However, most of the C. in these regions is grown as part of the natural forests at densities of about 7,000 trees/ha. The minor C.-growing regions, e.g., Harär, Arsi, Šäwa and areas around Lake Ṭana, receive less rainfall, amounting to 1,200 mm. In these areas irrigation is used to overcome the water deficiency.

In general, C.-growing practices are traditional in nature. The use of improved cultural practices and farm inputs is very limited, thus resulting in low yields. Almost all C. in Ethiopia is produced on smallholdings and jointly operated communal farms. It is estimated that 25 % of the population is engaged in C. production, processing and marketing. The number of C. growers before the land reform of 1975 was estimated at 600,000 to 700,000. After the land reform of 1975 their number seems to have increased to more than one million when percolation of large holdings took place.

The methods of C. production may be grouped into four types, namely:

a) picking wild C. from the forest,
b) semi-domestication of forest C.,
c) C. planting on the basis of traditional management practices,
d) modern plantation following the recommended cultural practices.

There are few C. pests in Ethiopia except *Antestia* which causes considerable damage in some parts of the region. Other pests such as leaf-minors, stem-borers and berry-moth occasionally cause considerable damage, but only in localized areas. The most important and serious problem which Ethiopian C. is facing is coffee-berry disease and great effort is being exerted to control it by chemical spraying.

The production of C. in Ethiopia fluctuates from year to year like other agricultural products. It grew to 150,339 tons during 1995–96. The amount of C. exports was 106,639 tons in 1995–96. The highest C. supplier in the country is Ğəmma with an annual production of 30,000 tons. Ethiopia, on average, produces 200,000 tons of C. a year, of which almost half is for domestic consumption.

Lit.: COFFEE AND TEA AUTHORITY (ed.), *Annual Reports*, Addis Ababa 1978/79–95/96; *Selamta Magazine,* 13, 1996; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AGENCY (ed.), *National Atlas of Ethiopia,* Addis Ababa 1981, ²1988; GEORGI GALPERIN, *Ethiopia*: *Population, Resources, Economy*, Moscow 1981; MEKETE BELACHEW, *The Economy of Ethiopia*: *an Economic Geographical Analysis,* Addis Ababa 1997; EUGEN KÖHLER, *Köhler's Medizinal-Pflanzen in naturgetreuen Abbildungen*, ed. by G. PABST, Gera-Untermhaus 1887–98 (ill.).

Mekete Belachew

Cultural role of coffee in Ethiopia

C. has been consumed in Ethiopia for many centuries. Traditionally it was often roasted, finely ground, spiced, and eaten or drunk, with butter or milk. Its presentation as a black infusion in a ቻበና (*ǧäbäna*), or long-necked pot, probably came from ↗Arabia, to which the raw coffee beans had originally been exported from Ethiopia. Because of its stimulant properties,

coffee, often in association with ↗*čat*, was used by Muslim mystics as early as the 15th cent. It plays an important role in traditional Oromo rites and spirit possession rituals and is taken in some Ethiopian monasteries to stave off sleep during prayers. However, in Šäwä in the early 19th cent., the Ethiopian Orthodox Church opposed coffee drinking by the laity, on the grounds that it was a Muslim or "pagan" custom.

Though first it was the prerogative of the rich, coffee drinking, nevertheless grew in popularity and was soon widely consumed in Addis Abäba. The beginnings of the coffee ceremony in Ethiopia are hard to date, but its elements have remained constant throughout the 20th cent. The participants, mainly and sometimes only women, sit in a semicircle facing a young woman of junior status, who officiates, wearing Ethiopian dress. She sits on a low stool behind a tray in the middle of an area strewn with sweet-smelling reeds. The tray holds one more diminutive handle-less cup than there are participants. She washes, then roasts the coffee on a flat tin and passes it round for all to inhale the aroma. Incense is burned and snacks, such as roasted grain or ↗*ənǧära*, are offered. After grinding the coffee to a powder with pestle and mortar, she eases the powder into the *ǧäbäna* in which water has been brought to the boil with the occasional addition of spice. She closes the top with a straw stopper. When the brew is ready she pours it from a height into each cup, and hands them round. For the second and third brew only water is added. Participants meanwhile talk quietly, and, if a diviner is present, may eventually turn over their cups to have their fortunes told.

Four overlapping strands have come together to create "the coffee ceremony". The method of preparation in a *ǧäbäna*, and the three brewings have probably come from Arabia, as suggested by the Arabic derivation of the name of the pot and the three brews: *awwäl* or *abol* ('first'), *tani* ('second', or *räǧa*, 'return') and *bäräka* ('blessing'). The meaning of the latter, "blessing", suggests that the ceremony had a religious element. From Oromo culture derives an alternative name, *tona* or *tola* ('second'), the strong association with prayer through invocation, and eating roasted grain. From Amhara spirit beliefs come the use of sweet-smelling grasses, incense, inhalation of coffee fumes, divination from coffee grounds, and the recently forgotten belief that the tray is the drinking trough of the spirit, who will also drink from the spare cup. The last strand originated with Ethiopian Christians, who "borrowed" the ceremony by associating it with Saints' days, especially St. Mary's, and with Sundays.

Coffee-crushing in Harär, early 20th cent., © Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (4028–359)

The coffee ceremony has recently become a tourist attraction, a way of promoting the export of coffee, and an export item in itself. The procedure is increasingly elaborate, with flowers added to the grass, plastic trays studded with brass nails, and the addition of sugar, saucers and spoons. Nevertheless, the essential elements have remained unchanged.

↗ Buuna qallaa; ↗Drinks

Lit.: LAMBERT BARTELS, *Oromo Religion*: *Myths and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia – an Attempt to Understand*, Berlin 1983; GETACHEW KASSA, "A Descriptive Account of the Coffee Slaughter (Bun-Qalle) of the Garri of Southern Ethiopia", in: RICHARD PANKHURST — AHMED ZEKARIA — TADDESSE BEYENE (eds.), *Proceedings of the First National Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa 1990, 13–28; HUSSEIN AHMED, "Introducing an Arabic Hagiography from Wällo", in: *PICES* 8, 185–97; MICHEL LEIRIS, *La possession et ses aspects théâtraux chez les éthiopiens de Gondar*, Paris 1980, 29–132; JACQUES MERCIER, "Un mythe éthiopien d'origine du café et du kat", *Abbay* 11, 1980–82, 143–79; RITA PANKHURST, "The Coffee Ceremony and the History of Coffee Consumption in Ethiopia," in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 516–39; TSEHAI BERHANE SELLASSIE, "On Grass and Ritual", *Sociology Ethnology Bulletin* 1, 1, 1991, 13–15.

Rita Pankhurst

Coffin, William

The Englishman C. arrived in Ethiopia together with Henry ↗Salt in 1809. At the request of *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase of Təgray, he remained in Ethiopia and participated in a number of military campaigns, serving the two cannons which Salt had brought as a gift from the King of Great Britain.

C. eventually settled in the ᶜAdwa area and married into the Armenian-Greek merchant community there. In 1827 he was sent with ↗Ali Umar on a mission to Cairo and London. He carried with him a request from *däğğazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu to King George for artisans and roofing materials for a new church, but returned five years later with 1,850 muskets and carbines, the first large-scale arms import into the country in the 19th cent.

Lit.: SVEN RUBENSON, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence,* London 1976, passim.

Sven Rubenson

Cohen, Marcel

Samuel Raphaël Marcel C. (b. 6 February 1884, Paris C., d. 5 November 1974, Viroflay, near Versailles) was a distinguished French linguist. Born into a middle-class Jewish family, after leaving school, C. decided to devote himself to comparative Semitic linguistics and prepared himself for this task by brilliant work in the areas of Oriental studies and linguistics. He received his *Agrégation de grammaire* in 1908 and his diploma in 1909, and completed his *thése* at the École Pratique des Hautes Études (ÉPHE) in 1909, published as *Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger* (Paris 1912). He spent one semester in Berlin (from October 1909), attending ↗Mittwoch's seminars on Semitic languages. After that, he attended Casimir ↗Mondon-Vidailhet's course in Amharic. His *thèse complémentaire* was *Couplets amharique du Choa* (published 1924).

In November 1911, on returning from a mission in Ethiopia, he succeeded Mondon Vidailhet, who had just died, as *chargé de cours d'Abyssin* at the École des langues orientales (↗Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales). In November 1919 he also became director of studies in Gəᶜəz at the ÉPHE. In 1931 he created a scholarly society, the Groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques. Several of his pupils have distinguished themselves in the field of Ethiopian studies: Wolf Leslau, Déborah ↗Lifchitz, Stefan ↗Strelcyn, Joseph Tubiana and Maxime Rodinson. The latter two succeeded him at the École des langues orientales (1950) and at the ÉPHE (1955), respectively.

A large proportion of C.'s extensive bibliography is dedicated to the languages of Ethiopia and to Semito-Hamitic. Besides innumerable articles, he wrote the *Études d'éthiopien méridional*, which deals principally with ↗Gurage, the *Traité de langue amharique*, a linguistic description that is today outdated, but which is priceless within the French context, and the *Nouvelles études d'éthiopien méridional,* complementary to his earlier work. C. also authored ethnographic works of great precision.

Src.: MARCEL COHEN, *Études d'éthiopien méridional*, Paris 1936; ID., *Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger*, Paris 1912; ID., "Couplets amharique du Choa", *JA* 205, juillet–septembre 1924, 1–100; ID., *Traité de langue amharique*, Paris 1936; ID., *Nouvelles études d'éthiopien meridional*, Paris 1939 ; DAVID COHEN (ed.), *Mélanges Marcel Cohen*: *études de linguistique, ethnographie et sciences connexes offertes par ses amis et ses élèves à l'occasion de son 80ème anniversaire; avec des articles et études inédits de Marcel Cohen*, The Hague 1970 (Lit.).

Lit.: IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE (ed.), *Cinquante années de recherches linguistiques, ethnographiques, sociologiques, critiques et pédagogiques*, Paris 1955; IRÈNE LENTIN, "Marcel Cohen", *Bulletin de l'Association des anciens élèves*, December 1984, 64–68; UNION FRANÇAISE UNIVERSITAIRE (ed.), *Hommage à Marcel Cohen*, Paris 1985 (Lit.); ALAIN ROUAUD, "Marcel Cohen", in: PIERRE LABROUSSE, *Deux siècles d'histoire de l'École des langues orientales*, Paris 1995, 363–67.

Alain Rouaud

Marcel Cohen, photo courtesy of the author

Coinage

The importance of coined money in the economic life of Eastern Africa was subject to radical changes, from the use of foreign currency, beginning in Roman times, to the establishment of an indigenous C. system. In the course of centuries this development was sometimes reversed, with intervening periods of trade conducted almost entirely by barter.

As historical source material of considerable quantity, the coins are of eminent importance for research on the Aksumite period, when other witnesses are scanty. Their interpretation is expanded by statistical methods.

I. The ancient kingdom of Aksum

The extent of time when the kings of ↗Aksum (the title used on coins was: *nəgusä Aksumä* in Gəᶜəz, but **BACIΛEΥC AΞѠMITѠN** in Greek) had their own coins struck extended over 350 years, from the last quarter of the 3rd cent. A.D. into the second quarter of the 7th cent. A.D., thus coinciding with the height of Aksumite power and participation in the international trade between the Roman Empire and India. The coins provide a more or less continuous sequence of kings, of which only two, ↗ᶜEzana and ↗Kaleb, are attested by other contemporary sources. The number of kings engaged in coining was about 20, taking into account some difficulties in the identification of several kings with similar or identical names. The coins might not preserve all the kings' names of their time, because they were often (especially during the 5th cent.) struck anonymously or even posthumously. A disuputed topic is the extent to which possible coregencies is confirmed by coins.

The relative chronology can be regarded as reliably established until Kaleb in the middle of the 6th cent., but afterwards the hypotheses of scholars differ. The absolute chronology of most kings is very vague and relies on estimating the frequency of their coins, which is, however, influenced by several variables. In this respect the so-called "king lists" should be almost totally ignored; in the rare cases where they include the name of a king whose name also appears on a coin (↗Ǝsraʾel, ↗Armaḥ, ↗Ǝllä ᶜAmida, ↗Ǝllä Gäbäz), they were apparently inspired by coins themselves (which would often be found in Aksum after ploughing, heavy rains etc.). The names of the kings written on the coins are mostly personal (baptismal?) names, only in the earlier periods was this followed by the (matrilinear?) clan name (*bisi*); the throne name (Ǝllä) is used by two or three later kings instead of the personal name.

Coins are known from the following kings (in brackets the names of the kings as known from the coins are provided; **Σ** is regulary written as **C**):

1. ↗Endubis bisi Dahu (**ENΔΥBIC BICI ΔAXΥ**),
2. ↗Afilas bisi Dimele (**AΦIΛAC BICI ΔIMHΛH**),

Endubis's gold coin (15 mm), courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

3. Ousanas bisi Gisene (numismatically to be named Ousanas I) (**OΥCANAC BICI ΓICENE**),
4. Wazebas bisi Zagaly (**ወዘበ፡ በአሰየ፡ ዘገለየ**),
5. ↗ᶜEzana bisi Alene (**H'ZANAC BICI A'ΛENE** or **ΑΛHN**),
6. Ousanas (II, by some scholars identified with Ousanas I) (**OΥCANAC**),
7. Ouazebas (**OΥAZHBAC**),
8. Noe bisi Anaaf (**ኑѠE BICI ANAAΦ**),
9. Maḥadyas (possibly "Matthias"),
10. Ebana (**EBANA**),
11. Nezana = Nezool (**NEZANA/NEZOΛ**),
12. Ousa(na)s (III) (**OΥCANAC**),
13. ↗Kaleb (**XAΛHB**, **ከለበ**),
14. Alla Amidas (**AΛΛA AMIΔAC**) = Ǝllä ᶜAmida,
15. Ǝsraʾel (**ICPAHΛ**, **የሰረኣለ**),
16. Gersem (**ΓEPCEM**, **ጌርሰም**),
17. Hataz (**IAΘAZ** or Etasas **HΘACAC**, **ሐተዝ**),
18. Ioel (**IѠHΛ**, **አየኣለ**),
19. Wazen (**ወዘነ**) = (?) Ella Gabaz (**EΛΛA ΓABAZ**) = Ǝllä Gäbäz,
20. Arməḥa (**አርምሐ**) = ↗Armaḥ.

The sequence of 15–20 is disputable. The approximate dates are: 1–4: ca. 290–ca. 330; 5: ca. 330–ca. 365; 6–8: ca. 365–ca. 420; 9–12: ca. 420–ca. 510; 13–14: ca. 510–ca. 545; 15–20: ca. 545–ca. 640 A.D. The Greek forms are usually given in the nominative case, but the dative and the vocative cases are also occasionally used. The conversion of the Aksumite dynasty to ↗Christianity ca. 347 provides a typological partition of the coins into an early, pre-Christian period and a much longer Christian era, which is characterized by several biblical names of kings. Dating the reigh of each king by years could not be verified on the Aksumite coins.

The three classic metals (gold, silver and copper) were used for coin production; native ↗gold was washed out of the inner-African rivers, silver might have been obtained by the refining of gold, copper was imported. As a rule, the early gold and silver coins were of maximum purity, which tended to deteriorate in the course

Harär silver coin (9.5 mm) of 1288 H. (1871 A.D.), courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

of time, though not continuously, towards alloys of less than 50 %. Most of the coins were hammer-struck in the traditional way, but the technique of casting (which can also be detected in Arabia) seems to have been applied at the beginning of the copper (and silver?) C. era; normally it was limited to the manufacture of the flans. Several types of silver and copper coins show a partial gilding in order to emphasize religious parts of the pictorial design; this is a phenomenon quite unique in ancient numismatics and has attracted much scientific interest because the method of fire-gilding was still new at that time.

Usually only one denomination (size of coin) was struck in each metal; an exception is found under the second king, Afilas, who experimented with fractional coins lower than the unit-pieces. Presumably the weight-standard was based on corns of grain (as in Arabia), but it was adjusted to the Roman carat system, so that at least the gold coins could match the Roman coins, first (in the period of Diocletian to Licinius) the *aurei*, then the lighter *solidi*. Because the quantities were measured with a beam-balance, the unit was constructed in two halves; consequently, the weight of the Aksumite gold coins amounted to one half of the contemporary Roman coin, i.e. 2.7 to 2.2 gram. In the last third of the 4th cent., it was reduced to 1.7 gram and the lower quality could result in a value of one fourth of a Roman *solidus*. The relation of exchange between the coins of the three metals is unknown, as are their names (perhaps in Christian times they were taken from the Bible).

With respect to the purpose and destination of the gold C., prestige, hoarding and long-distance trade can be supposed. Hoards of gold coins have been recorded from Aksum, Adulis, Southern Arabia and India. Wholesale traders might even have commissioned large amounts of coins for their busineses; therefore, the retention of Greek inscriptions on the gold coins is comprehensible. The silver and copper coins are found as stray finds in Aksumite market towns, but rarely abroad; some can be traced to Palestinian pilgrim centres.

A thorough analysis of the typological composition discloses valuable information for the religious history of Ethiopia in late antiquity. The influence of Roman coins was weak and is limited to a few imitative features; the concept designs have some South-Arabian precedents, but most of the pictorial elements are genuine. The long titles of the kings, which referred to their divine legitimation, was expressed by symbols; in the pre-Christian period, crescents, stars and stalks stand for the celestial triad, the tiara of the king and the colour of the gilding carry a solar connotation. Several elements were retained (and reinterpreted) in the era of Christian kings. These are, however, characterized by the development of an outspoken ↗cross symbolism (probably originating from erudite clerics) being styled as reigning over the country (Greek **ΧΩΡΑ**, taken from the table of nations in Gen 10:20, 31) of the Abyssinians (**'ΑΒΑΣΣΙΝΩΝ**) and the cosmos. This symbolism is elucidated by affirmative inscriptions invoking the cross, e.g., as "pleasing the country", as bringing "joy and peace to the peoples", as to be "exalted by the king" (freely translated). Some very late (7th-cent.) representations might portray the Jerusalemite Holy Cross in connection with contemporary events and the feast of its exaltation.

The coins also supply an important epigraphic and linguistic source of primary importance which is relatively well dated. The vocalization of Gəᶜəz — although rarely employed on the coins — is attested for the first time in ca. 325/30. In these cases the final *-ə* is still preserved. The oldest evidence of the word **ሙስቀል** (*mäsqäl*) is found on coins (ca. 425).

II. Foreign coins used in trade

Whenever coined money was not available and barter trading prevailed, several sorts of "primitive" money were used to facilitate the bargaining. Amongst them bars of salt (↗*Amole*) had the widest use in time and place. Additionally, such items as metal ingots, iron shovels, needles and golden rings were used. In modern times even gun cartridges served this purpose. A limited quantity of foreign coins always infiltrated the local currencies due to foreign traders. In medieval times one has to reckon with Islamic ↗*dīnārs*

and *dirhams* originating from the Yemen or Egypt. Perhaps they were also needed to pay foreign craftsmen working in Lalibäla/Roḥa (Perruchon 1892:122f.). A hypothetical attribution connects with these payments a well-known group of badly alloyed and barbarized *dīnārs*, imitating Ṣulayḥid coins of the 11th cent. from the Yemen, but distinguished by a tiny issue-mark (perhaps erroneously identified as a cross), but the theory lacks local evidence, which suggests the coin are from the Yemen.

European coins reaching Ethiopia from Levantine trade were Venetian ducats (sequins) and, from ca. 1800, ↗Maria Theresia thalers in steadily increasing numbers, especially after the opening of the Suez canal (1869) and in the course of the ↗Napier military expedition of 1868 and the Italian war of 1895–96. The exact standard of this thaler (28 gram gross weight, fineness 0.833) made it practicable as a weight-unit in every day life, besides its use as treasure money (until its demonetization in 1946/47) and ↗jewellery.

III. The emirate of Harär, 18th and 19th cent.

The *amīr*s of ↗Harär issued token coins, mostly consisting of worthless alloys (billon, bronze or brass) for the use of small change within the city; they were called *mäḥalläq* (as a loan-word probably derived from the Arabic *muḥlag/ muḥ–lağ*) and are tiny, artless pieces of primitive hammer-striking, dated by *Hiğra* years. The earliest *mäḥalläq*, recorded with certainty, are from 1197 H. [1782 A.D.] and do not mention the *amīr*'s name. All earlier citations are doubtful.

Eventually the name of *amīr* Muḥammad II (↗Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbdaššakūr) was written on his specimens. He experimented with even smaller coins, of silver, in 1288 H. [1871 A.D.]. The unit of account was the *ašrafī*, a name widely given to Arab gold coins of the ducat weight, but its value declined to one third of a thaler in the early 19th cent., thus representing a sum of 22 *mäḥalläqs*. When the city came under Egyptian administration (1875–85), it was supplied with modern Khedivial coins, mainly small silver piastres. The following and last *amīr*, ↗ᶜAbdullāhi b. Muḥammad (1885–86), had large quantities of brass *mäḥalläqs* struck of cartridge metal with his assumed title, "The humble servant (of God)". The name of the *mäḥalläq* survived into Mənilək's C. (On their economic value cp. also ↗Abū Bakr b. *aftal-garād* ᶜAbdalmannān b. Muḥammad).

Mənilək's *mäḥalläq* of Harär (14.5 mm), 1892, with the weight of one Egyptian piastre, courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

IV. Coin- and paper-money issuing since Mənilək II.

On 1 February 1893 [1885 A.M.] *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II announced by decree the creation of a national C. system based on the Maria Theresia thaler standard; thus, after some earlier stages of planning and experiments (including a scheme of a common currency with the Italian colony of Eritrea, for which the Italians issued a special ↗Tallero eritreo plus fractions), the development reached its final codification, foreign advisers having been involved in the scheme. This must have put an end to coining in Harär, where the first machine-struck silver *mäḥalläqs* of the size of the Egyptian piastre had just appeared, together with copper tokens, in the name of Mənilək (1892). The production of the new thaler-coins, called ↗*bərr*, and a series of fractions (*alad* 'half', *rub* 'quarter', *tämun* 'eighth') was to be carried out by the Paris mint, which was also responsible for the design. The first issue is dated 1887 A.M. [1894 A.D.] and was released in small numbers (ca. 50,000 pieces). After the 1896 war, more silver was available from the Italian indemnity payments, which enabled a larger output: by 1910 the Paris mint struck 1.3 million *bərr* and by 1928 fractional coins valued at 3.1 million *bərr* (ca. 52.9 million pieces, mainly *gərš* of the size of the Egyptian piastre = 1/20 *bərr*). The decimal division of the thaler was now prepared in the form of a *mätoññä* coin in copper. The output of the Mənilək silver coins could never compete with the huge quantities of Maria Theresia thalers circulating in Ethiopia; only the fractional coins were of advantage for the market.

In 1903/05 an Austrian firm built a mint in the Addis Abäba ↗*gəbbi*. This mint had technical problems from the beginning; it was intermittently active until the Italians occupied the capital in 1936, striking with dies ordered from the Vienna mint (they differed in only minor details from the Paris products). Unknown quantities

were produced, chiefly of smaller coins, but also of limited numbers of gold pieces for prestige purposes of the court. These were first designed to match the size and standard of the French 20-, 10- and 5-franc pieces (inscribed 1, 1/2, 1/4 *wärq*), but in the end the lighter weights of 1/5, 1/10 and 1/20 ounce (*wäqet*) proved more practicable for Ethiopian purposes. Striking with Mə–niləkˇ types and fixed dates continued in Paris and Addis Abäba long after the Emperor's death (up to 1932), although Empress ↗Zäwditu had a set of obverse dies with her image made and sent from the Paris to the Addis Abäba mint in 1925; they were, however, used only to manufacture a few presentation pieces, mainly in gold. The same happened with dies ordered by *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) in 1928, and again in 1930, from the Vienna mint, when the international monetary crisis of 1931 brought about an alteration of the whole concept. In 1933 the Maria Theresia thaler was divided into 100 *mätoññä* (small copper cents, the multiples struck in nickel). Meanwhile, paper money had also been circulated by the Bank of Abyssinia (founded in 1905) on a very low scale since 1915; the bank was superseded by the Bank of Ethiopia in 1931 (↗Banking system). The bills (ranging from 2 to 500 thalers) were printed in London and enjoyed little acceptance outside the community of European merchants.

The Italian Impero (↗Africa Orientale Italiana) did not issue special coins; paper money of the Banca d'Italia was labelled for exclusive use in the new empire that would unite Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia into a large economic area of colonization. Within the Italian system of lire-coins the production of silver pieces (5, 10, 20 lire) was increased temporarily (1936/37) in an attempt to displace the Maria Theresia thalers. This, however, proved ineffective, because the official rate of the Italian coins was grossly overvalued. When the British forces took over in 1941, they brought in their East African shillings of very low silver content, which were likewise unpopular. In 1945 *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase undertook a fundamental currency reform with US aid. The new Ethiopian dollar was to be represented by paper bills (1 to 100 dollars) of the State Bank of Ethiopia (called National Bank since 1965) and had divisional coins (ordered from the Philadelphia mint) of token character, only the 50-cent piece was a silver coin, issued for the last time in 1947 (but with the fixed date 1936 A.M). Thus, the Maria Theresia thaler could finally be demonetized (1945/47).

↗Currency; ↗Numismatics

Lit.: I. WOLFGANG HAHN, "Symbols of Pagan and Christian Worship on Aksumite Coins", in: PIOTR O. SCHOLZ (ed.), *Äthiopien gestern und heute. Akten der 1.Tagung der Orbis Aethiopicus Gesellschaft zur Erhaltung und Förderung der äthiopischen Kultur*, Warszawa 1999 (=NÆ 4/5), 431–54; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY — BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995 (Lit.). II. RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of Currency and Banking in Ethiopia from the Middle Ages to 1935", *EthObs* 8, 1965, 358ff., 385–408; ID., "The Perpetuation of the Maria Theresa Thaler and Currency Problems in Italian-occupied Ethiopia", *JES* 8, 2, 1970, 89–117; JULES PERRUCHON, *La vie de Lalibala, roi d Éthiopie,* Paris 1892, 122f. III. AHMED ZEKARIA, "Härari Coins: a Preliminary Study", *JES* 24, 1991, 23–46. IV. DENNIS GILL, *The Coinage of Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Italian Somalia*, New York 1991, 5–25, 27ff., 33ff., 99ff., 103ff.; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Zur Geschichte der Münzstätte Addis Abeba", *Money Trend* 33, 2, 2001, 66–70; *ibid.* 33, 7–8, 2001, 54–59; *ibid.* 34, 12, 2002, 118–21.

Wolfgang Hahn

Collège des Gallas

The foundation of C. (also known as the College of Galla Boys) for the education of Oromo boys in France, was one of the high-priority projects of Cardinal ↗Massaja, who proposed its realization to the French Capuchins after the "Galla mission" was entrusted to them. Massaja established it at the end of the second phase of his mission, during his stay in Europe (1864–66).

On 15 April 1866 Massaja solemnly blessed the "St. Michael's College of Galla Boys" in Marseilles. Unfortunately, during the first three years, most of the boys became sick and some of them died. As a result, on 30 June 1870 the C. was formally closed down.

Another reason why Massaja had to close the C. was to found an indigenous College in Šäwa because of the pastoral needs of the Vicariate. This ambition was realized on 18 July 1873, when Fr. Louis de Gonzague, together with three pupils from the former C. of Marseilles reached Ǧilogob, one of the mission stations in northern Šäwa, and set up a school there. This local college brought about many young men later ordained priests by Massaja.

Src.: Archivio de Propaganda Fide (Roma), Fondo Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Africa Centrale Etiopia-Arabia 7 (1861–70), fol. 1235r–38v; GUIGLIEMO MASSAJA, *Memorie storiche del Vicariato Apostolico dei Galla 1845–1880*, ed. by ANTONIO ROSSO, Padova 1984, 220f.

Antonios Alberto

Collegium Aethiopicum/Collegio Etiopico

↗ Santo Stefano dei Mori

Colli di Felizzano, Giuseppe

C. (b. 9 September 1870, Saluzzo, Cuneo, d. 12 September 1937, Rapallo, Genova) was an Italian diplomat. Born to a noble family, C. graduated from the Military Academy of Modena as a sub-lieutenant of cavalry in 1889. In 1896 he voluntarily departed for Eritrea, where he stayed until 1900. Here C. organized a camel-corps in the area between ᶜAqordät and Kassala to counter attacks from the ↗Mahdists. In 1897 he was nominated Resident of Barka Mogaräb, with a seat at Mogolo, the only European among the Nara and Kunama populations. On behalf of the Italian government, he signed in 1901 the convention with the British delegate, David ↗Talbot, regarding the border between Eritrea and the Sudan. From 1902 to 1919 C. served as a secretary accredited to the Italian Legation in Addis Abäba.

In 1906 C. co-founded the Italian Colonial Institute and became consular officer of the Italian Legation with the function of minister plenipotentiary in 1907. In 1908 C. signed the convention for the frontier of Eritrea in the ᶜAfar region ("Dancalia") with French Somaliland (↗Boundaries). Repatriated from Addis Abäba in 1919, he continued to assume other important diplomatic duties. Acknowledged for his services by Mussolini in 1924, he handed over to Giuliano Cora at the end of 1926.

Src.: GIUSEPPE COLLI DI FELIZZANO, *Nei paesi Galla a sud dello Scioa. Relazione di viaggio*, Roma 1905.

Gian Carlo Stella

Coloë

C. (Gr. **Κολόη**) is described in the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (1st cent. A.D.) as an inland city and the first ivory market on a three-day journey from the harbour of ↗Adulis. From C. it is another five days to the metropolis of **Ἀξωμίτης** (Huntingford 1980:20; Casson 1989:53; ↗Aksum).

Bent (1893:223) was the first to identify C. with the vast field of ruins found in ↗Qoḥayto (near ᶜAddi Q̈äyyəḥ, Eritrea). This was followed by nearly all scholars and is found in all handbooks on Ethiopia. Only recently has Mäṭära been brought into play by Kobishchanov (1979:35), however, without offering any arguments.

The identification of C. with modern Qoḥayto is warranted by the identity of the names. Both forms go back to **Qolaḥ-(t)ā*. The meaning of the root becomes evident from the Sabaean QLḤ 'raised water-channel', as well as from its modern Yemeni Arabic equivalent *qalḥ*, 'upper fields'. In Təgrəññа the same root is attested in several verbal and nominal forms as in *q*^{w}*älaḥta* 'upward look with raised head'. This meaning fits very well the geographical position of the place on the eastern edge of the Eritrean plateau.

Lit.: JAMES THEODORE BENT, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians: being a Record of Travel and Research in Abyssinia in 1893*, London 1896; LIONEL CASSON (ed., tr.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei: Text with Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, Princeton 1989, 53; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (tr., ed.), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, by an Unknown Author; with Some Extracts from Agatharkides' "On the Erythrean Sea"*, London 1980, 20; YURI MIKHAILOVICH KOBISHCHANOV, *Axum*, ed. by JOSEPH W. MICHELS, tr. by LORRAINE T. KAPITANOFF, University Park – London 1979; RAINER VOIGT, "**Κολόη** und Ḳoḥaito ('Auf-/Ausblick'), Studien zur äthiopischen Toponomastik. 1", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 90–102.

Rainer Voigt

Colonia di Assab

The C.A. (often simply called "Baia di Assab" or "Assab"; later Colonia di Asseb) was a short-lived (1882–90) small Italian colony on the Red Sea shore around the port of ↗ᶜAsäb (ᶜAfar: ᶜAsáb). Its foundation preceded the rapid take-over of most parts of the neighbouring Egyptian Red Sea province by the Italians as a protectorate (1885–88), before it was merged in 1889 with ↗Märäb Mällaš. In 1890 the territories were unified as Colonia Eritrea.

The Italian shipping company of Raffaele Rubattino, which had owned the port of ᶜAsäb and an offshore island since 1869/70, transferred its rights to the Italian government. This was formalized in law by parliament on 26 June 1882. This act had been planned since December 1879 by the Prime Minister Cairoli, but at first had met too strong resistance from Great Britain and Egypt. The transfer resulted into the rapid proclamation of the C.A. on 5 July 1882, even though powerful political representatives in Italy opposed this first colonial engagement. The creation of the C.A. also faced official protests from Egypt, which claimed sovereignty over the whole coastline (cp. *Assab et les limites de la souveraineté Turco-Egytienne* 1882). France had already made the nearby port of

Map showing the territory of the Colonia di Assab (the darkened area), 1882, from *Assab et les limites* …, annex

↗Obock a colony, from which an important trade route ran to Šäwa via Harär. Commerce linking Red Sea with Mediterranean through the Suez Canal, and recently established diplomatic relations to Šäwa and ↗Awsa made this southern foothold attractive for Italy. In the beginning it was hoped that ᶜAsäb could compete with Egyptian ↗Massawa and French Obock in becoming the outlet of Šäwa and whole Abyssinia. In 1882 the value of trade at ᶜAsäb was estimated at 151,000 lire.

In preparation of the proclamation of the C.A. the territories were expanded between 1879 and 1880 through acquisitions from *sulṭān* Burḥan "ᶜAsa Dardar" b. Muḥammad b. Burḥan of ↗Raḥayta. These included the islands of Umm al-Bagar, Ras ar-Raml, and Damarkiya, later the islands of the ᶜAsäb Bay and the territory between Ras Lōma and Ras Sintyān (also "Santhar"), the areas of Baraᶜasōli and Biḥta north of ᶜAsäb and finally the island of Sanaᶜbūri north of ᶜAsäb and the coastal strip between Ras Tarma and Ras Lōma (Yemane Mesghenna 1989:84f). The possessions encompassed ca. 650 km².

Effective control of these areas within the spheres of influence of the ᶜAfar sultanates of Awsa and Raḥayta was only maintained close to the coast, where military posts were established. De facto control of the arid inland remained in the hands of the traditional local leaders. They, however, are documented as having accepted some kind of Italian overrule. The *sulṭān* of Awsa "Mohamed Anfari" (↗Muḥammad Illalta, son of Ḥanfaḍé), in 1883 also called *sulṭān* of ᶜAsäb, officially recognized the Italian domination in several treaties in 1883 and 1887/88; in a treaty of friendship of 9 December 1888 he ceded the "Gambo Kona" (Kōna Gambo, lit. 'the five directions') territory to Italy for the establishment of a caravan post and recognized their sovereignty over the so-called "Danakil coast" from Amfilla to Ras Dumera.

The Awsa *sulṭān*'s claim over ᶜAsäb, however, had no strong basis; ᶜAbdallāh b. Šeḥem (of the Ankāla) was the local leader. In 1869 he acted as "*sulṭān* of Buia" (an area immediately south of ᶜAsäb), and in the C.A. received the title "ex-*sulṭān* of Assab" by the Italians.

The colonial administration, in spite of the local population's tendency to be hostile, started agricultural projects with date palms, cotton, tobacco and coconut, of which only date palm cultivation was successful. A governor's palace, a hospital, a Catholic church, a Capuchin school and a Moslem school at the mosque, magazines and houses for the strong garrison and local Arabs and ᶜAfar, and a road to Baylūl had been built. Also a road to Awsa was planned in 1887 and a monthly postal service to Šäwa established.

The first commandant of the C.A. was Giulio Pestalozzi (1882–85). He was the only chief of the whole colonial administration who resided in ᶜAsäb, the following commandants being already based in the newly-acquired Massawa: 1885 and 1887 Tancredi Saletta, 1886 Carlo Gené, 1888 Alessandro Asinardi di San Mariano, 1888–89 Antonio Baldissera; the C.A. was administered by a *commissario civile*, the admiral Luigi de Simone, 1885–88.

Formally the C.A. ceased to exist in 1890, when it was unified with the other newly-acquired and occupied territories. However, the term "C.A." continued to be used to denominate the Italian settlements at ᶜAsäb (Bellini 1898).

Src.: *Assab et les limites de la souveraineté Turco-Egyptienne dans la Mer Rouge, Mémoire du Gouvernement Italien avec deux cartes, mars 1882*, Roma 1882; MINISTERO DEGLI AFFARI ESTERI, *Trattati, convenzioni, accordi, protocolli, ed altri documenti relativi all'Africa*, vol. 1, Roma 1906; Correspondence re. Assab Bay, 1882, C. 3300, FO, Public Record Office, Kew, Great Britain; Treaty between the Italian Government and the *sulṭān* of ᶜAsäb, Muḥammad, son of Ḥanfaḍé, "Chief of the Danakils", signed at Hadelè Gubò ("Kadeli Gubo"), 15 March 1883 [approved by *nəgúś* Mənilək of Šäwa, 22 May 1883], Conventions between the *sulṭān* of Awsa and Italy, 7 July 1887 and 10 August 1887, cp. EDWARD HERTSLET, *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, London ³1967, 446–53, 456–58; GIACOMO PERTICONE, *La politica coloniale dell'Italia negli atti, documenti e discussioni parlamentari*, Roma 1965.

Lit.: YEMANE MESGHENNA, *Italian Colonialism: a Case Study of Eritrea, 1869–1934, Motive, Praxis and Result*, Maryland ²1989 (Skrifter utgivna av Ekonomisk-historiska föreningen i Lund 63); CARLO ZAGHI, *Le origini della colonia Eritrea*, Bologna 1934, 21–31; ANTONIO RIZZO, "Per Assab", *Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia* 1, 3 settembre 1882, 33–38; "Un periodo aureo di Assab, 1885–1888", *ibid.* 17, 1898, 67–73; RAFFAELLO BELLINI, "Cenni sulle coltivazione possibili nella colonia di Assab", *ibid*., 104–09; GIACOMO GALLIANO, *La colonizzazione della Baia di Assab ed il governo*, Roma 1884; E. CHIMINELLI, "Litorale fra Assab e Massaua: località poste sotto il protettorato italiano", *Bollettino della Sezione Fiorentina della Società Africana d'Italia*, June 1885, 191 [geography]; ROBERT GALE WOOLBERT, "The Purchase of Assab by Italy", in: DONALD COPE MCKAY, *Essays in the History of Modern Europe*, New York 1936; TULLIO SCOVAZZI, *Assab, Massua, Uccialli, Adua: gli strumenti giuridici del primo colonialismo italiano*, Torino 1998; PrRosDic 37; KilHDic 100.

Wolbert Smidt

Colonia Eritrea ↗ Eritrea

Colonialism

Unlike most of sub-Saharan Africa, in the ↗Horn of Africa – as regards its basic components: historical and cultural identity, state building, mode of production etc. – local interactions have prevailed over outside influences, especially when under the guise of imposition of European C. (Clapham 1984:458). The forces which so drastically affected Africa in the second half of the 19th cent. had their impact also on the Horn, but they did not play such an overwhelming role as elsewhere in Africa and their intervention was in some ways mediated through indigenous social and political systems. On the one hand, some of the statal entities in existence were able to counteract the onslaught of Europe and, on the other, the interests of the major colonial powers (↗United Kingdom and ↗France) in preserving the autonomy of the region as far as possible, helped to keep the Horn out of the Scramble. However, European penetration contributed to the development of new material and institutional resources, variously used on the spot to change the nature of administration, economy and education, though, in the event, the main colonial power in the Horn turned out to be ↗Italy, which did not possess all the political and economic means to carry out a complete disruption and transformation of the state of affairs.

First colonial attempts

The Horn had a role in Britain's strategy as a transit stronghold between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean and because of its inland water resources. As the site of one of the sources of the ↗Nile, the Ethiopian highlands were very important to Britain in order to ensure a firm control over ↗Egypt, which, after the opening of the ↗Suez Canal in 1869, was by far her most vital possession in all of East Africa. The leading concern of English imperialism was the security of trade and communication with India. On the occasion of the Tripartite Agreement (↗Treaties and correspondencies) concerning the future of Ethiopia signed in 1906 with France and Italy, Britain requested and obtained the incorporation within her sphere of influence of the Nile basin and the region round Lake ↗Ṭana. For the same reasons, the British dedicated much attention to Lake Victoria in Uganda. However, Britain aimed at achieving her targets by way of high-level political influence rather than physical occupation. In instances where real colonial initiatives had to be taken, Britain preferred to give way to Italy, her semi-ally on the African scene, thereby countering the threat represented by her most powerful rivals, France and Germany, which could jeopardize British sea-connections. The only colonial acquisition Britain carved out for herself in the region of the Horn was on the Somali coast of the Gulf of Aden around ↗Berbera and ↗Hargeisa; the ↗British Somaliland Protectorate, "this Cinderella of the Empire" (Lewis 1988:104), established in July 1887, was meant to supply fresh food for the military base of Aden in the Yemeni territory beyond the Straits created in 1839 as a vital link in the chain running to India and the Far East.

The asset France wished to protect through the above mentioned Tripartite Agreement was the transport system connecting the highlands to the sea in order to continue developing trade. In December 1884 France, which had occupied ↗Obock in 1862, took possession of ↗Tağūra and the immediate hinterland and in 1885 formally established the tiny territory as a colony and protectorate: the so-called French Somali Coast, Côte Française des Somalis (↗Djibouti), renamed from 1967 as Territoire des Afars et Issas. Subsequently, the administrative headquarters and the commercial activities moved to the port-city of Djibouti in 1896, where conditions were more favourable. Djibouti was part of a network of communication and military stations (Mers el-Kébir in Algeria, Biserta in Tunisia, Djibouti, Madagascar) across the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Much like Britain, France did not consider the Horn as a prominent factor in her programme of overseas expansion, but interfered systematically in Ethiopian politics. Nonetheless, France did not succeed in maintaining an important role inland and in 1898, when the troops of the two powers faced each other at Fashoda (↗Fashoda, incident of), in Upper Sudan, France resolved to withdraw, acknowledging the superiority of the British. In 1897, France undertook the construction of a railway which would link Djibouti with Addis Abäba, the capital city of Ethiopia (↗Railways). Through Djibouti and the railway, France was

in a position to oppose or contain the advance into the Horn by Italy, her Mediterranean rival. Italy, which judged France as her most vicious antagonist in Africa, did not lose any opportunity to challenge the French grip over Djibouti ("the deadly elbow of Djibouti"). By 1935, the year of Italy's aggression against the Empire (↗Italian war 1935–36), over two-thirds of Ethiopia's foreign trade passed through Djibouti.

Italian expansion

From the outset of the rush to take over Africa, Italian C., a by-product of the rise of Italian nationalism, suffered from a lack of motivation and legitimacy. In the first instance, the Mediterranean, with its familiar towns, harbours and cultures and scores of Italian dwellers, was the area that offered more desirable and accessible possibilities for expansion, but the vicissitudes of international relations forced Italy to turn her overseas drive from Tunisia and Egypt towards the far-away, less hospitable and alien shores of the Horn of Africa. In all of the history of Italian C., dreams clashed with interests, almost making the authorities lose a sense of proportion. However, when the bells of conquest started to ring for Italy as well, P. S. Mancini (the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country at that time) in January 1885 formulated a striking aphorism in a bid to convince hesitant parliamentarians and a disoriented public: "the Red Sea is the key to the Mediterranean". The Suez Canal offered a profitable short-cut and dramatically enhanced the potential of Italy's African policy (Mondaini 1924; Ciasca 1940). Italian C. has been labelled a demographic one due to its moves to clear lands to encourage the settlement of colonists (*coloni*) from the poor overpopulated countryside of the Peninsula ("by the millions" according to some visionaries). The living conditions on the Təgrayan-Ethiopian plateau in terms of space, climate and agriculture seemed very promising and stimulated dangerous illusions about the fabled riches of Ethiopia, the core of all Italy's plans of conquest in the Horn. The colonial presence of Italy in the Horn, between the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, forever chasing the "forbidden fruit" of Ethiopia, lasted more than 50 years. Italy provided a transient unity to the region in the period between 1936 and 1941 and left her mark on the Horn's political, social and economic environment, but this influence always remained within the ambit dictated by the limits of a medium-size power.

From her earliest contacts with Africa, Italy had pursued and to some extent attained a sort of pre-eminence in the Horn. First came numerous travellers. Italian explorers were followed by missionaries, and these in turn by ethnologists, linguists and historians, seeking Ethiopia as the main goal and building up the importance of the periphery peoples in order to undermine the resistance of the backbone of the Empire. The immense amount of knowledge collated by Italian scholars about the region's lands, peoples, languages and civilizations became part of humanity's overall cultural wealth, but it was primarily exploited by the Italian state to gain its place in the world's competition for territories, resources and markets.

In the hectic years of the continent's partition, Italy's efforts were initially concentrated on the control and occupation of the Red Sea outlets. The first appropriation on behalf of Italy was the coaling station of ↗ᶜAsäb, purchased through a convention with the local rulers entered into on 15 November 1869 by the missionary Fr. Giuseppe ↗Sapeto on behalf of a Genoa shipping company Rubattino. In 1882 ᶜAsäb was acquired by the Italian state (↗Colonia di Assab) and so the first step was taken towards the creation of the future colony of ↗Eritrea. The occupation of ↗Massawa took place on 5 February 1885 following the Egyptian withdrawal and during the Conference of Berlin over the future of the African continent: by that time, Italy had overturned all her theoretical and political restraints in favour of energetic colonial expansionism (Zaghi 1955; Filesi 1985). From the British point of view, Italy seemed to provide a suitable replacement to Egypt on the Red Sea coast. Beside Britain's tacit support, Italian operations were assisted by the indeterminate state of sovereignty over the territory in question, which was variously managed by Egypt as the representative of Turkey (↗Ottoman Empire), Ethiopia and the local potentates. In a few years the political rule of Italy extended to the entire coastline between Massawa and ᶜAsäb, where the population was mostly Muslim. Italy then gradually annexed the northern tip of the fertile plateau inhabited by Christians, even if at the cost of a few military setbacks (at ↗Dogᶜali in January 1887 etc.)

and the stubborn resistance of the charismatic *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda. Asmära was occupied on 3 August 1889. The Colonia Eritrea was formally proclaimed on 1 January 1890 with its own budget and legal status; the elegant and classical name, which derived from the Greek and Latin words for the Red Sea, was suggested by Ferdinando ↗Martini, a politician with a literary penchant.

During the same period, Italy was granted administrative authority over Somali territories (↗Italian Somaliland). The Somali lacked political unity and – aside from a few ports and the strip of land called Benadir under the suzerainty of the *sulṭān* of Zanzibar – the Somali territories were generally assumed to be *terrae nullius*, legally "vacant" (Mondaini 1941, vol. 1, 229). Except for riverine strips, where agriculture was possible, most of the Somali territory was bound to seasonal grazing and pastoralism. The Italian colony of Somalia was proclaimed in April 1908, unifying Benadir on the Indian Ocean coast down to the frontier with British East Africa in the south and some protectorates in the north. The border between the Italian territories and Ethiopia was defined by a bilateral convention on 16 May 1908, but it was not demarcated.

The territorial expansion of Italian C. into the Horn reached its first climax in the confrontation with *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, who was determined to fight to preserve the liberty of the Ethiopian Empire. Italy claimed she had already gained Ethiopia's acquiescence through the bilateral treaty signed in the Ethiopian village of Wəč̣ale on 2 May 1889 (↗Italo-Ethiopian Convention of 1889), arguing it had established an Italian protectorate over the Empire, but Mənilək refused such an interpretation of the text and abrogated the treaty, recovering his full freedom of initiative. In the Italian version of the treaty, Mənilək "consents" to avail himself of the Italian Government for any negotiations which he may enter into with other powers, while in the Amharic one the obligation becomes a simple faculty at Mənilək's discretion. Misunderstanding or bad faith, Italy took the fatal decision to attack Ethiopia and started her incursion into Ethiopia's territory from neighbouring Eritrea, combining proper military action on the ground with the circumvention of the Təgray lords, hoping to attract them into her political camp. The result was the humiliating defeat of the Italian army at the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa on 1 March 1896. The Addis Abäba Agreement signed by Italy and Ethiopia on 26 October of the same year annulled the Treaty of Wəč̣ale and recognized Ethiopia's full sovereignty and independence, on the one hand, and Italy's sovereignty over Eritrea, on the other (Mondaini 1941, vol. 1, 91). Italy's obsession with the ᶜAdwa debacle – that became a stain of dishonour that all Italian nationalists pledged to expunge from the records of the Motherland – had a strong impact on the determination of the Fascist Government to unleash its out-dated colonial aspirations on Africa.

The military catastrophe suffered in 1896 interrupted Italy's imperial campaign and a period of reflection ensued. However, Ethiopia was exposed to the economic penetration and political influence of Europe as never before. Italy's interest in the Horn and in Africa in general resurfaced at the colonial congress convened in 1905 by Martini, then Governor of Eritrea. The complacent presentation of the "success" of Italy in Eritrea to a selected group of journalists, politicians and representatives of the colonial lobbies inspired renewed enthusiasm for overseas enterprises. In order to support the colonial action, the Istituto Coloniale Italiano was established in 1906. The intensification in the emigration of Italians from the Peninsula towards the Americas and other remote foreign lands was viewed in a very negative light by the nationalists and the Italian body politic cherished the idea of being able to solve it through the so called *colonie di diretto dominio* (colonies under full Italian administration) in Africa.

Once the Scramble was over, Italy proceeded with her conquest of Libya in 1911–12. On the eve of ↗World War I the newly established Ministry of the Colonies instituted an elaborate program of colonial expansion, divided into maximum and minimum objectives, which included as a prerequisite the acquisition of Djibouti and British Somaliland (Ministero delle Colonie 1917–20). The intention was either to resurrect the Wəč̣ale agreement or at least to regain complete and effective influence over Ethiopia. After remaining neutral initially, Italy entered the war in April 1915, associating herself with the Entente against the central powers, and signed an agreement which included a clause about "border adjustments" in Italy's African colonies in exchange for provisions whereby France and England would absorb

Germany's colonies in Africa (art. 13 of the London Pact). During the war, the Italian possessions in the Horn were isolated from the metropolitan power in a profoundly hostile context, and no new development projects were undertaken by the government. Despite the joint victory against Germany, Italy's expectations were largely disappointed by the allies at the Peace Conference. Britain and France were not ready to abandon their own colonies in the Horn and mistrusted Italy's barely concealed ambitions over Ethiopia. In point of fact, Italy interpreted the 1906 Agreement just like other treaties of colonial pattern, which only nominally ensured the independence of the African territories, while actually preparing their partition. At the end of frustrating negotiations, Italy's contribution towards the war was "compensated" by the grant of Jubaland, a portion of British East Africa inhabited by Somali-speaking nomads, with the port of ↗Kismaayu, which Italy annexed in 1925 to Somalia, renaming it Oltregiuba. For the first time in their history, the majority of Somalis were under a common rule, albeit of imperial origin.

Fascist colonialism

The institutional crisis in Italy which led to the founding of the Fascist regime in 1922 was bound to have very important consequences for the Horn. Although ↗Mussolini focused his rhetoric on the Mediterranean, the Mare Nostrum from ancient Rome's historical memory, the target of his aggressiveness was in reality Ethiopia. The myth surrounding ʿAdwa found new incentives. Italy was now endowed with an "imperial" ideology overshadowing the uncertain colonial policies of the liberal governments. The war against Ethiopia in 1935–36 represented the peak of popularity for the Fascist regime and personally for the *Duce*. Unfortunately, such a boost – at the very time that imperialism had entered a phase of decline and retreat throughout the world – was performed by an authoritarian regime which aggravated the abuses of any C. with supplementary harshness.

In order to achieve its colonial objectives, the Fascist regime used all means available to cement its hold over Italy's African possessions. Except for Eritrea, all the previous colonies required intense warlike operations to affirm and establish Italian jurisdiction (del Boca 1979). Some of the high dignitaries of the regime, like the *quadrumviri* de Bono, de Vecchi and Balbo, as well as the most prominent military commanders who served under Fascism, such as ↗Badoglio, who was not Fascist, and ↗Graziani, were involved in the campaigns. Resistance flared up sporadically, mostly on a local and tribal footing. More relevant and incisive were the accomplishments of Italian C. in Eritrea, if only due to time reasons. The feudal structure of the land was partially replaced by the introduction of private ownership and the expansion of a cash economy weakened the hold of the traditional headmen in favour of a new westernized elite. During the 1920s and 1930s Italian administration extended the communication system – the railway network, the port of Massawa and the roads – both for strategic reasons and for improving the conditions for cultivation so as to attract new immigrants. The better lands were confiscated to facilitate Italian families' settlement. In fact, whatever had been the historical relations with the Empire, the separate administration of the *colonia primogenita* definitely modified the productive and cultural essence of Eritrea. The standard of education was fostered, but the natives were excluded from government secondary schools and most of the training was undertaken by the missionaries. In Somalia, where anarchy and insecurity prevailed, the Fascist regime put into effect the disarming of the tribes through a series of military operations, followed by draconian measures, including compulsory labour for public works. In the 1920s Somalia was forcefully brought under the direct rule of the colonial administration, getting rid of the traditional clan hierarchy. In comparison with the little attention and poor investments that Britain addressed to British Somaliland, which was just a small and negligible part of an overextended empire, Italians gave much more consideration to their possession and Italian Somaliland became the focus of the would-be Somali independent state.

After the complete *pacificazione* of the pre-Fascist possessions, the government decided to move to subdue Ethiopia. The aggression against the Empire of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, to some extent part of the world-wide offensives of international Fascism, was a turning-point in the history of C. in the Horn, because the occupation of Ethiopia and the foundation of the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana (AOI) on 9 May 1936 altered the profile of the states in the concerned area and their respective national composition.

Restoration of the Ethiopian empire

Due to the events of ↗World War II, Italy lost all her possessions in the Horn after a temporary occupation of British Somaliland in the very first phase of the war (autumn 1940). Italy's colonial administration and military surrendered in 1941 to British troops in Eritrea, Somalia and Ethiopia. The AOI broke down only five years after it had been pompously proclaimed. The conditions agreed for the end of the Italian occupation – Ḫaylä Śəllase was reinstated as monarch by the British on his return to Addis Abäba from the ↗Sudan – confirmed that Ethiopia had not been an Italian colony in the true sense of the word.

For about a decade Italy's former colonies remained under British military occupation pending a post-colonial settlement (↗British Military Administration). The wording of the 1947 Peace Treaty flatly requested a formal renunciation of all Italy's colonies (both the possessions in the Horn and Libya). The Peace Treaty recognized the full sovereignty of Ethiopia and charged Italy for war reparations. Despite the hard terms imposed by the Allies, the Italian government did its utmost to re-acquire some of its prerogatives enjoyed during the colonial period in the territories of the Horn, pushing for the establishment of a trusteeship over certain territories (not Ethiopia). Despite the lip-service paid to anti-colonial principles, Italy prided herself on her colonial patrimony, asserting that her presence had been achieved by the hard work of many Italians rather than by capital investments. In the meantime, Italy sought to preserve as many of the privileges and properties of the *coloni* as possible, particularly in Eritrea.

Along with the Peace Treaty, the final destiny of the colonies would be determined by the Four Big Powers – America, Britain, France and the Soviet Union – and if no deal was struck within September 1948, by the ↗United Nations (UN). In the end, Italy's residual interests, on the one hand and the impending East-West confrontation on the other, prevailed, overriding the rights of African peoples. The UN debate was protracted and the outcome was disappointing in the light of Italian expectations (Rossi 1980). Playing too many cards and seeking too many benefits, Rome lost almost everything. Only poor and neglected Somalia was assigned to Italian administration by the vote of the General Assembly on 21 November 1949 as a UN Trust Territory for a ten-year period starting from 1950 (↗United Nations Commision on Eritrea). With a separate vote of the General Assembly on 2 December 1950, Eritrea was proclaimed an autonomous unit federated to Ethiopia (↗Eritrean-Ethiopian Federation); the federal formula satisfied neither the growing national aspirations of important segments of the Eritrean people nor the historical design of Ethiopia which passionately called upon the Eritreans to join the Empire.

In spite of her efforts, Italy did not find any solution to the boundary question between Somalia and Ethiopia (↗Boundaries); Ethiopia insisted upon a strictly legalistic interpretation of the 1908 Convention, whereas Italy wished to take into account other international accords, as well as ethnic awareness and the distribution of the Somali population in the disputed areas. The Somali nationalist movement advocated the creation of a "Greater Somalia" with the merging of French Somaliland (Djibouti) and the Somali-speaking areas in Ethiopia (↗Ogaden) and Kenya (Northern Frontier District). "Their [Somali] sense of unity was not effaced even by the divisive impact of alien rule" (Touval 1963:29). Prior to the decisions of the UN General Assembly, Great Britain herself, which held under different titles all the lands coveted by the Pan-Somali movement, apart from Djibouti, had fostered the project of a Greater Somalia, but in vain. The territorial integrity of Ethiopia and Kenya was to prove a more important goal than the fulfilment of Somali ideals, which after all lacked a sufficiently solid historical basis and a valid patronage on the international scene. The separate independence of Djibouti in 1977 put an end to the colonial age in the Horn and once more the project of Somali unification was overtaken both by *Realpolitik* and factional rivalries.

Src.: MINISTERO DELLE COLONIE, *Africa Italiana. Programma massimo e programma minimo di sistemazione dei possedimenti italiani nell'Africa orientale e settentrionale*, 4 vols., Roma 1917–20.

Lit.: ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli Italiani in Africa orientale. La conquista dell'impero*, Roma – Bari 1979; CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, "The Horn of Africa", in: MICHAEL CROWDER (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa*, Cambridge 1984, vol. 8, 458–501; GIAMPAOLO CALCHI NOVATI, *Il Corno d'Africa nella storia e nella politica*, Torino 1994; RAFAELLE CIASCA, *Storia coloniale dell' Italia contemporanea; da Assab all'Impero. Con nove carte geografiche fuori testo*, Milano 1938; TEOBALDO FILESI, *L'Italia e la conferenza di Berlino, 1882–1885*, Roma 1985; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *A Modern History of Somalia*, Boulder – London 1988; GENNARO

MONDANI, *Manuale di storia e legislazione coloniale del Regno d'Italia*, part I: *Storia*, Roma 1927; ID., *La legislazione coloniale italiana nel suo sviluppo storico e nel suo stato attuale* (*1881–1940*), 2 vols., Milano 1941; GIAN LUIGI ROSSI, *L'Africa italiana verso l'indipendenza, 1941–1949*, Varese 1980; SAADIA TOUVAL, *Somali Nationalism*: *International Politics and the Drive for Unity in the Horn of Africa*, Cambridge 1963; CARLO ZAGHI, *P. S. Mancini*, *L'Africa e il problema del Mediterraneo, 1884–1885, con documenti inediti*, Roma 1955.

Giampaolo Calchi Novati

Colophons ↗ Manuscripts

Colours

The perception of C. differs according to environment and culture. It is demonstrated by how a society designates C.: the rainbow scale is not universal, and though the Christian society of Ethiopia uses it, this is not the case of some south-western people. In ↗Konso culture, three main ranges of C. are distinguished: *apoora*: black and dark; *dima*: red and medium, *aata*: white and light, dim. The ↗Ñaŋatom people use eight simple terms, and black, white and red are also used to make compound terms expressing the degree of luminosity. The ↗Mursi people use the zebu's coat as a pattern for naming C., with eleven simple terms. The ↗Hamär people have seven simple terms and seven associated terms. They distinguish blue from green and have even a term for blue-green. In their symbolism, red is the colour associated with action and substance, white is for determination, black for definition and green for expansion (s. the sub-entry on south-west Ethiopia).

As far as some testimonies and practices have been observed or remain, a descriptive presentation of the role of C. in Christian Ethiopian society can be made.

First, colour is related to power and wealth: palaces and royal churches, from the 15th cent. to the Gondärine period, have been noticed for their richness and large play of colours (s. ↗Mäkanä Śəllase; ↗Atronsä Maryam; ↗Gondär palace of Iyasu I; ↗Narga Śəllase, etc.). C. can be found in fabrics, garments and clothes, as also in paintings, murals and icons. Wearing coloured clothes is a sign of distinction: paintings, especially during the 18th cent., depict the beautiful dresses of the Ethiopian aristocracy, but we cannot be sure of the realism of those representations. Lists of donations of liturgical dresses, in manuscripts, always pay great attention to the C. of the clothes. The reason why coloured materials were praised must be because they were imported at great expense. Pigments like indigo or vermilion, fabrics from India and Asia were imported to Ethiopia for centuries and were the privilege of the higher class of the society. What were the uses of C. in the daily life of a lower-class Ethiopian peasant or soldier? It is quite difficult to answer this question. Locally made dyes, colorants and pigmenta have existed, but we do not know to what extent they spread. The use and existence of coulours in the daily life of ordinary people remains unknown untill now.

C. are also associated with the spiritual world; they are a way of transcending the worldly life. According to Christian interpretations, white is the colour of water and purity, while black, dark brown and speckled C. are negative indications. Red is the colour of fire and blood, and is the colour of Christ: it is the colour of his clothes even as a child and of the cross in his nimbus. Yellow is the colour monks can wear after pilgrimage. It is the colour for depicting the nimbus, the colour of light and spirit and also associated with the Holy Ghost. Blue is the most difficult colour to obtain and therefore reserved for the Virgin Mary's cloth, a *linea*. C. can also protect and cure: black, red and white are magical C., used for the production of traditional ↗magic scrolls. Children very often have a coloured bead on a rope tied round the neck, to protect them against the evil eye. The best example of the use of C. for both practical and symbolic purposes is the *säbatu qälämat* ('seven C.'). Imported since the 19th cent., these C. may originally have been water-colours, then used for preparing medicine, as their composition changed throughout the 20th cent., but this name is still associated with a strong magical power.

Symbolism is a matter of interpretation and there is not yet a real study about how the different Ethiopian cultures conceptualize C.

Lit.: *liqä səlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƎNÄH, **ጥንታዊ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ትምህርት** (*Ṭəntawi yäʾityopya śərʿatä təmhərt*, 'The Ancient Ethiopian Order of Teaching'), Addis Abäba 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.], 274–79; RUTHERFORD JOHN GETTENS – GEORGE LESLIE STOUT, *Painting Materials*: *a Short Encyclopædia*, New York 1966; GIRMA FISSEHA – WALTER RAUNIG, *Mensch und Geschichte in Äthiopiens Volksmalerei*, Frankfurt a.M. 1985, 27ff.; ERIC GODET, "Une méthode traditionnelle de préparation de l'encre noire en Ethiopie", *Abbay* 11, 1980–82, 211–17; TAYE WOLDE MEDHIN, "La préparation traditionnelle des couleurs en Ethiopie", *ibid.* 219–24;

CHRISTOPHER ROBERT HALLPIKE, *The Konso of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1972, 279; JEAN LYDALL, "Le symbolisme des couleurs dans le rituel hamar", in: SERGE TORNAY (ed.), *Voir et nommer les couleurs*, Nanterre 1978, 553–80; DAVID TURTON, "La catégorisation des couleurs en Mursi", *ibid*. 347–68; PATRICIA IRVIN TOURNERIE, *Colour and Dye Recipes of Ethiopia*, London 1986; PAUL SCHWARTZBAUM – W. GÄRTNER – C. SILVER, *Conservation of Mural Paintings in Ethiopia*, Paris 1979; SERGE TORNAY, "Langage et perception: la dénomination des couleurs chez les Nyangatom du sud ouest éthiopien", *L'Homme* 13, 4, 1975, 66–94; A. P. VASSILEVICH, "Colour Names in Amharic", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 5, 142–48 ; ANNEGRET MARX, "Ethiopian Icons – Techniques, Religious and Cultural Aspects", in: RICHARD PANKHURST (ed.), *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art*, Lawrenceville [forthcoming]; ID., "Indigo, Smalt, Ultramarine – a Change of Blue Paints in Traditional Ethiopian Church Painting in the 19th Century Sets a Benchmark for Dating", paper presented to the *14th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Abeba, 6-11 November 2000*, forthcoming; ID., "Blau aus der Waschküche: Wege einer Farbe nach Äthiopien", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 158–68; F. WEIHS, "Einige technische Details zu äthiopishen Ikonen", in: *Religiöse Kunst Äthiopiens,* Stuttgart – Zürich – Wien 1973, 293-308; EDGAR DENNINGER, "Naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen an einer äthiopischen Wandmalerei", *Maltechnik* 1, 1959, 17-19; JACQUES MERCIER (ed.), *Le roi Salomon et les maîtres du regard. Art et médicine en Ethiopie*, Paris 1992, 150; ANAÏS WION, "Analysis by Raman Spectrometry of Ancient Ethiopian Pigments", in: *Autochthony and Foreign Influences in Ethiopian Art. Papers from the Fifth International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art, (Arràbida, Portugal, 26-30 October 1999),* London 2003 [forthcoming].

Anaïs Wion

Colour names in south-west Ethiopia

The agro-pastoral peoples of the Lower ↗Omo Valley dispose of colour lexicons of at least eight "basic terms". According to Berlin and Kay's thesis (1969), terminology of eight or more simple terms should not include names like "grue", a unique word for green and blue. This does not hold true in the languages of the Lower Omo area. The terminology used by the ↗Hamär, for example, comprises, in addition to *čalal*, "blue-green", four names describing cool hues of the spectrum. The following table displays colour terms collected during the 1970s among the ↗Đáasanač (Cushitic), the ↗Hamär cluster (Omotic), the Mursi (↗Čai-Tirma-Mursi) and the ↗Ñaŋatom (Nilo-Saharan). Correspondences between the terms and their English translations are approximate: each language operates its own original partition of the C. spectrum (s. table).

referents	Đáasanač (S. Tornay)	Hamär (J. Lydall)	Mursi (D. Turton)	Ñaŋatom (S. Tornay)
whites	*ez*	*čaili*	*holi*	*aukwan*
blacks	*ongor*	*ṣia*	*koroi*	*kiryon*
reds	*bur*	*zo, der*	*golonyi*	*araŋan*
blue-greens	*geleb*	*čalal*	*čagi*	*pus*
vegetal greens	*geleb*	*čagaǧ, čagi*	*čagi*	*pus*
blues		*ulo, guita*		
yellows	*rar*	*galeb*	*biley*	*ñaŋ*
browns	*muda*	*silbi*	*lulumi*	*mug*
mauve-pinks	*korƀič*	*šamaǧ*	*rege*	*kopurat*
greys	*ñireč*	*mora, sura*	*gidaŋ*	*oŋwar*
glossy			*sirwai*	

The diversity of such terminologies is often explained through the pastoralists' interest in cattle, whose coats display a wider variety of colours and patterns than among genetically more selected species. Turton (1978) wrote that in Mursi cattle denomination is the origin and model of any form of C. recognition. In the hot and dry environment of the Lower Omo, greenness of grass and trees is associated with rain, but the vegetable kingdom otherwise offers few coloured references; flowers are given little attention. On the other hand, minerals offer substantial and easily accessible C. Haematite and other rocks containing iron oxides are used to elaborate red body ointments and paintings. Volcanic tuffs stained by various metallic oxides offer a wide range of yellows, browns, blues, purples, whites and blacks. They are used for body decoration, but also for medical and magical purposes: specific C. have specific powers. Applied to the human body, they repulse dangerous cosmic (sun, wind, thunder etc.) or spiritual influences (sterility, diseases, epidemics etc.). Such uses of C. and the selection of coats of sacrificial animals are expressions of cultural symbolism.

Lit.: BRENT BERLIN – PAUL KAY, *Basic Color Terms. Their Universality and Evolution*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1969; SERGE TORNAY (ed.), *Voir et nommer les couleurs*, [*résultats de recherches collectives*], Laboratoire d'Ethnologie et de Sociologie Comparative, Université Paris X Nanterre 1978; JEAN LYDALL, "Le symbolisme des couleurs dans le rituel hamar", in: SERGE TORNAY 1978, 553–80; DAVID TURTON, "La catégorisation de la couleur en Mursi (Éthiopie)", in: *ibid.*, 347–67.

Serge Tornay

Symbolic use of colours in Hamär culture

Physically existing C. number in the millions, but in practice they are grouped into a limited set of perceptual categories which are given specific names. According to Berlin – Kay (1969) the number of such "basic colour terms" varies from two to eleven in natural languages. Studying C. symbolism implies a shift from colour names to cognitive and emotional values attached to specific C. in the various cultures. Symbolically, C. refer less to particular objects of the environment than to the substantive properties of such objects. Symbolic evocation is a complex mental process which the expression "colour symbolism" masks rather than reveals. Sperber (1974) aptly demonstrated that only superficial aspects of symbolism as a cognitive activity do have a code structure.

Lydall (1978:553–80) describes how Hamär C. symbolism works in rituals. To the Hamär, rituals are efficacious analogous statements. "Statements", because things or gestures you ritually make are like sentences you pronounce, e.g., for benediction. Both are efficacious. "Analogous" because gestures can replace speech only in analogy. C. are appearances (*biši*) and thus have the property of binding to something different to themselves. Black, white and red, "the universal African triad", are not the only colours prescribed, since green is also a ritual colour. The obvious referent of red colour is the blood of sacrificial victims. After a burial people must slaughter a goat and wash their hands in its blood, because otherwise the rain would refuse to fall on that part of the country.

Applying the well-known technique of Levi-Straussian structural analysis, Lydall (1978) writes : "just as rain eliminates the sterility contagion of dust, likewise its metaphor, the blood of a goat, eliminates the death contagion of the dust of the grave". In a similar way, animal blood must be spilled on the shoulders of a warrior, a hunter or a woman coming back from exile, lest they lose their vital capacities. The blood "fattens" the person and repulses sterility.

"Menstrual blood is to human sperm what rain is to sorghum seeds" (Lydall 1978). To understand the choices of skins in sacrificial animals, one has to inventory the values of all black, white and red things which the coats metaphorically evoke. In the realm of greenness, we see the victorious warrior carrying the testicles of his enemy, like the hunter the ear of his game, hooked to a garland of fresh leaves; we see the successful cattle-raider depositing a garland on his father's grave, the "fire-father" calling for rain with a garland around his neck. Such gestures underline the fact that additional strength has been brought in from outside.

"Leaves are to plants what skins are to animals; hair is to humans what feathers are to birds" (Lydall 1978). Fresh leaves are the new skin of trees, which have incorporated the rains of a new season. Taken from outside the country, green garlands bring inside the growth of living things. Lydall concludes that ritual colours are an expression of the fundamental principles of Hamär thinking: red stands for action and substantiation, white for cause and determination, black for definition and green for expansion. Thus, Hamär colour symbolism can be viewed as an expression of a natural philosophy, as a theory of causality which demonstrates its truth and efficacy through ritual practice.

Lit.: BRENT BERLIN – PAUL KAY, *Basic Color Terms. Their Universality and Evolution*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1969; JEAN LYDALL, "Le symbolisme des couleurs dans le rituel hamar", in: SERGE TORNAY (ed.), *Voir et nommer les couleurs*, [*résultats de recherches collectives*], Laboratoire d'Ethnologie et de Sociologie Comparative, Université Paris X Nanterre 1978, 553–80; DAN SPERBER, *Le symbolisme en général*, Paris 1974.

Serge Tornay

Colours in archaeology

The application of painting in ↗pre-Aksumite and ↗Aksumite cultures has left faint traces. Ceramics (↗Pottery) may be painted with white patterns, incised and filled with white, red or blue paste, even with intense colours (purple-painted Aksumite ware). Concerning architecture, a white or red coating was already in use several cent. B.C., as attested in one of the buildings of ↗Yəḥa. While red, black and white were the paints most frequently used by ↗rock-art artists in Eritrea and Ethiopia, yellow and even purple have been mentioned. The megalithic ↗stelae in Ethiopia sometimes show remains of painting which testify to their original colourful appearance. These different pigments have not been analyzed, with only the recent exception of a red ochre which emphasized the engraved signs on the stelae of the ↗Ṭəya cemetry. This mineral pigment has survived better than organic pigments, indeed red is frequently found as traces on many types of stelae, although white has been mentioned.

Bertrand Poissonnier

Combes, Edmond

C. (b. 1812, d. 22 April 1848, Damascus) was a ↗Saint Simonian who travelled to Ethiopia in the 1830s and was involved in the French acquisition, in 1830, of the Red Sea port of ↗ᶜƎdd.

As a young man, he travelled with other Saint Simonians to Egypt, in the hope of finding the female Messiah, but, abandoning this quest, decided, with the comrade Maurice ↗Tamisier, to visit Ethiopia. Landing at ↗Massawa in 1835, they travelled through Təgray, Bägemdər and Šäwa. Their four-volume narrative, *Voyage en Abyssinie* (1838), was the first 19th-cent. French account of the country; looking at the country in an ex-Saint Simonian perspective, it also paid particular attention to the status of women, slaves and handicraft workers. C. and Tamisier were both rewarded with the medal of the French geographical society, as well as the Légion d'honneur.

C. subsequently urged the French government to open diplomatic relations with Ethiopia and himself visited *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, ruler of Səmen and Təgray. Later, with the support of the French government, the Duc d'Orléans and various commercial interests, he tried in 1841 to purchase a Red Sea port for the French Société Nanto-Bordelaise. He failed at ᶜAsäb and Baylūl, but succeeded at ᶜƎdd, which was not, however, developed as a French possession. His Red Sea exploits were not highly regarded by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which later appointed him to minor vice-consular posts in Turkey and Morocco. Returning to France in 1847, he participated in the French Revolution of the following year, after which he was despatched as envoy to Damascus, where he died shortly afterwards of cholera.

Src.: EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie, dans le pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat*, 4 vols., Paris 1838; EDMOND COMBES, *Voyages en Égypte, en Nubie, dans les déserts de Beyouda, des Bicharys et sur les côtes de la mer Rouge*, Paris 1846; reports by Combes in France, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Mémoires et documents, Afrique 13 and 61 (for 1839.).

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Saint Simonians and Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 169–223; GEORGES MALÉCOT, *Les voyageurs français et les relations entre la France et l'Abyssinie de 1835 à 1870*, Paris 1972, 126, s. index.

Richard Pankhurst

Commercial law

History of commercial law

In Ethiopia, C.l. was partially ↗customary law and partially written law compiled in the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*. The *Fətḥa nägäśt* does not distinguish between Ethiopians and foreigners, but between Christians and "infidels". Thus, chapter 22 lists the kinds of work which are permitted and further divides them into work which is suitable and work which is not suitable for Christians.

Aṣe Mənilək II's endeavour to speed up economic development by inviting foreigners to Ethiopia, by granting a series of concessions for the exploitation of natural resources to international joint-stock companies, such as the railway concession, led to a greater increase in the influx of foreigners after the turn of the century. This led to a need to regulate the legal status of foreigners in Ethiopia. This became a matter of great priority, around which the diplomatic activities of foreign representatives were centred in the first years of the century and which was finally resolved by the French-Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce signed on 10 January 1908, generally referred to as the "Klobukowski Treaty" (↗Franco-Ethiopian treaty of friendship and commerce).

The Klobukowski Treaty (10 January 1908) stated in Article 4: "The Ethiopian Government is committed to granting French nationals and protégés all those rights, advantages and privileges that it was able to grant, or that it will grant to nationals and protégés of a third power in the future, notably as concerns customs, internal taxation and jurisdiction."

Other commercial treaties were: 1883 Mənilək – Italy; 1889 Ethiopia – Italy; 1897 Ethiopia – Great Britain; 1897 Ethiopia – Italy; 1903 Ethiopia – USA; 1905 Ethiopia – Germany; 1905 Ethiopia – Austria.

Traditionally, Ethiopia always had a large volume of internal and cross-border trade. As early as the 1920s, a law of great importance for commercial transactions was adopted, the Law of Loans. This law was published in Addis Abäba in 1924/25. Many of the provisions of the Law of Loans were adapted from similar provisions of the French Civil Code and other provisions which took into account the special conditions existing in Ethiopia.

Before the Italian occupation, this Law of Loans applied only to Ethiopians. In disputes arising between Ethiopians and non-Ethiopians, the Special Court (a court set up under an agreement between the Imperial Ethiopian Government and the French Government, which was

later applied to all foreigners) also applied this Law of Loans in certain circumstances.

Ch. 2 of the Law of Loans dealt with interest; ch. 3 with pledges; ch. 4 with the law of mortgages of immovable property. Possession of mortgaged property need not be given to a mortgagee, but remains in the possession of the mortgagor. Ch. 5 of the Law of Loans dealt with the law concerning guarantors of a loan; ch. 9 with the form of deeds and agreements in writing. In accordance with the ch. 2 mentioned above, no interest may be charged for the period of the loan unless specific mention thereof is made in the Agreement of Loan (Marein 1955:152).

In trade and commerce, traditional local practices and ↗customary law were applied without a written code. The Ethiopian Ministry of Commerce introduced a list of merchants and commercial enterprises in the 1930s. In 1933 a law concerning bankruptcy and companies was promulgated (Marein 1955:193).

General principles of codification

It was essential to prepare a commercial code which not only took into account the current economic development of the country, but would also encourage Ethiopia's further economic evolution. It was, therefore, indisputable that the future commercial code of Ethiopia had to be able to adapt itself easily to the unplanned transformations which are likely to take place in the economic life of the country at a rapid rate during the course of at least a generation.

The principles followed by the drafters can be summarized as follows (cf. Winship 1974). First of all, it was necessary to avoid the danger of drafting a very advanced code which took into account the most developed foreign institutions, but which would have been completely beyond the present economic condition of Ethiopia. A code as a practical instrument must be easily applicable by the courts, also considering the actual state of national law (legislation, custom, ↗contracts, etc.). In addition, this code must also consider the other codes found in foreign countries. Therefore, the major currents of the domestic and foreign trade of Ethiopia had to be identified: the imperial government might wish to encourage some of these currents in particular or to initiate other currents which do not exist yet. A most relevant point was the attitude towards foreign capital, which might be invested in national enterprises and which could contribute to the development of Ethiopian economic life without dominating it. Commercial legislation, which, while respecting national sovereignty, gave foreign capital sufficient protection, would have beneficial effects for the economic future of Ethiopia.

In his comments, the drafter also alluded to the role of comparative law in the preparation of legislation. When a country with a high degree of economic development has an institution which has proved itself, it is normal that another country looking for foreign models would be tempted simply to transplant the institution to its own soil. But there are obvious dangers of incompatibility. This is why, although a convinced partisan of the usefulness of the comparative method, the drafter ↗Escarra particularly warned the Imperial Codification Commission against the temptation to abuse the comparative method. The essence of the future commercial code of Ethiopia had to consist above all of legislative and customary provisions which had both proved themselves and were still acceptable. One must guard against the fetishism of novelty and of having everything *à la mode*.

In addition, one cannot simply choose any foreign model. The commercial codes and laws in the world today can mostly be grouped into a small number of legal "families". Thus, one can distinguish a Latin group with France in the forefront; a Germanic group with Germany holding the standard; an Anglo-Saxon group which is the law of England and many Commonwealth countries as well as of the United States; a Scandinavian group; an Islamic group; etc. This classification is, in fact, more important in civil matters differing much more than commercial institutions. All traders buy in order to resell; all enter into contracts, whether of sale, agency, pledge or carriage; and all use forms of banking credits; bills of exchange, public limited companies, private limited companies, bankruptcy and other collective procedures for liquidation of goods are all institutions known almost everywhere. Thus, to use comparative law as an element of legislative policy is less dangerous in commercial matters than in the domain of pure civil law.

The Commercial Code of 1960

This Commercial Code was adopted by Proclamation No. 166 of 1960. In the foreword the following reasons for the legislation were given: "In the modern world, no nation can hope to expand its commercial and economic life unless

there exists a firm legal basis (...). Today, in Ethiopia, the development of commerce has outgrown the provisions of the laws relating to business organizations and bankruptcy which were promulgated during the first years of Our Reign and which were adapted to the commerce and industry of those early days" (hereinafter quoted after *Proclamation*).

With regard to future development, this foreword continues: "Recognizing the impetus which a modern Code regulating the activities of all ↗business organizations in the light of the Constitution could give to the further growth of trade and commerce, We directed the Codification Commission created by us to prepare a modern Commercial Code which would serve for the present day as well as provide a solid foundation for the further refinement of laws treating of these subjects. We have directed that in the expansion and consolidation of Our commercial laws, great attention should be given to the control of all trading, and in particular to the control of the carriage of passengers and goods, an aspect of commercial activity which has increased greatly in the last decade. Similarly, in view of the further expansion of both foreign and internal commerce, it has been necessary to elaborate laws governing negotiable instruments and banking transactions." The Bankruptcy Law and the Company Law of 12 July 1933 were repealed with effect from 11 September 1960.

The Code enumerates the commercial activities in Art. 5 as follows: "Persons, who professionally and for gain carry on any of the following activities shall be deemed to be traders: 1) Purchase of movable or immovable property with a view to re-selling them either as they are or after alteration or adaptation; 2) Purchase of movable property with a view to letting them for hire; 3) Warehousing activities as defined in Article 2806 of the Civil Code; 4) Exploitation of mines, including prospecting for and working of mineral oils; 5) Exploitation of quarries otherwise than by handicraftsmen; 6) Exploitation of salt pans; 7) Conversion and adaptation of chattels, such as foodstuffs, raw materials or semi-finished products, otherwise than by handicraftsmen; 8) Building, repairing, maintaining, cleaning, painting or dyeing of movable property otherwise than by handicraftsmen; 9) Embanking, levelling, trenching or draining carried out for a third party otherwise than by handicraftsmen; 10) Carriage of goods or persons otherwise than by handicraftsmen; 11) Printing and engraving and works connected with photography or cinematography otherwise than by handicraftsmen; 12) Capturing, distributing and supplying water; 13) Producing, distributing and supplying electricity, gas and compressed air, including heating and cooling; 14) Operating places of entertainment, or radio or television stations; 15) Operating hotels, restaurants, bars, cafes, inns, hairdressing establishments not operated by handicraftsmen and public baths; 16) Publishing in whatever form, and in particular by means of printing, engraving, photography or recording; 17) Operating news and information services; 18) Operating travel and publicity agencies; 19) Operating business as an agent, broker, stock broker or commercial agent; 20) Operating a banking and money changing business; 21) Operating an insurance business."

Src.: "Commercial Code of the Empire of Ethiopia of 1960. Proclamation No. 166/1960", *Nägarit gazeṭa*, extraordinary issue 3, 1960; PETER WINSHIP (ed., tr.), *Background Documents of the Ethiopian Commercial Code of 1960*, Addis Ababa 1974.

Lit.: NATHAN MAREIN, *The Ethiopian Empire*; *Federation and Laws*, Rotterdam 1955; RICHARD PANKHURST, *Economic History of Ethiopia 1800–1935*, Addis Ababa 1968; HEINRICH SCHOLLER, *The Special Court of Ethiopia 1920–1935*, Wiesbaden 1986 (AeF 15); BELAYNEH SEYOUM, "Irreconcilability Between the Ethiopian Commercial Code and Contracts of Insurance with Special Emphasis on personal Accident and Life Policies", *Journal of Ethiopian Law* 12, 1982, 137–52; JACQUES VANDERLINDEN, *Introduction au droit de l'Éthiopie moderne*, Paris 1971, 261–80.

Heinrich Scholler

Compagnie Impériale des Chemins de fer Éthiopien ↗ Railways

Companies ↗ Business organizations

Computus

The Gəʿəz term **ሐሳብ** (*ḥassab* 'account, computus, chronology') appears in the title of a wide range of treatises, covering not only the matters related to ↗calendar and ↗chronography, but even ↗magic (Neugebauer 1979:68f.). Only the C. within a liturgical year will be dealt with below.

The main sources of the Ethiopian C. are chronological tables (s. below), but there are also some theoretical treatises with titles such as ↗*Baḥrä ḥassab* or ↗*Märḥa ʿəwwur* or without

any title (one of the earliest-known examples: da Leonessa 1943). The presence of the tables for relatively long periods of time (from 20 to 532 years) make it possible to avoid complicated calculations each time one needs to know the dates of the moveable feasts and fasts of a given year. The same tables allow modern scholars to study the Ethiopian C.'s methods in a much more detailed way than is possible taking into account only the explanations given in the calendrical treatises.

Key to better understanding of the following passages:

mathematical symbols: ≡ — equal by definition;
mod (modulo) [e.g., *a* – mod *b*] — the maximal multiple of *b* which can be substracted from *a*;
I–XIII (Roman numbers) – months according to Ethiopian calendar (I = *Mäskäräm* etc.).

A. The Ethiopian C. is based on the main principles shared by the rest of the medieval Christian world, while, at the same time, containing some very peculiar features. As every Christian C., the Ethiopian one is based on both lunar and solar cycles and so the well-known astronomical cycles — those of 19, 28 and 532 years — are fundamental for the Ethiopian C. as well. Consequently, all Ethiopian calendrical data can be derived from three fundamental parameters:

1) the place of a given year within the 19-year lunar (Metonic) cycle ↗*abäqte* (*e*) of the Greek chronology, while the Ethiopians prefer to use an equivalent parameter, ↗*mäṭqəʿ* (*m*), where $e + m = 30$;
2) its place within the period of 4 years for the "Julian" intercalation pattern (the years of the four Evangelists);
3) a number featuring the weekdays of a given years. It is the number of the weekday of the first day of the Ethiopian year, *Mäskäräm* 1, where 1 ≡ Wednesday. This third parameter, which is a number from 1 to 7, is called ↗*tənṭyon* (*t*).

The lowest common multiple of the three basic parameters (19 x 4 x 7) is 532 (years) which is the length of the main cycle of the Ethiopian C. The characteristics of each of these 532 years are assembled in the so-called "computation tables" (**አቅማር**, *aqmar*). Such tables are of different types, depending on the number of C. parameters which are specified. There are also tables for 20 years containing only the years for a given *abäqte* cyclus. In such tables, unlike similar tables in the rest of the Christian world, "… the dates of *m* … always follow the same pattern in each 19-year cycle, regardless of whether the … year is an ordinary or a leap year". Therefore, the Easter C. remains more distant from astronomical reality than the Christian computation systems of later origin (Neugebauer 1979:138).

There is an exact agreement between the Easter dates in the Ethiopian *aqmar* and the dates of Easter from 328 to 373 A.D., covered by the *Festal Letters* of ↗Athanasius, Patriarch of the ↗Coptic Church. This fact became evident from an Ethiopian table covering the years 311 to 369 A.D., which is known from a unique manuscript, Jerus. Arm. 3483, fol. 193b–197a. Thus, generally speaking, the Ethiopian C. is "a faithful replica" of the Alexandrian one at the end of the 3rd cent. (Neugebauer 1979:98f.). We do not, however, have the date of origin of this calendar and Neugebauer's dating is based on its first attestation in 311 A.D.

This Alexandrine C. contains two basic strata underlying the Christian one. The first is the Alexandrine calendar instituted by Augustus as a "Julian" modification of the ancient Egyptian ("moveable") calendar in 30 B.C., where the date 1 *Thoth* of the Egyptian revolving year was fixed on 29 August (Samuel 1972:177). In this calendar the year contains 12 months, each of them of 30 days plus a 13th month of 5 (or 6 for a leap year) days (Gəʿəz *Paguəmen*, from Greek **ἐπαγόμεναι**, 'intercalated days'; s. LesCDic 415). This structure of the solar year is preserved in the Coptic calendar as well.

The second stratum is preserved in the Ethiopian C. only, and only on the level of the theoretical C., rather than the calendar as such. It is a Jewish lunar calendar in which the Jewish liturgical dates were fitted into the frame of the "Julian" Alexandrine year. The origin of this "Jewish" calendrical scheme remains uncertain (there is nothing close enough in the actually known Jewish calendars), despite Neugebauer's (1979:137) statement that "…it is… obvious that the lunar dates [of the Ethiopian C.] must refer to the contemporary [3rd-cent.] Jewish Passover computus". However, such a borrowing in the domain of the liturgy would probably hardly fit in the atmosphere of hostility between early Christianity and Judaism, so that an alternative hypothesis is no less worthy of attention, namely, that this Jewish C. scheme goes back to a Jewish community of an epoch predating the

"parting of the ways" between Christianity and Judaism and so belongs to the "Jewish matrix" of Christianity. In any case, this "Jewish" stratum of the Ethiopian C. is still an unexplored source for the study of the Jewish calendars of the New Testament epoch.

B. Computation of the dates of the moveable Christian feasts for the most part depends on that of Easter. ↗*Fasika* ('Easter [Sunday]') (*f*) is restricted to an interval VII 26 ≤ *f* ≤ VIII 30, keeping the lower limit at a date later than the day of the vernal equinox (VII 25). The *Fasika* is the next Sunday following (theoretical) Passover (**ፍሥሕ**, *fəśḥ*) (*p*), which is, in turn, a function of *m* (*p* = *m* + 190 ≡ *m* + 10 mod 30). The weekday of *p* (*pw*) depends on the weekday of *m* (*mw*) as *pw* = *mw* + 1, where *mw* is determinable from *t* (the weekday of I 1). In practice, however, other dates are preferred to *f* as basic parameters of computation: the Monday of **በአተ፡ ጾም** (*bäʾatä ṣom*, 'Beginning of the Fast'), known also as **ድራረ፡ ጾም** (*dərarä ṣom*, 'Evening of the Fast') (*bf*) is connected to *f* by the relationship *bf* + 55 = *f*, where 55 (days) is the length of Lent. Another date is that of the earliest moveable feast in the year **ነነዌ** (*Nänäwe*, 'Nineveh', always Monday as well) (*n*), where V 17 ≤ *n* ≤ VI 24. *f* = *n* + 69 and *n* ≡ *bf* – 14 mod 30. An example (a C. table from the ms. BM 567, fol. 128a; for analysis and details cp. Neugebauer 1979:152f.): *t* = 7, *e* = 6, *m* = I 24, Nineveh: V 27, Beginning of the Fast: VI 11, Passover: VIII 4, Easter VIII 6. Explanation: if *m* = I 24, *t* = 7, thus *m* = Thursday and, therefore, Monday of *n* = *m* + 123 = 24 + 123 = 147 = V 27; *p* = *m* + 190 = 24 + 190 = 214 = VIII 4; *bf* = *n* + 14 = 147 + 14 = 161 = VI 11; *f* = *n* + 69 = 147 + 69 = 216 = VIII 6.

C. The "Jewish" calendrical stratum is still the base of the whole system of the Ethiopian C., where it is present as a purely theoretical scheme of "Jewish" feasts distributed among the twelve schematic lunar months, alternating 30 and 29 days (with the addition of 7 "intercalary" lunar months, each of 30 days, in 19 lunar years, which is necessary to regulate the lunar calendar within the framework of the civil solar calendar). With the unique exception of *Nīsān* (Gəʿəz: *Nisan* or *Nesan*), the Jewish names of the lunar months, although quite familiar to Ethiopian scholars, are not in use in C. The lunar months are called either by their numbers (starting from *Tišrī*, so that *Nīsān* is the 7th month) or by the names of the (roughly) corresponding months of the solar year; the latter practice leads, of course, to confusions.

The scheme does not involve the days of the week. Although there are traces of some wavering between the *Nīsān* and the autumnal (*Tišrī*) epochs of the year (a trait quasi-normative for any Jewish calendar; cp. Segal 1963:117–27, – rather than a "shift" from one reckoning to another, as was supposed by Neugebauer 1979:145f.), the autumnal epoch is certainly dominant.

The most important Jewish feasts indicated in all the versions of the 532-year tables are the following. The lunar date of the New Year feast (*m*) is I 1. The next feast is Yom Kippur, whose lunar date is I 10. This meaning of the feast is clear from both its date and one of its Ethiopian names, **ጾመ፡ አይሁድ** (*Ṣomä Ayhud*, 'Fast of the Jews'). Its other name **በድር** (*Bädr*) is not so clear. In common usage it means 'race, contest, strife, life (of a saint)' (LesCDic 87), which is a calque of Greek **ἀγών** (cp. 2 Tim 4:7), frequently used throughout the Christian world for ascetic struggle in general and for fasting in particular, although unattested elsewhere in such a technical sense. The third feast is **መጸለት** (*Mäṣällät*, 'Tabernacles') with the lunar date I 15. Because of the homonymy, the term for the feast of Unleavened Bread (lunar date VII 15) is the same, but normally in other contexts than C. The next feast is *Fəśḥ* (lunar date VII 14) (*p*), on which depends **በዓለ፡ ሰዊት** (*Bäʿalä säwit*, 'Feast of the Harvest'), which takes place on the 50th day after *Fəśḥ* and can be found as *p* + 50.

Beside these, there are three feasts that occur only in enlarged versions of the 532-year tables. The feast **ልበ፡ ምድር** (*Ləbbä mədr*, 'Heart/Inner of the Earth') is indicated as *p* + 23 in some mss. and as *p* + 24 in others. In any case, it is very close to the middle of the Pentecost period — a date whose festal character already in the 2nd-Temple Judaism was hypothesized by van Goudoever (1967:185–97). As to the meaning of the feast, the only explanation available is its name (an idiom used also in Mt 12:40), glossed in some manuscripts as "the time of the Erythrean [Sybil]" (after Neugebauer 1979:143). The Sybilline literature known in Ethiopia (*Wisdom of* ↗*Sybil*) is apparently of no help in clarifying the matter, and Neugebauer's (1979:143) hypothesis ("probably because of her [Sibyl's] dwelling in a cave near Erythrai")

seems to ignore the liturgical side of the question. In fact, in Mt 12:40, referring to the story of Jonah, the "heart of the Earth" is located in the sea. The same situation occurred in "the time of the Erythrean": according to an Intertestamentarly Egyptian Jewish tradition, this Sibyl was a daughter-in-law of Noah and she had been recollecting a troublesome time in the ark during the flood (*Oracula Sibyllina* III, 823–29; cp. I, 286–90, in contrast to the tradition in Coptic Christianity that Sibyl was a sister of Enoch!). This conclusion corroborates van Goudoever's (1967:193f.) view on the possible commemoration of the Flood in the middle of Pentecost, although there is still no explanation of the actual calendrical figures.

As can be seen from the above, the feast of *Ləbbä mədr* is a precious remnant of Jewish-Christian antiquity. **ጾመ፡ ድኅነት** (*Ṣomä dəḫnät*, 'Fast of Salvation') or **ጾመ፡ አስቴር** (*Ṣomä Aster*, 'Fast of Esther') is nothing but Purim (*pu*). Its shift to the opposite half of the year (*m* + 321, lunar date XII 27) is due to the predominance of the autumnal reckoning (cp. Neugebauer 1979:145). **ጾመ፡ ዮዲት** (*Ṣomä Yodit*, 'Fast of Judith') is to be found as *pu* + 7, and has the lunar date I 4 that implies lack of the epagomenal days (at least, at the end of the lunar year; cp. Neugebauer 1979:146). Neither this connection between two "fasts", nor the date of the latter may be attributed to any other known tradition.

Src.: LesCDic 415, 432, 594; MAURO DA LEONESSA, "Un trattato sul calendario redatto al tempo di re ᶜAmda-Ṣəyon I", *RSE* 3, 1, 1943, 302–26.

Lit.: OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus*, Wien 1979 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, Band 347) [Lit.]; ALAN E. SAMUEL, *Greek and Roman Chronology. Calendars and Years in Classical Antiquity*, München 1972 (Handbuch der Altertumwissenschaft. I. Abteilung, 7. Teil); J.B. SEGAL, *The Hebrew Passover from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70*, London – New York – Toronto 1963 (London Oriental Series 12); JAN VAN GOUDOEVER, *Fêtes et calendriers bibliques*, tr. by M.-L. KERREMANS, Paris ³1967 (Théologie historique 7).

Basil Lourié

Concessions

The term C. gained wide currency in the latter part of the 19th cent. and the earlier decades of the 20th cent. It refers to the granting of exclusive rights and powers to foreign powers or companies. The Ottoman capitulations, which granted fiscal and legal privileges to the subjects of European powers, could be regarded as a major prototype of C. Likewise, the Treaty of Nanking of 1842, which granted similar extraterritorial privileges to European residents in China, served the same purpose.

In the Ethiopian context, concessions are largely a "post-ᶜAdwa" phenomenon, although the first major concession antedated the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa by two years. This was the concession that *aṣe* Mənilək II granted in 1894 to his advisor Alfred ↗Ilg and the French national Léon ↗Chefneux to construct a railway from Djibouti to the Ethiopian capital (↗Railways). But it was after the Europeans realized that independent Ethiopia was there to stay that Europeans redoubled their efforts to obtain exclusive privileges over the fabled rich resources of the country. This scramble for C. gave rise to the phenomenon of the "C.-hunter", the wily adventurer who mediated between European financiers and the Ethiopian rulers who granted C.

The C. sought and granted were generally of three types: mining, agricultural and commercial. The first were the most sought after. But, although a number of C. were granted in the two or three decades after ᶜAdwa, few of them did actually come to fruition. There were two major exceptions. The first was the railway C. Although the construction of the railway line from Djibouti to Addis Abäba was to take more than two decades, on completion in 1917 it provided the country with its major lifeline. The second was the Bank of Abyssinia (↗Banking system) C. granted in 1905. Nationalized and renamed Bank of Ethiopia in 1931, that bank became the ancestor of modern banking in Ethiopia. Otherwise, "C.-hunting" was to be notable more for the excitement and anticipation it generated in financial circles in Europe than for any meaningful extraction of minerals, exploitation of agricultural resources or transaction in commodities.

Three figures stand out in this saga of "C.-hunting": the Italian Alberto Prasso, the Syrian ↗Ḥaṣīb Idlibī and the German Arnold ↗Holtz. The first was instrumental in the operation of the Yubdo mines in ↗Wälläga, albeit after years of desperate campaigning for the requisite capital. The second acquired and exploited a concession for the extraction and sale of rubber in the ↗Gambella region and was proprietor of a not-so-successful agricultural C. on the banks of the ↗Baro river. The third was the least successful in concrete terms, although he tried to push the

interests of German capital with almost missionary zeal.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, "Concessions and Concession-Hunters in Post-Adwa Ethiopia: the Case of Arnold Holz", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 4, 63–69; RICHARD PANKHURST, *Economic History of Ethiopia,* Addis Ababa 1968; CARLO ROSSETTI, *Storia diplomatica dell'Etiopia durante il regno di Menelik II,* Torino 1910; CHARLES SCHAEFER, "Politics of Banking: the Bank of Abyssinia, 1906–1931", *IJAHS* 25, 2, 1992.

Bahru Zewde

Confirmation ↗ Baptism

Congregatio Fidelium ↗ Maḫbärä məʾmänan

Constantinople ↗ Byzantine Empire

Constitutions

I. The Ethiopian constitutions

1. The ancient constitution

Medieval Ethiopian writings such as the ↗*Śərᶜatä mängəśt* ('Order of the Reign') of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I in the 14th cent., and the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* ('Glory of the Kings') provided the ideological and legislative foundations of the Ethiopian monarchy. The ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* ('The Law of the Kings'), translated from an Arabic original (possibly under *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, r. 1434–68), contained rules regarding good government and the Church. Therefore the ensemble of these documents can, as it were, be considered the first written Ethiopian constitution.

In 1907/08 *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II introduced a reform cabinet for devising procedural rules which may be considered at least as bylaws to an unwritten constitution. *Ras* Täfäri had no written constitution until he was crowned as Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

2. The Constitution of 1931

The 1931 Ethiopian Constitution (**ሕገ፡ መንግሥት**, *Ḫəggä mängəśt*) followed, copying, to a certain extent, rules of the Japanese Meiji Constitution of 1889, which in its turn was modelled on the Prussian Constitution of 1850 and the German Reichsverfassung of 1871. It was drafted by the "Japanizer" ↗Täklä Ḫawaryat Täklä Maryam and modified by the Emperor and his advisers.

This first modern Constitution established a bicameral system of ↗parliament, namely the Senate (**የሕግ፡ መወሰኛ**, *Yäḫəgg Mäwäsäññä*) and the Chamber of Deputies (**የሕግ፡ መምሪያ**, *Yäḫəgg Mämriya*) with 56 members in each House. The members of the Senate were appointed directly by the monarch from among the noble men and other prominent personalities. Similarly, the Chamber of Deputies was constituted through indirect election, the electors mostly being drawn from the landed gentry. The power of the parliament was reduced, as most of the state power was under control of the monarch (cp. the ↗Crown Council). State power was to be transmitted exclusively within Ḫaylä Śəllase's line (Art. 3), thereby no longer from within the whole Solomonic dynasty.

After the end of the Italian occupation, the Emperor promised a general law reform in 1942. The bicameral parliament, which had been dissolved in 1936 due to the Italian invasion, assembled again in 1942.

3. The Revised Constitution of 1955

A general law reform was introduced in 1955 through a revision of the Constitution of 1931, in what became known as the Revised Constitution of Ethiopia. In addition to the aforementioned Japanese and German influences, the 1955 Revised Constitution was influenced by other forms, such as Anglo-American constitutional traditions, the Westminster Model, and the 1948 United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

Traditional elements regarding the role of the emperor and the empire, the position of the Orthodox Church, the army, the nobility and landlords as heterogeneous Ethiopian legal elements, made their influence felt on the foreign elements of the law and, even more, upon the realities on which the law was based. The combination with modern concepts such as a first chamber of parliament, judicial review by the Supreme Court, a catalogue of human rights, and the establishment of a modern university and school education was a progressive element, revealing a degree of the influence of Western democratic constitutions. With the introduction of a universal adult suffrage and provisions for an elected Chamber of Deputies the parliamentary system had been reformed.

However, the Revised Constitution also protected to a large extent the traditional authority and functions of the Crown as head of state and government, commander-in-chief of the army and navy, head of the imperial court (↗*Čəlot*), and imperial head and defender of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. All these elements were re-

shaped in the service of a modern unified and centralized state; for example, the emperor's power was extended over the church, gaining the right to approve the election and appointment of bishops. The initiative of law enactments of parliament was exclusively vested in the emperor. All three powers: the legislature, the executive, and to a certain extent the courts, were controlled by the imperial authority. The centralization of the army, financial oversight and ultimate authority led to a unified state power which abolished the feudal federal system. The principle of separation of power is not explicitly mentioned, but may be found implicitly in the formal division into Chapters Four, Five and Six (relating to the ministerial powers, the Parliament and the courts). However, the principle was realized only very incompletely, the Emperor having "supreme authority" (cp. Art. 26, 27 r.c.). Art 36 r.c. reserves power to the Emperor in all cases not covered by the Constitution.

In agreement with the *fides historica*, Ethiopia is described in the Introduction of the Constitution and in Art. 1 r.c., paragraph 1a, as an "Empire", a concept which is found throughout the Constitution. The genealogical origin of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I from the Queen of Sheba and Solomon through *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase became a jural postulate in Art. 2 r.c. The second jural postulate consists in the maintenance of the religious character of the state (cp. terms such as "Elect of God" in the Introduction, the *invocatio dei* in paragraph 2 of the Preamble, and the oaths in Art. 20, 21 and 23).

On the basis of the Revised Constitution a number of chartered agencies were established: National Community Development (1957), Board of National Community Development (1957), Ministry of the Imperial Court (1957), Our National Defence Council (1958), Central Personnel Agency and Public Service (1962), Public Employment Administration (1962), Technical Agency (1963), Charter of the National Bank of Ethiopia (1963), Ethiopian Tourist Organisation (1964), Land Reform and Development Authority (1965), Institute of Agricultural Research (1966), Ḫaylä Śəllase I University Charter (1961), Awaš Valley Authority Charter (1962).

4. Development after the Revolution

Proclamations one and two, issued upon the ↗Revolution in 1974, constituted a constitutional monarchy with a monarchical head of government (cp. ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase), but with the real power vested in the army, police and the airforce. The legislative and executive power were united in the Provisional Military Administrative Council (ደርግ, *Därg*, 'Council') as its highest authority. The parliament was dissolved.

The third president of the *Därg*, Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam, ordered the formulation of a new constitution, which was adopted by referendum in 1987 and came into force in 1988, establishing the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. It was modelled along the lines of Marxist-Leninist constitutions, especially those of Rumania and Albania, and gave President Mängəśtu nearly unlimited authority as the military and the civilian leader. A parliament was established in August 1987, the National Assembly (ሸንጎ, *Šängo*), with 835 members and a term of five years. According to the Constitution, it was the supreme organ of state power. Its members were nominated by organs of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, mass organisations, military units and other bodies. It held one regular session a year. The State Council, chaired by the President, acted on behalf of the *Šängo*.

The *Därg*'s drastic economic reforms, the expropriation of private land, the collectivization of private farming and expropriation of urban land, the organization of people in the towns and on the country-side (in *qäbäle* and peasant organizations) failed. Nevertheless some of the important social laws continued and could be considered similar to constitutional rules. These include the Proclamation to Provide for the Public Ownership of Rural Lands; the Proclamation to Provide for the Organisation and Consolidation of Peasant Associations; the Proclamation to Provide for Government Ownership of Urban Lands and Extra Urban Houses; The Urban Dwellers' Associations Consolidation and Municipalities Proclamation; and the Labour Proclamation of December 1975. The latter recognizes "the working class" as the source and foundation of all production, providing every citizen with the right to equal employment opportunities, without any discrimination due to race, tribe, sex or religion.

5. Constitutional developments since 1991

The victory of the Təgray People's Liberation Front brought Mängəśtu's regime to an end in

May 1991. With the London conference in June 1991 a Transitional Period Charter was adopted, which was factually a new Ethiopian constitution. Two features were clearly expressed in it: the proclamation of binding human rights and the establishment of a decentralized federal system. The "nations", "nationalities" and "peoples" were granted rights of self-determination, including the right of secession.

At the end of December 1994 a new constitution was agreed upon by a national assembly, and later by a referendum, Ethiopia becoming a Federal Democratic Republic (Art. 1). The first chapter (Art. 1 to 7) contains general provisions, like on the national flag (Art. 3), national unity (Art. 4), the working language (Art. 5 II) and citizenship (Art. 6); every Ethiopian shall enjoy equality with respect to his language (Art. 5 I), the member states of the federation (cp. ↗Administrative division) being entitled to establish their own working language (Art. 5 III). Chapter two (Art. 8 to 13) contains the "fundamental principles". Self-determination is mentioned in the Preamble and Art. 8, and guaranteed by Art. 39. Also, the rule of law is mentioned at the same place (Art. 39), but implicitly also in Art. 78 (independence of the jurisdiction) and Art. 12 (principle of responsible governance). Art. 11 states the separation of state and religion.

Provisions in Chapter Four (Art. 45 to 49) refer to the structure of the state. Art. 45 contains the principle of a parliamentarian government, the House of the Peoples' Representatives exercising the legislative power. This first chamber is elected directly, while the second chamber, the House of the Federation, represents the member states (Art. 61 to 68). The latter has lesser legislative functions and also serves as a constitutional court (Art. 82 to 84). The Prime Minister and his Cabinet (Art. 76, 77) are to exercise full and undivided executive power, the President of the State, elected by the first chamber, having rather a representative role.

The nine member states of Ethiopia established their own constitutions. Their preambles are of special interest as they reflect the respective regional identities.

II. The Eritrean Constitutions

The first Eritrean Constitution was created under the guidance of the UN Commissioner for Eritrea Eduardo ↗Anze Matienzo and adopted by the Eritrean Assembly on 10 July 1952, coming into force when the ↗Eritrean-Ethiopian Federation was proclaimed on 15 September 1952. It contained 99 articles and was divided into seven parts; the Preamble had the form of a poem.

The first chapter of part one described Eritrea in terms of territory, legislative, executive, and the courts, as well as Eritrean participation in the federal power. It also stipulated Eritrean citizenship and the rights of Eritrean and Ethiopian citizens. The second chapter concerns the emperor's legal position in Eritrea (Art. 10 to Art. 15), and the democratic government powers in Eritrea (Art. 16 to Art. 21), including principles of democratic government and the national flag. Chapter Four proclaimed human rights and fundamental liberties, taken from the Federal Act or added to the Constitution, such as freedom and equality before the law, freedom of conscience and religion (Art. 26), an anti-discrimination rule (Art. 27), religious education and services, right to education (Art. 29, Art 31), work conditions and trade unions, as well as the guarantee of human rights and fundamental liberties (Art. 34). Chapter Five contains the special rights of the different ethnic groups in Eritrea concerning money, language, and personal status.

The validity of the Eritrean Constitution in Eritrea was not restricted, the Ethiopian Constitution being valid only in Ethiopia; in theory only the ↗Imperial Federal Council was considered responsible for matters of mutual concern, under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown (foreign affairs, international trade, defence). De facto, many provisions of the Constitution were not followed. It was abolished when Eritrea was declared an integral part of the Ethiopian Empire on 11 September 1962.

After Eritrea had acquired her formal independence on 24 May 1993, a Constitutional Commission was set up in 1994. Its members were representatives of the different social and ethnic groups of the country. The Constitutional Assembly of Eritrea ratified the Draft on 23 May 1997. The Constitution provides for a presidential system with a one-cameral system, and also focuses on human and civil rights. In a transitional period, laws (e.g. on the press, elections, political parties) were prepared to implement the provisions of the Constitution, but this process was later suspended to a large extent (↗Eritrea).

Src.: *Constitution of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa, 9 *Hamle* 1923 A.M. [16 July 1931 A.D.]; "Federal Act" [Addis Ababa, 11 September 1952], in: ASIAN-AFRICAN LEGAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE (ed.), *Constitutions of African States*, New York 1972; "The Eritrean Constitution as Ratified, 11th September, 1952", in: HABTU GHEBRE-AB (ed.), *Ethiopia and Eritrea. A Documentary Study*, Trenton, NJ 1993, 201–32; "Revised Constitution of Ethiopia as Promulgated by H.I.M. Haile Sellassie on Twenty-Fourth Tekemt One Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty Eight (4th November, 1955) on the Occasion of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of His Coronation", in: *ibid*., 233–64; HEINRICH SCHOLLER, "Ethiopia – Peoples Democratic Republic of Ethiopia" [Constitution of 1987], in: FILIP REYNTJENS (ed.), *Constitutiones Africae*, vol. 1, Bruxelles – Paris 1988; "Transitional Period Charter of Ethiopia" [Addis Ababa, 22 July 1991], *Afrika Spektrum. Zeitschrift für gegenwartsbezogene Afrikaforschung* 26, 1991/93, 397–401; "The Constitution of The Federal Republic of Ethiopia, 8 December 1994", in: FASIL NAHUM, *Constitution for a Nation of Nations,* Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 1998, 209–72; MARTIN ZIMMERMANN – WOLBERT SMIDT (ed., tr.), *Dokumentation*: *Der eritreische Verfassungsentwurf*, Köln 1996; ቅዋም (*Qəwam*, 'Constitution [of the State of Eritrea]'), Asmära 1997.

Lit.: SERGEW HABLE SELASSIE, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270,* Addis Ababa 1972; BAIRU TAFLA – HEINRICH SCHOLLER, "Ser'ata Mangest. An Early Ethiopian Constitution", *Verfassung und Recht in Übersee* 9, 1976, 487–99, here 489–91; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1844–1913,* Oxford 1975; CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Haile Selassie's Government*, London 1969; C. N. PAUL – CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development*, 2 vols., Addis Ababa 1969–71; MARGERY PERHAM, *The Government of Ethiopia,* London 1948; HEINRICH SCHOLLER, "Ethiopian Constitutional Development", *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart* 18, 1976, 499–501; ID., "Le développement constitutionnel de l'Ethiopie durant la période révolutionnaire (1974 – 1991)", *Aethiopica* 3, 2000, 24–45; ID. – PAUL BRIETZKE, *Ethiopia*: *Revolution, Law and Politics,* München 1976; FASIL NAHUM, *Constitution for a Nation of Nations – The Ethiopian Prospect,* Lawrenceville – Asmara, 1997; ID., "Socialist Ethiopia's Achievements as Reflected in its Basic Laws", *Journal of Ethiopian Law* 11, 1980, 83–88; REESOM HAILE, "Eritrea", in: ALBERT P. BLAUSTEIN – ERIC B. BLAUSTEIN (ed.), *Constitutions of Dependencies and Special Sovereignties*, New York 1979.

Heinrich Scholler

Conti Rossini, Carlo

C.R. (b. 25 April 1872, Salerno, d. 21 August 1949, Rome) was one of the most prominent Ethiopianists of the 20th cent. Born to a family from Piedmont in northern Italy, C.R. graduated in law from the University of Rome. He was a civil servant in the Treasury of the Italian government, where he attained the highest rank. He represented the Treasury in Paris in the years 1908–10 and as a financial expert attended international conferences. In 1914 C.R. became Secretary-General in the Italian administration of Tripolitania (Libya); in 1924 he was named Councillor of State. From 1920 to 1949 C.R. held the chair of "History and Languages of Abyssinia" in the University of Rome (Faculty of Humanities), succeeding his teacher Ignazio ↗Guidi after the latter's retirement.

Carlo Conti Rossini, photo courtesy of the author

Besides his official engagements as a civil servant, C.R. profoundly developed his scientific work in the field of the humanities, especially devoting his extraordinary proficiency in scholarly research to tracing back and bringing to light the complex structure of both the Semitic and the non-Semitic cultures of Ethiopia. In Rome he had been a student of Ignazio Guidi, the outstanding philologist and orientalist (Near East), who by his fundamental achievements opened the new era of modern ↗Ethiopian studies. C.R., following in that felicitously inaugurated track, strongly expanded it, with thorough research in many fields from archaeology to literature and history, taking languages as a primary tool to advance knowledge.

Between 1899 and 1903, just at the outset of his scholarly career C.R. served as Director of Civil Affairs in the local Italian administration in Eritrea. This gave C.R. the chance to acquire

profound knowledge of Ethiopian peoples on the spot. Thus, he was able to document oral as well as written sources on archaeology, history, languages and social organization. On such an amount of materials he could build his subsequent multifold work on Ethiopian society. An outcome of C.R.'s Eritrean period is his *Al Ràgali* (1903), a fine account of an official trip from the highlands of Eritrea down to the plains south of the Gulf of Zula. The report alone resulted in an impressively rich picture of the topography, toponymy, history and ethnology of the surveyed places, extending to a wide essay on the non-Semitic Saho population. His stay in Eritrea was an occasion for him to conceive the plan of outlining his *Note per la storia letteraria abissina* (1900), supplemented with a list of the European libraries preserving Ethiopian manuscripts. It was the first attempt of this sort and may be seen as the forerunner of the famous (*Breve*) *storia della letteratura etiopica* by I. Guidi (1932). The detailed historical research led C.R. to compose his *Storia d'Etiopia* (1928), an indispensable work, the only available comprehensive picture of the existence and structure of Ethiopian society.

A stimulating, though sketchy, survey of the palaeography and painting (illumination) of Ethiopian manuscripts appeared as a result of C.R.'s cataloguing of Antoine d'↗Abbadie's collection, on the introductory pages of his *Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie*. Working in the field of Ethiopic literature, C.R. published a set of texts suitable for elucidating Ethiopian civilization. Only for the sake of mentioning them, the following titles may be recalled: *Il Gadla Filpos ed il Gadla Yoḥannes di Dabra Bizan* (published 1901); *Gadla Marqorēwos seu Acta Sanci Mercurii* (1904); *Acta Yārēd et Panṭālēwon* (1904); *Acta S. Baṣalota Mikāʾēl et S. Anorēwos* (1905); *Historia Regis Sarṣa Dengel* [*Malak Sagad*] (1907); *Liber Axumae* (1910); *Acta Sankti Abakerazun et Sancti Takla Hawāryāt* (1910); *Acta Sanctae Walatta Pēṭros. Accedunt lectiones variantes Actorum Zarʾa Buruk secundum codicem Enda-Sellasiensem* (1910).

Besides and in connection with his research on ancient Ethiopia, C.R. pursued an interest inthe civilization of ancient South Arabia, contributing, among others, a tool for the study of its epigraphic monuments, the well-known *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica* (1931), the texts of which were introduced by "De Arabia Felici excerpta e scriptoribus graecis et latinis", all rendered in the Latin language.

Masterfully outlining the origins of Ethiopia, C.R. consequently scrutinized the period from the Ethiopian "Middle Ages" up to the modern period. In doing so, by utilizing Ethiopic texts he outlined the main features of the life and civilization of Ethiopia and Eritrea and contributed greatly to the study of the origin and social organization of the peoples of northern Ethiopia (today's Eritrea in particular). In this respect remarkable are his *Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia* (1910–13) and *Proverbi, tradizioni e canzoni tigrine* (1941), to which must be added his *Canti popolari tigrai* (1903–06) with extensive commentaries. Another invaluable resource is *Principi di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea* (1916), a vast comparative historical study expounding the traditional laws of different ethnic groups.

In consequence of his overall perspective, C.R. produced a wide range of analytical works on the non-Semitic-speaking peoples of the country, from the Agäw [Agàw] and Kunama to the peoples of south-western Ethiopia. In connection with this he investigated the features of the Nilotic languages on a comparative basis, summarizing his views in his *Lingue nilotiche* (1926). As a supplement of his research, C.R. produced commented bibliographies on current Ethiopian studies from 1897 to 1945.

For the common reader C.R. summarized the results of his life-long research in his *Etiopia e genti d'Etiopia* (1937), in addition offering an outline of Somali, Oromo and the Käfa [Kafà] languages. Lastly, in the year 1941, C.R. established the scholarly journal *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* (RSE).

The fundamental role of C.R.'s scientific contribution makes him an outstanding representative, or better the real founder, of modern Ethiopian studies.

Lit.: M. NALLINO, "Bibliografia degli scritti di Carlo Conti Rossini", *Oriente Moderno* 29, 7–9, 1949, 103–12; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Conti Rossini, Carlo", in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 28, Roma 1983, 527–29.

Lanfranco Ricci

Contracts

The generic term C. denotes an agreement, concluded between two or more parties who

oblige themselves to perform or abstain from performing a particular task (or group of tasks). The term "treaty" in its turn refers to agreements concluded between states and/or international organizations, which are intended to have an "obligatory character". In Ethiopia the former is governed by private law, the rules provided in the Civil, Commercial and Maritime Codes of 1960 (↗Civil Code; ↗Commercial Law; ↗Maritime Code), while the latter by public international law. The word ውል (*wəl*) is employed in Amharic to signify both C. and treaty (cp. KaneDic 1476, THMDic 968).

The validity of a C. depends on: (1) the ability to perform a juridical act, (2) the parties mutual agreement and binding themselves to the C., (3) the offer and acceptance by the parties involved, (4) legality and morality of the C.'s objective, (5) sufficient definition, and (6) the compliance with the form prescribed by the law; any failure to comply with any of above could render the C. invalid. The provisions of the law provide the authority behind a C. Thus, it is a self-made law among the contracting parties by virtue of Article 1731(1) of the Ethiopian Civil Code.

Before 1960, when the Civil, Commercial and Maritime Code were introduced, the provisions of the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*, customary law and in some parts of the country Islamic law (↗*Šarīʿa*) had been the rules regulating matters relating to C. For example, ch. 33 of the *Fətḥa nägäśt* was the relevant section that addressed what we call "obligation in general and special C.", and "the assignment of debts". The provisions of the *Fətḥa nägäśt* were replaced by the 1924 Law on Loans. This law introduced the basic principles of C., sales and the law of real and personal security, together with rules of evidence. The legal principles embodied in the Law on Loans were valid until the enactment of the Civil Code in 1960.

The Civil Code of 1960 provided new rules governing C. in Title XII in Book IV and also Book V. While Title XII of Book IV governs C. in general, Book V of the Code which contains Titles XV to XX addresses special C. The subject matter of C., as specified in the provisions of the Civil Code, was a relatively new concept to the Ethiopian society when the 1960 Code was enacted. The few rules concerning the modern C. were imported or of recent formulation, emanating from legislature or from courts without relation to traditional Ethiopian customary norms. The major kinds of C. provided by the Ethiopian law are:

I. Under the Civil Code of 1960:
1. C. relating to the assignment of rights (Art. 2261–2511)
2. C. for the performance of services (Art. 2512–2697)
3. C. for the custody, use or possession of things (Art. 2698–2874)
4. C. relating to real estate (Art. 2875–3130)
5. Administrative C. (Art. 3131–3306)
6. C. of compromise and arbitral submission (Art. 3307–3346)

II. Under the Commercial Code of 1960
7. C. dealing with commercial agency and brokerage (Art. 44–62)
8. C. of sale and hire of business (Art. 150–205)
9. Memorandum and Article of Association for formation of business enterprises (Art. 313–314)
10. C. pertinent to travel by land, air and sea (Art. 604–653)
11. Insurance C. (Art. 654–712);

III. Under the Maritime Code 1960:
12. C. on usage of ships (Art.126–228).

As far as the institutional system is concerned, all kinds of C., except administrative C., are governed by private law in other countries that followed the civil law system. Administrative C. in those countries is governed by public law, i.e. administrative law. In Ethiopia, however, it was made part of the civil law. The term "administrative C." refers to C. beyond the Civil Code's provisions, i.e. C. that are subject to special administrative law rules. As the functions assumed by the state and its administrative agencies (authorities) increased, the need of special rules arose. Thus, the rules relating to administrative C. were set forth in the Civil Code of 1960 as guidelines for this area. The provisions of the Civil Code on administrative C. included general formulas and did not unduly constrict for the contractual practice of the administrative authorities.

The Civil Code in Art. 3131–3306 provided rules governing administrative C. These provisions did not apply, however, to all C. concluded by administrative authorities. The specialized rules only applied where they were needed, to C. termed "administrative C." by the law. Sub-articles (b) and (c) of Art. 3132 provides a general definition of administrative C. As the definition could not eliminate all uncertainty, sub-article (a) of Art. 3132 invited contracting parties to eliminate any possible doubt by expressly calling their

C. an "administrative C." when they wished to apply the rules of Title XIX.

↗Law and Judiciary

Src.: IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT, *Civil, Commercial and Maritime Codes*, Addis Ababa 1960.
Lit.: RENÉ DAVID, "A Civil Code for Ethiopia: Considerations on the Codification of the Civil Law in African Countries", *Tulane Law Review* 37, 2, 1963, 187–204; ID., " Administrative Contracts in the Ethiopian Civil Code", *Journal of Ethiopian Law* 4, 1, 1967, 18–74; MICHAEL KINDRED, "Formal Requirements for the Conclusion and Modification of Contracts under the Ethiopian Civil Code of 1960", *ibid.*; PETER WINSHIP, *Background Documents of the Ethiopian Commercial Code of 1960*, ms., Faculty of Law, Haile Sellassie I University, Addis Ababa 1972; GEORGE KRZECZUNOWICZ, *Formation and Effects of Contracts in Ethiopian Law*, Addis Ababa 1983; ABERRA JEMBERE, *Legal History of Ethiopia 1434–1974*: *Some Aspect of Substantive and Procedural Laws*, Leiden 1998.

Aberra Jembere

Conversions

Scholars of religion distinguish a wide variety of processes under the rubric of C. These include the movement of individuals or groups from one tradition to another i.e. from ↗Christianity to ↗Islam, as well as movements within a single tradition, such as the move from Orthodox Christianity to ↗Catholicism or ↗Protestantism. The term is also employed for changes in the intensity of belief within the boundaries of a single community and by some authors even the decision to abandon a religious community in favour of a secular worldview is labelled as C. Although some scholars have argued that only dramatic, radical transformations in people's beliefs and practices should be designated as C., less drastic and more gradual changes are as noteworthy and perhaps numerically more significant.

From a historical perspective the transition from autochtonous folk-religions to either Islam or Christianity, especially Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity, has played the greatest role in Ethiopian history. The discussion below looks at types of conversions, missionaries and other carriers of new faiths, patterns of conversions, motivations, and conversion rituals.

Conversion and adhesion

Following in the footsteps of Arthur Darby Nock scholars of C. have frequently made a distinction between dramatic transformations which entail the total abandonment of previous beliefs: "C." and the acceptance of new beliefs and practices as useful supplements: "adhesion". Although this distinction has its limitations, it is nonetheless useful if it is not accompanied by attempts to distinguish between "real" converts and others, and normative judgements regarding "good" and "bad" believers are avoided. Scholars of both Islam and Christianity have commented on the pervasiveness of "mixing" in the history of these religions in Ethiopia. Mohammed Hassen (MHasOr 152) writes of "a series of gradations in the C. of the Oromo to Islam", while Trimingham (1952:271) notes that in Ethiopia "Islam does no violent uprooting but shades off into a long series of gradations". Writing on medieval Ethiopia, Taddesse Tamrat (TadTChurch 233) states that "the new 'convert' [to Christianity] continued in much the same way as before and lost almost none of his traditional loyalties to his pagan gods and their priesthood", while Kaplan (1984:132) comments in the same context "Christian ideas and practices were added to those of their old faiths, but had not replaced them". Considered more generally it is noteworthy that throughout Ethiopian history, membership in its monotheistic religious communities was open to a broad range of believers and practitioners who were not necessarily required to abandon earlier religious traditions. This was true not only of the indigenous forms of Christianity and Islam, but also, in some cases, of foreign traditions. The Catholic missionaries Pedro ↗Paez and Justin de ↗Jacobis both showed flexibility and tact in their attempts to integrate their forms of Christianity and Ethiopian culture. From a slightly different perspective, it can be asserted that the acceptance of new faiths frequently transformed not only the converts, but the faiths themselves as they accommodated elements of local culture and society.

Despite the prevalence of such cases, they should not blind us to the numerous instances in which individuals have wholeheartedly accepted new faiths and abandoned their previous traditions or what began as superficial affiliations grew over the course of time to deep commitments. Particularly notable in this respect are circumstances in which the acceptance of a new faith has meant not only the reception of new beliefs and rituals, but radically changed the organizational principles of a society or civilization. The most noteworthy example of this is, of course, the introduction of Christian-

ity into the kingdom of ↗Aksum. Whatever the initial motivations or consequences, events culminated in the Christianization of the kingdom as the new faith came to define the legitimacy of rulers and conditions for inclusion in the social elite. Similar processes seem to have occurred in several of the Oromo kingdoms in which the acceptance of Islam was associated with centralized politics, sedentarization, and the abandonment of traditional social patterns.

Missionaries and other representatives

One of the most notable differences in the spread of Christianity and Islam has been the nature of their primary representatives. Although Christianity probably first reached Aksum through the activities of traders and merchants, this was not the norm following its initial acceptance. Within a relatively short period the spread of Christianity was primarily the responsibility of the clergy in particular monks. The 5th-cent. missionaries, the "Righteous Ones" (↗Ṣadqan) and the ↗Nine Saints, were among the first, but they were followed in later centuries by many others including the clergy of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, ↗Ewosṭateans and numerous other individuals and groups. At the same time the migration and settlement of Christians also played a role and gradual assimilation of new populations as settlers and soldiers intermarried with the local population. The role of professional missionaries in the spread of Christianity has been even more pronounced in modern times with the establishment of various foreign missionary agencies in Ethiopia, including the ↗Church Missionary Society, the ↗London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, the ↗Lazarists, the ↗Sudan Interior Mission, the Seventh Day Adventists, the ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission etc. Such groups were inevitably lead by trained evangelists, who came to Ethiopia for the purpose of proselytizing the local population. Much of their success, however, can be credited to indigenous converts who became in turn active missionaries of their new faiths.

In the case of Islam, in contrast, the most prominent representatives were Muslim traders, who moved freely throughout the Christian kingdom during most periods. Such traders often served, in the absence of a local religious elite as teachers as well. Properly educated religious teachers usually arrived only following the establishment of a Muslim community. Thus the spread of Muslims usually preceded the spread of Islam and C. was often most prominent along trade routes and in commercial centres. Nevertheless, the role played by clerics as preachers should not be totally discounted. In particular, members of mystic orders were crucial to the diffusion of Islam and particularly to the intensification of belief among those already converted.

Conversion patterns

In discussing the acceptance of either Christianity or Islam it is important to consider the social, political and geographic networks through which these religions spread. In the Aksumite kingdom, e.g., Christianity was initially accepted as the religion of the court and associated with royalty, nobles and traders. Having established itself among the elite, the religion then spread down to the common people and outward from the centre to the periphery. It was this pattern that the ↗Jesuits sought, unsuccessfully, to emulate when they attempted to introduce Catholicism to Ethiopia. In the 19th cent., a similar pattern was characteristic of the Islamicization of the Oromo states in the Gibe region. However, this is by no means the only pattern found in Ethiopian history.

For most of its history in Ethiopia Islam can be said to have existed on the periphery of a strong Christian state. It was the religion of traders, craftsmen and pastoralists, rather than that of rulers and officials. As a rule, converts to the less prestigious faiths tended to be drawn disproportionately from the periphery of society. Many of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel converted by the London Society came from the fringes of society and included orphans, widows, the blind and the young. For their part, the Betä Ǝsraʾel drew few converts except for ↗Barya slaves incorporated into the group. The first converts to Protestant Christianity among the ↗Kambaata and ↗Hadiyya were young men, only as the faith spread did it increasingly attract members of the existing leadership structure.

Conversion rituals

↗Baptism and the bestowal of a Christian name were, of course, the essential rites for those wishing to join a Christian community. Considerable variety existed, however, with regard to the circumstances under which an individual

might be allowed to undertake these rituals. Medieval ↗hagiography makes it abundantly clear that converts were often baptised and even consecrated as clergy on the basis of a comparatively short and limited acquaintance with Christianity. In modern times, and particularly among foreign missionary groups, potential converts often spend a considerable period familiarizing themselves with the essential beliefs and practices of their church, before they were allowed to undergo immersion. The length of this waiting period and the content of the instruction provided were usually linked to the particular group's theological understanding of C.

For Muslims, the recitation of the *šahāda* (declaration of the faith) was the essential condition for C. Converts were often accepted more on the basis of their willingness to accept the religion of Islam, than their actual practice and familiarity with its teachings. C. was frequently understood as a gradual process, in which the declaration of faith was a crucial first step, rather than the culmination of a process.

Among the Betä Ǝsraʾel converts, or those rejoining the community, underwent a week-long period of isolation during which they subsisted on dried peas and water. At the end of this period, the convert purified himself by shaving his head, immersing himself and washing his garments. New converts undertook this step only after a period of learning, and male converts had to be circumcized. A new name was given.

Motivations

No aspect of the study of C. has aroused as much controversy as the attempt to ascertain the reasons behind. At least this is connected to the tendency to confuse changes in belief with changes in affiliation. Thus, the reasons why a person or group of persons might choose to join a particular religious community have been conflated with the factors which led to a change in worldview. Changes in religious affiliation have often been attributed to social, political and economic factors, while religious factors have been comparatively neglected. Accordingly, it must be stressed that the enumeration of "secular" factors below is not intended to obscure or minimize the religious components.

The acceptance of Christianity by the Aksumite king ↗ʿEzana is often associated with his desire to ingratiate himself with external rulers and Christian traders. The association of Christianity with the imperial court was in turn a factor working in its favour as Christian influence spread south from Aksum. For its part, the spread of Islam was often associated with trade and the economic advantages which accompanied it.

Throughout much of Ethiopian history, Christians enjoyed a preferred social and economic status, including the right to own land. Non-Christians often sought to acquire these advantages either by converting to Christianity and/or intermarrying their children with local Christians. In many periods, acceptance of Christianity along with the acquisition of other attributes of the dominant Ethiopian culture such as Amharic were incumbent on those who wished to join the country's ruling and elites. Although there were sporadic attempts to impose Christianity upon selected populations, throughout much of Ethiopian history leaders of both Church and State tolerated the existence of non-Christian ethnic-religious enclaves.

C. have often taken place in the wake of military conquests and colonization. New populations accepted Christianity following the expansion of the Ethiopian kingdom in both the medieval (13th–15th cent.) and modern (19th–20th cent.) period. ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's conquest in the 16th cent. was also accompanied by the widespread acceptance of Islam. However, it is simplistic and misleading to claim that conquests are the cause of C. or that populations necessarily assume the religion of their conquerors. The expansion of the Oromo was often characterized by their adoption of the faiths of the people they subdued, rather than "Oromoization". More generally, some peoples, such as the Betä Ǝsraʾel, clung tenaciously to their traditional faiths resisting religions assimilation after political opposition had failed. Several observers of 20th cent. Ethiopia have also commented on the tendency of people in southern provinces to accept not the Orthodox Christianity of the state, but Islam or other forms of Christianity which emphasized their continued ethnic distinctiveness. The acceptance of Islam may also have served a similar function among certain ↗Agäw groups in the 17th cent.

Potential converts were often attracted to new religious communities by the technological advantages they offered. Both Islam and Christianity were literature religions, which drew many of their converts from among the unlet-

tered. Modern missionary organizations often placed educational institutions at the forefront of their activities and many converts' first contact with foreign faiths came in the process of learning to read and write either European or Ethiopian languages, most notably Amharic. In some areas converts to Protestant Christianity were nicknamed "the literates". In the 19th and 20th cent., moreover, missionaries also attracted followers through their ability to teach secular skills and professions. The ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission, for example, pioneered the teaching of crafts such as carpentry and masonry. Others offered their skills in gardening and leather-working.

Special mention should be made in this context of medical missions. While healing may have been offered to the population at large, it was a major way to establish contact with potential converts. Moreover, healing is rarely perceived of as a purely secular activity, and the success of the practitioners whether Christian holy men, Muslim *ʿulamāʾ* or Western doctors often added to the prestige of the faiths they represented. A clinic was, for example, one of the earliest attractions of the American Presbyterian Mission in ↗Mağangir.

Although C. is one of the major themes in the religious and cultural history of Ethiopia, it has yet to benefit from extensive and systematic research. While the number of case studies undertaken have grown over the years, many discussions of religion in Ethiopia do not take account of current research on the phenomenon of C. and religious change.

↗Missions

Lit.: HUSSEIN AHMED, *Islam in Nineteenth Century Wallo Ethiopia*, Leiden 2001; GUSTAV ARÉN, *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia*: *Origins of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus,* Uppsala 1973; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "Islamic Principalities in Southeast Ethiopia between the Thirteenth and Sixteenth centuries", *Ethiopianist Notes* 1, 1, 1977, 17–55; *ibid.* 1, 2, 1977, 1–43; ID., "Notes on the Islamicization and the Muslim Shrines of the Harar Plateau", in: THOMAS LABAHN (ed.), *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies*, Hamburg 1984, 145–74; ID., "The Islamicization of the Arssi-Oromo", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 767–77; DONALD CRUMMEY, *Priests and Politicians*: *Protestant and Catholic Missionaries in Orthodox Ethiopia, 1830-1868,* Oxford 1972; ARTHUR DARBY NOCK, *Conversion*: *the Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo*, Oxford 1933; MHasOr 133–63; GETATCHEW HAILE – AASULV LANDE – SAMUEL RUBENSON (eds.), *The Missionary Factor in Ethiopia*: *Papers from a Symposium on the Impact of European Missions on Ethiopian Society,* Frankfurt 1998; STEVEN KAPLAN, "Ezana's Conversion Reconsidered", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 13, 1982, 101–09; ID., *The Monastic Holy Man and the Christianization of Early Solomonic Ethiopia,* Wiesbaden 1984 (SKK 73), 132; ID., "The Beta Israel (Falasha) Encounter with Protestant Missionaries: 1860–1905", *Jewish Social Studies* 49, 1987, 27–42; JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews*: *a History of the Beta Israel* (*Falasha*) *to 1920,* Philadelphia 1922, 179–88; ID., "Ethiopian Beta Israel (Falasha) Convert Biographies, 1837–1931", in: *PICES* 14, forthcoming; LEWIS R. RAMBO, "Conversion", in: MIRCEA ELIADE (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 4, New York 1982, 73–79; FINN AASEBØ RØNNE, "Christianity in the Dynamics of South Ethiopian Societies and Cultures: Kambbaata-Hadiiyya", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 133–48; HAGAR SALAMON, *The Hyena People*: *Ethiopian Jews in Christian Ethiopia,* Berkeley – Los Angeles 1999, 65–71, 75f.; OLAV SASEVERAS, *On Church-Mission Relations in Ethiopia 1944–1969, with Special Reference to the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus and the Lutheran Mission,* Drammen 1974; REN'YA SATO, "Christianization through Villagization: Experiences of Social Change among the Majangir", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 565–76; TadTChurch 156–205; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia,* London 1952, 269–75.

Steven Kaplan

Coppet, Maurice de

C. (b. 17 July 1868, Alais, Gard, France, d. 28 September 1930, Nyon, Switzerland) was a French diplomat. After 25 years in the diplomatic service, he was named ambassador to Ethiopia, where he stayed from 1917 until 1923. His keen interest in the country is proved by the extensive annotations and appendices he brought to the French translation of the Chronicle of *aṣe* Mənilək II (1930, GueCopMen). The last years of his career, from 1923 to 1929, he spent as ambassador to Finland, where he dedicated himself to the study and translation of Finnish and Swedish literature. He donated the greater part of his private library to the Helsinki University Library.

Src.: GueCopMen (Lit.).

Eloi Ficquet

Coptic Church

The term "Coptic" comes from Arab. *qibṭī* or *qubṭī*, which can be traced to the Greek word **Αἴγυπτος** 'Egypt', most probably coming from the Egyptian *Ḥwt-kʾ-Ptḥ* ('Temple of the Ka of Ptah'). This name was used since the New Empire to refer to Memphis. The designation C.C. means therefore the 'Church of Egypt'. The C.C., however, claims primacy over more than just Egypt, according to the official title of the Coptic patriarch, "The holy Pope and Patriarch

of the great city of Alexandria, of the whole land of Egypt, the holy city of Jerusalem, Nubia, Ethiopia, the Pentapolis and the entire diocese of St. Mark". Since apostolic times its centre had been in Alexandria, but in the 11th cent. the Patriarchal See was transferred to Cairo.

St. Mark is claimed as first Bishop of the C.C. Its standing originates not only from its apostolic origin, but also from its direct connection to the history of salvation. According to Mt 2:13–15, Egypt offered a refuge to the Holy Family, when they fled from Herod; local traditions of ↗Dayr al-Muḥarraq, Maṭarīya etc. still preserve stories about the Holy Family's Egyptian sojourn.

It was Demetrius I (188–230), twelfth in the list of the Alexandrian Bishops, under whose tutelage the C.C. first emerges on the historical scene. The history of the C.C. prior to this period is mostly unknown, but extant biblical papyri present the evidence of an ancient Christian tradition in Egypt. From Demetrius' time, Egypt played an important rôle in the history of the Early Church. Demetrius installed three bishops in Egypt, the Bishop of Alexandria becoming an Archbishop. His successor, Heraklas (230–46), was already Archbishop over 20 Bishops in Egypt and Pentapolis. Heraclas is the first head of the Alexandrian Church who was addressed with the honorary title of Pope. Thanks to Pantaenus, Clemens and Origen, Christian Alexandria became famous as a place of learning and education.

The language of the early C.C. was Greek, whereas in the countryside and suburbs of Alexandria the old Egyptian language was spoken. Coptic appeared in a number of dialects, Sahidic and Bohairic being the most important among them (the latter remained the language of liturgy of the C.C.). Written with Greek and some Egyptian letters, Coptic became the language the Egyptian Church used in its internal life. Greek remained important as a language of the liturgy, external communication and theological concepts. Sometimes documents were issued in both languages.

Some Roman Emperors persecuted the Copts; Septimius Severus at the beginning of the 2nd cent., Decius in 250, Diocletian with particular brutality, and Galerius from 303. Bishop Peter, executed in 311, is considered to be the last martyr. In commemoration of the persecutions, through which the Christians came undeterred, the C.C. described itself as the "Church of Martyrs", and its chronology begins with the so-called "year of the martyrs", 284, the year of Diocletian's accession to the throne.

The early C.C. not only suffered from the persecution of the pagan emperors, but from the 370s it was confronted also with successful Manichean mission work, emanating from its propagation centre in the region of Asyūṭ. The finds of Manichean texts in Greek, Coptic and – recently – in Syriac witness to the spread of this world religion, which competed with Christianity. The pastoral letter of an Egyptian bishop (Theonas of Alexandria?), written about 280, is directed against Manicheans; as evidenced by the 297 anti-Manichean edict of Diocletian, the state, too, tried to stem the expansion of the new religion.

The next important holder of the Patriarchal See was ↗Athanasius I, the "Apostolic" (328–73). As deacon and secretary, he accompanied Patriarch Alexander I to the Council of ↗Nicaea (325), where the Patriarch was able to implement the ordination law for all bishops within his jurisdiction, which remains valid today. In addition, at Nicaea the Alexandrian Patriarch was charged with the task of reckoning the date of Easter for the whole Catholic Church. It was proclaimed that the second rank, after only the Bishop of Rome, pertained to the Alexandrian Patriarch. However, the Council of Constantinople (381) adjudged it politic to transfer this second position there instead, to what had become the major capital of the Roman Empire. From Alexander I, Athanasius inherited the disputes with Arians and Meletians (the followers of Meletius, the Bishop of Lycopolis [Asyūṭ]), and the Novatians; he also argued against other "heretics" (e.g., Gnostics). He tried to establish a fixed canon of biblical books, since at the time, especially in Upper Egypt, there were many books considered sacred and in use besides those in the modern Bible.

Athanasius also played a major role in the establishment of the Church in ↗Aksum. Frumentius (*abunä* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan) came to Athanasius and was consecrated Bishop of Ethiopia by him. Therefore it may be said that the mission to Ethiopia developed from Egypt. However, the Church of Aksum was not a product of the Egyptian mission. Alexandria claimed oversight of Ethiopia, but in reality the Ethiopian Church went its own way. Even

though the Ethiopian Church was officially dependant on the C.C. of Egypt till the middle of the 20th cent., one can not apply the designation "C.C." to the Ethiopian Church (as can be found in some publications).

One of Athanasius's most important contributions was the steady relationship which he managed to build between Egyptian monasticism and the hierarchy of the Alexandrian Church. Athanasius was on friendly terms with ↗Anthony (356), one of the major monastic figures, and wrote his Vita. Another important figure, ↗Pachomius, the father of the cenobitical monasticism, was active during the tenure of Athanasius. In Lower Egypt the eremitical or semi-eremitical (Nitria, Cellia, Scetis) form of monasticism prevailed; in Upper Egypt fortified cenobitical monasteries were dominant. The monasteries became places of learning. In this context one should mention ↗Shenute of Atripe (d. 466), the most important Coptic author, who made Coptic a literary language. He also played a part in the great theological debates of his time and was a persistent and violent enemy of pagans and heretics.

Apart of Athanasius, some other important patriarchs may be mentioned. With the destruction of the Temple of Serapis (392), Theophilus gave the polytheism of Alexandria a crushing blow. He mercilessly hounded the followers of Origenism, and in 403 ordered that John Chrysostom be deposed and banished. Theophilus's nephew, ↗Cyril of Alexandria (412–44), played an important part in the christological controversies (cf. ↗Christology). He managed to gain support among the monks (including from Shenute the Great) because he emphasized the role of the Virgin Mary as Theotokos ("God bearing"). But it was he who ostracized the Jews of Alexandria in 414; in the next year a mob of Alexandrian Christians murdered the female philosopher Hypatia. His successor, Dioscorus (444–54), was victorious at the Council of ↗Ephesus (449), but lost at the Council of ↗Chalcedon two years later, was deposed and banished.

From Chalcedon on there were conflicts between the Emperors and the C.C., since both tried to install their candidates to the Patriarchal See. This resulted in frequent riots and fights in Alexandria; the Imperial Greek, or Melkite Patriarchs, who were loyal to the Chalcedonian decisions, did not have authority beyond the city. For example, Proterius, who was sent from Byzantium to succeed Dioscorus, was killed in riots on Easter Eve, 457. From the time of the Melkite Patriarch Paul I of Tabennese (538–40) there were two different Patriarchs in Egypt: the Melkite one in Alexandria and the Egyptian one, residing outside Alexandria.

Many refugees came to Egypt. The Patriarch ↗Severos of Antioch stayed in Egypt for 20 years and died there (538); the importance for the C.C. of his sojourn is witnessed by his mention in diptychs of anaphoras. Conditions in Egypt improved under Patriarch ↗Damian, of Syrian origin. In this period the development of Coptic literature reached its peak. But soon the country was conquered by the Persians, then by the Arabs (in 639–42), who remained permanently. This happened during the reign of Patriarch ↗Benjamin; it was he who laid the foundations of the modern C.C.

After the Arab conquest, the C.C. initially strengthened, since it was able to regain the positions held by the Melkites, who had now lost their influence and at first did not even reside in Egypt, although the system of the old taxes and duties remained in place. In 706 Arabic became the official language of the country, and in 722 all Christian pictures outside churches were destroyed. The Coptic revolts of the 8th cent. were unsuccessful. The bloodiest insurrection took place in 829–30; after it was defeated, many Copts were deported to Mesopotamia. To the middle of the 9th cent. Islam was professed by most of the Egyptian population. The polytheist minority, which still existed in Egypt at the beginning of the Arab rule, embraced Islam, the new religion, without having turned to Christianity as an "intermediate stage".

The document stating that the Ethiopian Church may not be headed by a patriarch, and its metropolitan may not be a native, is a forged canon of the Council of Nicaea (known also in Ethiopian tradition), which probably dates into the 7th cent. The Ethiopian Metropolitan, or *abun* (↗*Abunä*; cp. ↗*Paṗpas*), was always chosen in Alexandria and came from Egypt. His appointment was obtained by the Ethiopians only with great difficulty; many presents had to be given to the local authorities. Every Ethiopian parish had to pay taxes for this purpose. Since the metropolitan was an Egyptian, and, at least upon his arrival, ignorant of Amharic and local politics, his leadership was usually weak (although we are

aware of such outstanding personalities as *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob, *abunä* ↗Bärtolomewos, *abunä* ↗Sälama "the Translator" etc.). A metropolitan was authorized to consecrate deacons and priests, but not bishops, his suffragans.

Regarding Africa, the leadership of the Coptic patriarch was formally strict. The *abun*, being the Ethiopian katholikos from Egypt, had many honours and held seventh position in the list of the Church leaders after the katholikos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Another issue was the de facto influence of Alexandria. Since Ethiopia was far away, communications were quite tenuous, and the position of Metropolitan was sometimes left vacant. Not only the Muslim authorities, but also the Coptic patriarch wanted gifts before a new *abun* was sent. Even although Ethiopia formally acknowledged the Coptic Patriarch, in practice he was not the Church leader of Ethiopia. On the opposite side, ↗Nubia, which also was familiar with Christianity, became a much closer part of the Alexandrian Church than Ethiopia did. In the 5th–6th cent. missionary work from Egypt and Byzantium took hold in the northern Nubian kingdoms of Nobadia and Macuria (Alodia, the southern kingdom underwent greater influence from Aksum). For the Christians of Egypt the strong Nubian kingdoms were of great help. In 745 the Nubian king advanced with his soldiers as far as Lower Egypt and delivered the Coptic Patriarch Michael (744–68) from captivity. From 962 till the middle of the 11th cent. Nubia controlled large parts of Upper Egypt and always granted asylum to Egyptian refugees.

Under Muslim rule the position of the Copts varied according to the leader of the Muslim state. This had repercussions on the cultural situation. Even though the Coptic language still flourished, in the long run it had no chance to survive as a written language. Bilingual grammars (*muqaddima*) and word lists (*sullam*) were supposed to promote the knowledge of the Coptic language. Christian literature in Arabic flourished in Egypt from the second half of the 10th cent., and the literary works of the Copts were not inferior to those of the Muslim authors. As an example, the family Ibn al-ᶜAssāl can be mentioned. One of its members, Aṣ-Ṣāfī b. al-ᶜAssāl, composed a *Nomokanon* which was adapted by Ethiopians and became the ↗*Fəṯḥa nägäśt*. Some Christian Arabic works of the Copts were translated into Gəᶜəz at least as early as in the late 13th cent. (on the other hand, there are no hints that Coptic literature in Coptic was translated). The entire number of Christian Arabic works, which found its way to the Ethiopian ↗Gəᶜəz literature, was considerable. The mediators were Ethiopians living in Coptic monasteries or in Ethiopian monastic communities of Egypt (such as Dayr al-Muḥarraq). In other words, the cultural contacts between Egypt and Ethiopia did exist, against all odds.

In the long run, the Copts could not withstand the onslaught of Islam. The consequence was that Christians gradually converted to Islam. The end of Christian Nubia in the 15th cent. deprived Egyptian Christians of their last external support, and their decline became obvious. At the beginning of the Ottoman period (early 16th cent.) the balance between Christians and Muslims regarding the number of the adherents and general political situation reached approximately the contemporary relative proportions. This period was also characterized by new relations with the Latin West. Some Latin influence could be seen already during the time of the crusades. The Copts were present at the unionist council of ↗Florence (1439), and later several Patriarchs, e.g., Gabriel VIII, made unionist declarations. All this had few practical consequences; however, Coptic liturgical books, compiled by Catholic convert aṭ-Ṭūḫī (d. 1787), were printed in Rome, since the union of Coptic and Roman Churches was expected to happen in the near future. However, only in 1898 could the united Patriarchate be established, under Leo XIII.

In the second half of the 19th cent. the C.C. entered a modern period of its history, with the reformer-Pope Cyrill IV (1854–61). The C.C. opened herself to the new times and their demands. On 3 January 1961, a Faculty of Theology was inaugurated in Cairo. In 1965 the C.C. participated in the Synod of the Oriental Churches in Addis Abäba.

In modern times the relations between the C.C. and Ethiopia changed. In 1929 – after three years of negotiations between the Egyptian Patriarchate and the Ethiopian Government – a new metropolitan was elected (Sidaros Ben Antoni, known as *abunä* ↗Qerəllos). The Patriarch consecrated four Ethiopian monks as bishops but forbade new consecrations by the Ethiopians. However the Ethiopian Emperor demurred: 1950 an Ethiopian was authorized to become

abun with permission to consecrate Bishops. ↗Basəlyos, *əčč̣äge* of Däbrä Libanos, was consecrated *abun* in January 1959 at Alexandria, and already by August he had consecrated eight bishops in the Holy Trinity Church at Addis Abäba.

The Ethiopian patriarch is de facto completely independent, and not under jurisdiction of the Coptic patriarch. However, the Egyptian patriarch still sees himself as patriarch of Africa. A kind of antagonism, existing between both of them became clear as Eritrea received its independence. According to the Egyptian view, the power of the Ethiopian patriarch depends on the Coptic patriarch. Therefore the consecration of bishops and the patriarch in Ethiopia without consultation with the Coptic patriarch is not canonical. By 1991 the Coptic Patriarch Shenute III had consecrated two bishops for Eritrea, and in 1994 – five more bishops. In 1998 he consecrated 93-year old Bishop Filəppos Patriarch of the Orthodox Church of Eritrea.

Patriarch Shenute III reorganized the Church on the base of a new world-wide structure: from 1971–96 he consecrated more than 70 bishops for Egypt and foreign countries and more than 400 presbyters. In 1964 the first presbyter was consecrated for the Copts in the United States and Canada. There are also bishops in Europe, America and Australia. In 1962 a Department for African Mission was founded at the Institute of Coptic Studies (Cairo). In the second half of the 1970s the African mission started activities in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania, as well as in Zaire, South and West Africa. The participation of the C.C. in the dialogue with non-Chalcedonian Churches becomes more and more active. At the same time, the openness of the C.C, became the source of its weakness, since the educated Copts left Egypt because of the pressure of Islam. They have also special modern posts, and not only the traditional parish tasks. That means that the big influence of the lay people was renewed. Even the Coptic language is taught anew.

Lit.: ANTONIUS MARKOS, *The Story of the Coptic Orthodox Church in Africa*, 2 vols., Cairo – Johannesburg 1996; ALBERT GERHARD – HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, *Die koptische Kirche. Einführung in das ägyptische Christentum*, Stuttgart – Berlin – Köln 1994; PIERRE DU BOURGET, *Les Coptes*, Paris 1988 (Que sais-je? 2398); GERTRUD BAUER, *Athanasius von Qūṣ: Qilādat at-taḥrīr fī 'ilm at-tafsīr. Eine koptische Grammatik in arabischer Sprache aus dem 13./14 Jahrhundert*, Freiburg 1972 (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 17); C. WILFRED GRIGGS, *Early Egyptian Christianity. From its Origins to 451 C.E.*, Leiden ²1991; ALOIS GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche, 2/4: Die Kirche von Alexandrien mit Nubien und Äthiopien nach 451*, Freiburg – Basel – Wien 1991; MAURO DE LEONESSA, "La versione etiopica dei canoni apocrifi del concilio di Nicea secondo i codici vaticani ed il fiorentino", *RSE* 2, 1, 1942, 29–89, here 34ff.; OTTO MEINARDUS, *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity*, Cairo 1999; CASPAR DETLEF GUSTAV MÜLLER, *Geschichte der orientalischen Nationalkirchen,* Göttingen 1981, 320–43; ID., *Grundzüge des christlich-islamischen Ägypten von der Ptolemäerzeit bis zur Gegenwart*, Darmstadt 1969; ID., "Ägypten IV = kirchengeschichtlich bis zum 7. Jh.", in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 1, 512–33; ID., "Kopten", in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters,* vol. 5, 1438–41; ID., "Koptisch-Orthodoxe Kirche", in: FRIEDRICH HEYER (ed.), *Konfessionskunde*, Berlin – New York 1977, 214–32; WOLFRAM REISS, "Bischofsweihen für Eritreische Kirche führten zum Abbruch des Dialogs", *Der christliche Osten* 49, 1994, 305–07; BERNARD VELAT, "Un Grand Dignitaire de l'Église Éthiopienne, l'Abouna", *Les Cahiers Coptes* 4, 1953, 13–20; RAINER VOIGT, "Die Erythräisch-Orthodoxe Kirche", *OrChr* 83, 1999, 187–92; *CE* (Lit.).

C. Detlef G. Müller – Lothar Störk

Č.oqqe

The Č. Mountain (ቆቁ, from Amh. 'the upper *däga* zone with regular frost') are a mountain range extends from the north-west to the south-west across the territory of the Goǧǧam administrative zone. The ↗Abbay river, as it flows out of Lake Ṭana, makes a curve to the south-east before forming a large loop around these mountains. Its bed is carved through the bottom of a deep canyon and interrupted by numerous falls. Already cut off from the rest of Ethiopia by the Nile, Goǧǧam is divided in its middle by the Č. Mountains. North of this range, Mount Amädamit

Lit.: MARCEL GRIAULE, *Les flambeurs d'hommes*, Paris 1934; MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972.

Alain Gascon

The Č.oqqe mountains, photo taken by the Duchesne-Fournet expedition in the early 20th cent., from Duchesne-Fournet 1908-09:163

reaches an altitude of 3,619 m A.S.L. and to the south this range towers above 4,000 m at its highest points (Mount Bərhan: 4,154 m, Mount Ṭalo: 4,100 m, Mount Karne: 4,070 m, Mount Urata: 4,066 m). These peaks are the remains of huge volcanic cones of the upper cenozoic era which have released the basaltic trapps, the main constituent of the Goğğam plateaux. A succession of bioclimatic stratae ends with the Č.

Above 3,000 m A.S.L. the remnants of a forest, first ↗juniper, higher up ↗*koso*, already eaten up by temporary barley-fields, tend to give way to alpine sheep-grazing land. Overgrazing is minimal thanks to a difficult access and severe climatic conditions. North of these very wet high mountains lies the source of the Giš or Gəlgäl Abbay ('little Abbay'), which flows into Lake Ṭana. The north-west of the range forms the heart of ↗Agäw Mədər, while the south has an Amhara population.

Those looking for isolation and safety, whether the monks of ↗Däbrä Wärq, the Patriots, rebels or bandits, took refuge in the Č. Mountains. A trail used by Marcel Griaule's Mission to Goğğam in 1928–29 crosses the range in its central part at the Č. pass at an altitude of almost 4,000 m. The Italians improved it for strategic reasons, in order to build a direct link between ↗Moṭa to the north and ↗Däbrä Marqos to the south. The two highways running from Addis Abäba to Baḥər Dar through Moṭa or Däbrä Marqos avoid the obstacle of the Č. Mountains.

Src.: KaneDic 2220; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *Statistical Abstract 1999*, Addis Ababa 2000; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY (ed.), *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988; MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *An Atlas of Ethiopia*, revised edition, Asmera 1971.

Coronations

C. is a practice with a long history in Ethiopia. Aksumite coins, which began to be minted in the 3rd cent. A.D., bear effigies of crowned kings (Munro-Hay – Juel Jensen 1995). Such a practice seems to suggest the existence of early ceremonies of C. The etymology of an Aksumite locality, Männagäša, meaning literally "place of appointing kings" (DAE I, plan II, 46; GuiVoc 399) could also support that idea. The same name was also given in medieval times to the ↗Männagäša mountain used for the same purpose west of modern Addis Abäba (Vignéras 1897:168–73). The first described C. dates, however, only from the reign of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (r. 1434–68), and took place in the ancient city of Aksum. Whether this rite was following ancestral tradition, as his Chronicle claims (PerrZarY 49, 83), cannot definitely be established (TadTChurch 248; Munro-Hay – Juel Jensen 1995:161f.).

C. played an important role in political and court life. The rite of C. served to endow the monarch with religious sanction, in a ceremony in which he almost invariably acquired a new regnal name. C. formalities are documented in several royal chronicles. Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, whose throne name was Qʷästanṭinos, is reported to have scattered over one hundred ounces of gold in Aksum, "for the glory of Ṣəyon". He then sat on a throne of stone reserved for the C. ritual (PerrZarY 49ff.). His son *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam is likewise said to have followed traditional practice. Unable to reach Aksum, he held his C. further south at Ğəğəno. There he picked at random one out of three pieces of wood, each inscribed with a different name, and thus acquired the throne name of Dawit. He later went to the "coronation house", where an ox and a lion were brought for him to kill, but he delegated the task of slaughtering the former, and, allegedly following his father's precedent, spared the lion its life (PerrZarY 124f.).

A more detailed account is available for the C. of *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl (r. 1563–97), whose throne name was Mäläk Sägäd. On arriving at Aksum he was greeted by ecclesiastics holding gold crosses

and fine parasols and singing "Be blessed, Oh King of Israel!". He was then barred by young women holding a rope, and two old women with swords, who defiantly asked him, "Who are you? Of what family and what tribe?". He replied, "I am the son of David, son of Solomon, son of ƎbnäḤakim [i.e. Mənilək I]". The women then questioned him a second time, and he replied, specifying his ancestors, "I am the son of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, son of Bäʾədä Maryam, son of Naʿod". Asked a third time, he raised his arm and cited his more recent lineage, declaring, "I am Mäläk Sägäd, son of Wänäg Sägäd, son of Aṣnaf Sägäd, son of Admas Sägäd". He then cut the rope with his sword, whereupon the women exclaimed, "Truly you are the King of Zion, son of David, son of Solomon!" He was then welcomed by much singing and hand clapping, and, like Zärʾa Yaʿəqob before him, scattered much gold. This was followed by a great fusillade of guns and cannons, weapons which did not exist in the country at the time of the earlier C. (CRHist 89–92).

The C. of *aṣe* Susənyos (r. 1607–32), who took the throne name of Səlṭan Sägäd, likewise took place at Aksum. The event, described in his Chronicle (PerChron 95f.), was apparently a similar and equally spectacular occasion. The Jesuits Pedro Paez and Manoel de Almeida both report that the monarch, similarly to Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, scattered much gold in Aksum and was rigorously interrogated, like Śärṣä Dəngəl, by the women of the town (BeckHuntAlm 92–96; Pais 1945–46, vol. 1, 115–22; Le Grand 1728:252f.). During ceremonies of C., the 18th cent. Scottish traveller James Bruce states (BruNile, vol. 3, 263), the monarchs were annointed with oil.

C. also played a major role in later Ethiopian life. The C. of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II inaugurated a new era. He was anointed and crowned by *abunä* Sälama at the church of ↗Däräsge Maryam, on 11 February 1855 (Mondon-Vidailhet 1905:8). The C. of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV on 21 January 1872, described in detail in his Chronicle, took place at the church of St. Mary at Aksum (↗Aksum Ṣəyon) and harked back to the past, with the women of the city holding a rope and interrogating him on his parentage, to which he replayed, "I am the King of Zion of Ethiopia". He likewise distributed much gold and was greeted by a cannonade (Bairu Tafla 1977:126–43).

The C. of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, whose name was unusual in not being changed by the event, was conducted by *abunä* Matewos on 3 November 1889. The ceremony, which was exceedingly colourful, demonstrated that Mənilək rejected the protectorate status claimed by Italy on the basis of the Italian interpretation of the Wəčale Treaty. It took place at the church of St. Mary at the then capital of Ǝnṭoṭṭo (↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam), and was followed by the C. of the Monarch's redoubtable consort, *ətege* Ṭaytu (GueCopMen 264–78; Pétrides 1964:215–18).

The coronation of a 17th-cent. emperor at Aksum, Ethiopian miniature in the Museo di Storia Naturale di Firenze, Sezione di Antropologia e Etnologia (catalogue no. 18535, a gift by Giovanni Branchi, 1925)

Mənilək's grandson and heir, *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, was never crowned, but his father *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Ali was anointed and crowned king of Wällo, Təgray, Gondär and Goǧǧam on 31 May 1914 (Molvaer 1994:346f.). The C. of Mənilək's daughter, Zäwditu, in 1917 was held at the church of St. George in Addis Abäba and was followed by an amnesty for criminals (Molvaer 1994:380–85). *Ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən, the future Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I, was crowned ↗*nəguś* on 7 October 1928, when he "received the crown from the hands of Empress Zäwditu" (Ullendorff 1976:156). His subsequent C. as Emperor, which was followed by that of his wife *ətege* Mänän, took place at St. George's church, Addis Abäba on 2 November 1930. The act was attended by diplomats, royalty and journalists from all over the world. The Monarch took an oath to protect the country's borders and to build schools (Asfa Yilma 1936:208–33; Ullendorff 1976:171–77; Pétrides 1964:218–23). C. procedures were later defined in the Ethiopian Revised Constitution of 1955, but were in fact never put in practice (Perham 1969:440f.).

Src.: GuiVoc 399; PerrZarY 49ff., 83, 124f.; CRHist 89–92; PerChron 95f.; PERO PAIS, *História da Etiópia*, Porto 1945–46, vol. 1, 115–22; BeckHuntAlm 92–96; JOACHIM

LE GRAND (tr.), *Voyage historique d'Abyssinie du R.P. Jerome Lobo*, Paris 1728, 252f.; BruNile, vol. 3, 263; CASIMIR MONDON-VIDAILHET, *Chronique de Théodoros II roi des rois d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1905, 8; BAIRU TAFLA, *A Chronicle of Yoḥannes IV (1872–89)*, Wiesbaden 1977 (AeF 1), 126–43; GueCopMen 264–78; HAILE SELASSIE I, *My Life and Ethiopia's Progress, 1892–1937: the Autobiography of Emperor Haile Sellassie I*, tr. by EDWARD ULLENDORFF, London 1976; JULES PERRUCHON, *Vie de Lalibala*, Paris 1892, 107ff.

Lit.: EIKE HABERLAND, *Untersuchungen zum äthiopischen Königtum*, Wiesbaden 1965 (SKK 18), esp. 90–103 (Lit.); STUART MUNRO-HAY – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 161–64; DAE I, plan II, 46; SYLVAIN VIGNÉRAS, *Une mission française en Abyssinie*, Paris 1897; *aläqa* GEBRE-IGZIABHER ELEYAS, *Prowess, Piety and Politics. The Chronicle of Abeto Iyasu and Empress Zewditu of Ethiopia (1909–1930)*, ed. and tr. by REIDULF K. MOLVAER, Köln 1994 (SKK 104), 346f., 380–85; ASFA YILMA, *Haile Selassie Emperor of Ethiopia*, London 1936; STEPHANOS PIERRE PÉTRIDES, *Le livre d'or de la dynastie salomonienne d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1964, 177 (ill.), 209–23; TadTChurch 248f.; DONALD NATHAN LEVINE, *Wax and Gold. Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture*, Chicago 1965, 152; MARGERY PERHAM, *The Government of Ethiopia*, London 1969; WOLBERT SMIDT, "The Coronation of Negus Mikael in Desse in May 1914: a Photograph from the Nachlass Jensen and its Historical Background", *AE* 17, 2001, 361–73.

Richard Pankhurst

Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium

The CSCO was established in 1903 by the French scholar of Syriac studies Jean-Baptiste Chabot (1860–1948) and his fellow-countryman Henri Hyvernat (1858–1941), a Coptologist, as a series for the publication of texts, both secular and religious, from the literary heritage of Oriental Christianity. Since 1912, the CSCO has been published under the auspices of the Catholic Universities of Louvain, Belgium and Washington, D.C.; the editorial headquarters and secretariat are located at Louvain.

In recognition of the linguistic diversity of the Christian Orient, the CSCO was from the outset subdivided into four sections: for Syriac, Gəᶜəz, Coptic and Arabic, each supervised by a leading scholar from the field. In 1948 the Belgian scholar of Syriac studies René Draguet (1896–1980) took over the direction of the CSCO from Chabot. He had virtually to relaunch the series, since in the course of World War II the CSCO stock had been almost completely destroyed in the burning of the Louvain University Library. In addition to initiating reprints of the older volumes, Draguet established three new CSCO sections: two for new languages, Armenian and Georgian, and one for *Subsidia* (= studies and materials). After Draguet's death in 1980, André de Halleux acted as secretary of the CSCO. In 1994 Bernard Coulie was appointed as the CSCO's new director.

As of today, the CSCO comprises ca. 600 volumes of texts and translations and is ever expanding. The translations normally constitute separate volumes and come in English, French, German, Italian or, especially for the early CSCO years, Latin. The Gəᶜəz section (*Scriptores aethiopici*) is, after the Syriac one, the second largest in the CSCO and can already boast more than 100 volumes. Among the Gəᶜəz texts published in the CSCO, works of ↗hagiography predominate, but there are also other works of theology or piety, as well as several important chronicles (such as, e.g., of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl or *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I). Through reprints, the complete CSCO stock is constantly kept available for the scientific community and the interested public. The scientific supervisors of the CSCO's Ethiopic section since its inception have been Ignazio ↗Guidi (1903–35), Henry de Vis (1935–48), Enrico ↗Cerulli (1948–79) and Lanfranco Ricci (from 1979).

↗Patrologia Orientalis

Lit.: CASPAR DETLEF GUSTAV MÜLLER, "Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium", in: JULIUS ASSFALG – PAUL KRÜGER (eds.), *Kleines Wörterbuch des Christlichen Orients*, Wiesbaden 1975, 97–99.

Michael Kleiner

Correa, Gaspar

C. (also Corrêa, Correia, b. ca. 1490?, d. after 1563) was a 16th-cent. Portuguese historiographer, author of the *Lendas da Índia* ('Tales of India'). This work, which covers the years 1497–1550, is a monumental account (more than 3,500 pages in the 1858–66 edition) of the Portuguese exploits in India and the countries around the Indian Ocean during that period. Scattered through the *Lendas* are a considerable number of references to and reports about Ethiopia, South Arabia and the Red Sea region. Despite this, the *Lendas* to this day have received little attention in ↗Ethiopian studies.

Not much is known about C.'s life. In 1506 he served as an adolescent chamberlain at the court of ↗Manoel I; from this we may infer C.'s approximate birthdate. Serrão (1972:238) takes the *Lendas's* style, lively and straightforward, as

an indication that C. did not receive a thorough literary education. In 1512 he came to ↗Goa, headquarter for all Portuguese operations in the Indian Ocean area. There he served as secretary to Viceroy Afonso d'↗Albuquerque until the latter's death in 1515. C. thereafter stayed in India, where he appears to have spent the rest of his life. In 1526 he was knighted by King ↗João III. As to his death, it is still widely assumed in the secondary literature that C. was murdered in 1563–64 (either in Malacca or Goa) at the order of Estevão da ↗Gama. However, Schurhammer (1963:123f.) has conclusively demonstrated that this is a false assertion, arising from the confusion of the *Lendas*'s author with another Gaspar Correa. We may therefore assume that C. died of natural causes, most likely in Goa. *Lendas* (vol. 3, 438) appears to indicate 1563 as a terminus post quem.

C. began to write the *Lendas* late in his life, probably only after 1550, the last year covered in them. In composing his work he did not, however, have to start from scratch, but could build on various short memoirs which he had written for himself since his arrival in India. Furthermore, C.'s long stay in India and his former high office in the Portuguese administration gained him access to many private and public documents. Last, but not least, he claims (*Lendas* vol. 1, 2f.) to have sought out and questioned many witnesses to the events he reports. As a result, the *Lendas*, though occasionally inaccurate, are a mine of valuable information. They were not, however, printed until as late as 1858–66.

Src.: GASPAR CORRÊA, *Lendas da Índia,* ed. by RODRIGO JOSÉ DE LIMA FELNER, 4 vols., Lisboa 1858–66; Nendeln, Liechtenstein ²1976.

Lit.: JOAQUIM BARBOSA MACHADO, *Biblioteca Lusitanica* 2, Lisboa 1931; AUBREY F. G. BELL, *Gaspar Correa*, London 1924; RODRIGO LAPA, *Historiadores quinhentistas*, Lisboa 1943; GEORG SCHURHAMMER S.I., "Gaspar Correa", in: ID., *Gesammelte Studien – II*: *Orientalia*, Lisboa 1963, 123f.; JOAQUIM VERÍSSIMO SERRÃO, *A historiografia portuguesa. Doutrina e crítica*, 2 vols., Lisboa 1972–73, here vol. 1, 211–15, 236–44.

Michael Kleiner

Correspondance d'Éthiopie

C.É., also at times entitled *Aethiopien-Korrespondenz* (1926–33), was a broadsheet devoted to Ethiopian news and politico-economic comments. This periodical, one of the first attempts to project a positive image of Ethiopia abroad, was published and edited by Erich Weinzinger, a scholarly businessman and honorary Austrian consul, who first visited Addis Abäba in 1910. His newspaper, which was produced in collaboration with *blatten geta* ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase, appeared irregularly in a series of different places: Addis Abäba, Paris, Vienna, and Hannover. C.É.'s objective was "to let Ethiopia be better known to Europe and to strengthen the economical and social ties between Ethiopia and foreign lands", as well as "strongly" to fight against "the Imperialist colonies of the Great Powers in Africa". Articles appeared in three languages, French, English and German. News and editorial comments on Ethiopia were interspersed with not otherwise easily accessible articles on the country reprinted from the European and North American press.

↗Newspapers

Lit.: ADRIEN ZERVOS, *L'Empire d'Ethiopie*, Alexandria 1936, 207, 260–70; ANDRÉ ARMANDY, *La désagréable partie de campagne,* Paris 1930, 128f.; E. KLUGE, "Druckerei in Abessinien", *Sonntagspost. Beilage zu Landbote und Tageblatt*, 6 July 1935; BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Austria*: *a History of their Relations*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 35), 425, s. index for Weinzinger.

Richard Pankhurst

Corriere Eritreo

The C.E. was the first weekly newspaper in the Italian colony of Eritrea. Its press was set up in Massawa in 1891 and started issuing the weekly politico-commercial newspaper in June the same year under the direction of G. Brunetti. Shortly after, the Tipographia Libreria Italiana in Massawa, owned by A. Micheli and Co., began publishing *L'Eritreo*, a weekly administrative newspaper in November 1891 (Fumagalli 1893:276; Pankhurst 1962:249, 263). The Italophone C.E., with issues of eight pages, contained the legislative, judicial and administrative acts of the government of the colony.

Later, appeared a daily newspaper which was also called C.E., after other subsequently changing names. After 2 June 1928 appeared a single newspaper, *Il Quotidiano Eritreo*, which consisted of two pages in Italian, one in Arabic insert (*Al-yawmīya al-Irītrīya*, 'Eritrea daily') and one in Təgrəñña **ናይ፡ ዕለት፡ ወሬ** (*Nay ʿəlät wäre*, 'Daily news'). On 13 August 1935 it ceased publishing Təgrəñña and Arabic items and became the pro-Italian weekly *Eritrea Nuovo*. The day after the Italians captured Addis Abäba, the name was changed to *Corriere dell'Impero* on 6 May 1936. In Octo-

ber 1936, it took another new name, C.E., becoming the official organ of the Eritrean Federation of the Fascist Party. In 1940 the C.E. had a circulation of 30,000. Publication ceased with the British occupation in 1941, but in 1944 the British started a new publication under the old name *Il Quotidiano Eritreo*, which had about 6,000 readers in 1949.

Src.: *Corriere Eritreo, giornale settimanale, politico-commerciale di Massaua*: *ufficiale per i decreti del governo e per gli atti legali e giudiziari della colonia*, Massawa, vol. 1, no. 1, 12 giugno 1891ff.; *Report of the U.N. Commission for Eritrea*, General Assembly, Official documents, 5th Session Supplement no. 8 (A/1285), vol. 1, 19–22.

Lit.: GIUSEPPE FUMAGALLI, *Bibliografica etiopica*, Milano 1893, 276; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Foundations of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 3, 1962, 241–90; DEBORAH JOHNSON, "Media History of Eritrea", *Eritrean Studies Review* 1, 1, 1996, 143–54; ENRICO MANIA, *Storia del Giornalismo in Etiopia*, Perugia 1970–71, 887f.

Deborah Johnson

Corsali, Andrea

C. (late 15th–early 16th cent.) was a Florentine adventurer and trader who visited the Red Sea in the early 16th cent. Having sailed in eastern waters with a Portuguese fleet, he wrote reports on the Red Sea, Aden and the Indian Ocean for Duke Giuliano de' Medici in 1515 and Duke Lorenzo de' Medici in 1517. The texts contain references to the ↗Dahlak islands, pearl-fishing in the Red Sea, the Armenian merchant ↗Mateus, the monastery of ↗Däbrä Bizän and the port of ↗Zayla^{c}. C. subsequently embarked on considerable trading activities in the interior of Ethiopia. He is said to have established "great warehouses" at the Šäwan capital of ↗Bärara and at the flourishing commercial town of Wəs in Wäğ, south-east of Šäwa.

A report by Brother Thomas of Bärara, one of the Ethiopian informants of the Venetian scholar Alessandro ↗Zorzi (s. CrawItin), holds that C. also envisaged printing in Gə^{c}əz letters, but his efforts may have been brought to an end by the incursions of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī.

Lit.: FRANCISCO ALVARES, *Historiale description de l'Éthiopie* …, Anvers 1558, 8–38; BeckHuntAlvar s. index; CrawItin 137, 147, 191.

Richard Pankhurst

Cosmas Indicopleustes

C.I. (**Κοσμᾶς Ἰνδικοπλεύστης**) is the name which refers to the anonymous Nestorian merchant (of Alexandrian provenance?), who lived in the 1st half of the 6th cent. A.D. C.I. wrote, between 547–49, his **Χριστιανικὴ τοπογραφία** ('Christian Topography', hereafter Topography), a refutation of the Ptolemaic system (cf. the characterization in Photios, Bibliothek, cod. 36). Both the name **Κοσμᾶς** and his being a monk are fictitious and appear only late in manuscript tradition (cf. Wolska-Conus 1968:59ff.) and even his surname **ὁ Ἰνδικοπλεύστης** ('traveller to India') is not justified, since he never reached India; his description being based only on literary sources.

Early during the reign of Emperor Justin (July 518–August 527 A.D.), C.I. visited ↗Adulis (s. Topography II, 54–64), which in those days was part of the empire of the **βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀξωμιτῶν Ἐλλατζβάας** (Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa, ↗Kaleb). He copied two inscriptions there, the so-called ↗Monumentum Adulitanum (Topography II, 56, 58f., 60–63): one stele by Ptolemaios III Euergetes (246–222/221 B.C.) and the throne-inscription RIE 277, erected by an unknown (third-century?) Aksumite king (Brakmann 1994:22ff.). This part of the Monumentum Adulitanum, which probably was fragmentary already in C.I.'s time and is lost now, gives a detailed account of military campaigns against African people (whose identity remains mostly unknown) and even Arabs on the opposite coast of the Red Sea. Despite its fragmentary nature it is the most important historical document for pre 4th cent.-Aksum.

A miniature in his work (Topography II, 55) provides a sketchy map of Ethiopia, its Red-Sea coastline with Adulis and the two described monuments, Aksum and two towns (Gäbäzä, Sämidi) not mentioned in the text.

Src.: RIE 277 (Lit.); WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS (ed.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès. Topographie chrétienne,* 3 vols., Paris 1968–73 (Sources chrétiennes 141, 159, 197); PHOTIUS I PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, *Bibliotheca*, Berlin 1824/25 [Latin ed. 1606, English tr. 1920, French ed. 1959].

Lit.: HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, ***ΤΟ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΙC ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΙC ΕΡΓΟΝ ΘΕΙΟΝ***. *Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum,* Bonn 1994, 22ff. (Lit.); LESLIE BRUBAKER, "The Relationship of Text and Image in the Byzantine mss. of Cosmas Indicopleustes", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 70, 1977, 42–57; M. DELLA VALLE, "Una missione archaeologica nel VI secolo: Cosma ad Adulis", *Milion. Studi e ricerche d'arte bizantina* 2, 1990, 343–62; JEHAN DESANGES, "Le littoral africain du Bab el-Mandeb d'après les sources grecques et latines", *AE* 11, 1978, 83–102; LAURENCE PATRICK KIRWAN, "The Christian Topography and the Kingdom of Aksum", *The Geographical Journal* 138, 1972, 166–77; ID., "The Arabian Background to one of the 'Cosmas' Inscriptions from Adulis (Ethiopia)", in:

ABDELGADIR M. ABDALLA (ed.), *Studies in the History of Arabia*, vol. 1, Riyadh 1977, 93–99; ELISABETH REVEL-NEHER, "Some Remarks on the Iconographical Sources of the Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes", *Kairos* 32–33, 1990–91, 78–97; SIEGBERT UHLIG, "Kannte Kosmas Indicopleustes das astronomische Buch der Henochapokalypse?", in: EINAR VON SCHULER (ed.), *XXIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 16. bis 20. September 1985 in Würzburg. Ausgewählte Vorträge*, Stuttgart 1989, 62–75; WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS, "La *Topographie Chrétienne* de Cosmas Indicopleustès: hypothèses sur quelques thèmes de son illustration", *Revue des études byzantines* 48, 1990, 155–91; COSIMO STORNAJOLO, *Le miniature della Topografia christiana di Cosma Indicopleuste*, Milano 1908 (Codice Vaticano Greco 699, Codices e Vaticanis selecti 10) [Ill.].

Alexander Sima

Cosmetics

C. have been used in Ethiopia since antiquity. The traditional C. include dyestuffs, skin care products, as well as masticatories and chewing gums.

Lac, an Indian dye produced by insects, was most likely in ancient times imported and used to dye clothes and colouring the nails and the feet of the women. Local substitutes have also long been used for the same purpose. These include: roots of *mäqmäqqo* (*Rumex abyssinicus* Jacq.) that provide a yellow-orange dye used by the Agäw, especially on hands, feet and nails. According to Bruce (he calls these roots *Mocmoco*; Bruce 1964:171) it worked also as a condiment and a food preservative. Roots of the expensive *ənsosəlla* (*Impatiens tinctoria*) and of the cheaper *guršəṭ* (also *gušərṭ*, *Conyza abyssinica*) are also used to dye the hands, feet and face of the women. Pods of *waras* (*Flemingia grahamiana*) are used on their skin by women and children and on the clothes. Leaves of henna (*Lawsonia inermis*) serve to dye hair. The fruit of *amäraro* (*Discopodium penninervium*) is used by the Amhara to color hands and nails.

Kohl has been used since the earliest times as a cosmetic to darken the eyelids of the women. It is usually composed of finely powdered antimony but it can also be produced with the ashes obtained of burned frankincense and other products.

As to the skin care products, rancid butter from the milk of the zebu is used for anointing the whole body. Fatty acids resulting from the fermentation have incontestable antiseptic properties. The presence of vitamin A and cholesterol contribute to the cosmetic qualities of this butter. The latex of *ṭoppiya* (*Calotropis procera*) serves, in its turn, as a depilatory.

The hygiene of mouth and teeth is traditionally done through masticatories, such as the ↗incense (*ətan*) and gums produced by *Acacia sp*., and chewing-sticks such as *Salvadora persica* or *Olea africana*, among many others.

The country is also the source of raw materials for a modern cosmetic industry. Addis Ababa University has initiated the study of numerous plants from about 20 botanical families for the essential oils they contain. Incense and myrrh (*kärbe*) have large secular uses and are still effective today for perfumery. The musk-like perineal secretion of the civet cat (↗zibeth) is also a valuable material in perfumery.

From Senegal to the Red Sea, gum-arabic (E 414) has been the most employed gum since antiquity. It is provided by various species of acacia present in Ethiopia: the carob-gum, which is in fact a mucilage (E 410), is produced by *Ceratonia siliqua*, a plant cultivated in the north of Eritrea and around Gondär. The Indian *Cyamopsis tetragonolobus* is cultivated in the north of Eritrea. It provides guar gum (E 412). *Aloe sp*. (*aritti*) is currently of special interest in cosmetology in the United States. There is an abundant supply of *Aloe sp*. in Ethiopia. Several species of *Plantago*, rich in mucilage, of *Sterculia* and *Anogeissus leiocarpus*, should be investigated for gums because these products are largely used in the food, pharmaceutical and cosmetic industries. Still, *karkade* (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*) is an ingredient of a facial mask.

Some of the oils used in Ethiopia could have application in the cosmetic industry, especially *suf* (*Carthamus tinctorius*), already largely used in this industry, the famous endemic ↗nug (*Guizotia abyssinica*), and also *säliṭ (Sesamum indicum*), helpful for the protection of the epidermis.

Concerning detergents, the fruit of *Phytolacca abyssinica* (↗*Endod*) possesses foaming properties greater to those of the soapwort and the Panama wood. It could be used for shampoos. The kernel of *mučča* (*Balanites aegyptiaca*), with its saponosides and proteins, could also be a good additive for hair-conditioning shampoos.

↗Medicine

Lit.: JAMES BRUCE, *Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile*, ed. by CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM, Edinburgh 1964, 171; CINZIA GHIGLIONE – DENIS LEMORDANT, "Sur la composition des akènes de Guizotia abyssinica Cass", *Bulletin des travaux de la Société de Pharmacie de Lyon* 27, 1977, 3–7; DENIS LEMORDANT,

Les plantes éthiopiennes, Addis Abeba 1960; ID., "Contribution à l'ethnobotanique éthiopienne", *Journal d'agriculture tropicale et de botanique appliquée* 18, 1–6, 1971; DENIS LEMORDANT – JEAN-PIERRE FORESTIER, "Ethnobotanique et cosmétiques en Ethiopie", paper presented at the conference *Concepts et chroniques en Cosmétologie*, Toulouse, 17 aout 1995; ID., "Usages médicinaux traditionnels et propriétés pharmacologiques de Lawsonia inermis L., lythracées", *Journal d'agriculture tropicale et de botanique appliquée* 30, 1, 1983, 69–90; ID., "Commerce et henné. Identification, contrôle, fraudes, additifs", *ibid* 30, 3–4, 1983, 283–310; PATRICIA IRWIN M. TOURNERIE, *Colour and Dye Recipes of Ethiopia*, 1986 [private publication].

Denis Lemordant

Côte Française des Somalis et Dépendences
↗ Djibouti

Cotton

There has been a long-standing controversy over the origin of the C. used in Ancient Egypt and Nubia, with some favouring a Sudanese origin and others contending "that the Red Sea trade, much developed in Roman times, might have introduced C. from India to the Meroites" (Griffith-Crowfoot 1934:7). Still others take the stand that C. cultivation developed separately, if not simultaneously, in Africa and India (Nicholson 1960:25f., 32). The evidence in the early period is heavily weighted towards importation.

The reference in the ↗*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* to direct importation of C. from India to the port of ↗Adulis in the 1st cent. A.D. (McCrindle 1879:52, 64f., 94) is universally accepted. In contrast, there is the oft-cited inscription on a stele dated ca. 350 A.D., attributed to ↗ʿEzana, in which the King describes how his men destroyed the grain and C. supplies of the Noba people. The presence of tree-C. (*gossypium arboreum*) notwithstanding, there is no evidence that any textile fibre was grown in Nubia for the purpose of making cloth in the Early Christian period, which supports the conclusion that if ʿEzana's men destroyed fibre of any kind, it may well have come from India, Persia or Arabia.

Literary references to the early importation of C. in the Red Sea and eastern Mediterranean regions tend to represent trade in luxury goods reserved for the upper classes. This seems also to have been the case well into the Muslim period, and even then centuries may have passed before C. cultivation was sufficiently diffused for the fibre to have been used generally for clothing. It is possible that cultivation was introduced by Arabs or Persians, probably around the 12th cent. With C. came the special C. pit-treadle loom (↗Weaving), which originated either in India or in China. In Africa, the use of this loom is unique to Ethiopia.

The nomenclature attached to this cloth and the most widely used forms of woven highland clothing can be traced to Arabic, sometimes with Sanskrit roots. This suggests that, following the advent of Islam, Muslim Arabs were the first to transmit cloth and ↗clothing, then C. and the loom with which to weave it. Many of these settled in Ethiopia and, because of their minority status, acted in tandem with the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel as the craftsmen, including the weavers, of the land.

The first-known reference to the production of fine C. cloth in Ethiopia occurs at the end of the 13th cent. in the travelogue of Marco Polo: "Good cotton and buckram cloths are woven here" (1959:297, 307). If his source for the supply is accurate, one could reasonably conclude that by that time C. cultivation and weaving were well established in the highlands. Thereafter, one finds frequent reference to it in the reports of foreign travellers (Nicholson 1960:10f., 14). Alvares refers ca. 1525 to a tribute from Goǧǧam of 3,000 basutos. These were large cotton cloths, "hairy like carpets … which the great people have on their beds" (BeckHuntAlvar vol. 2, 283, 425f.). Almeida, however, considered the display to be a "trick" (BeckHuntAlm 86). In 1696, *ḫoǧa* Murād speaks of 5,000 pieces of cotton cloth paid as 5 % customs fees in Lama, Təgray [?] (van Donzel 1979:93; GuiIyas 93, n. 57).

Whatever demand could not be filled by local production has invariably been met by imported cotton fabrics of all types and qualities. Today, although C. cultivation is widespread (if often in modest plots), the weft of a piece of hand-woven *šämma* cloth will likely be made of indigenous C. while the warp will be imported. Ethiopia's textile manufacture remains largely a home industry, if not a household chore. Women buy, clean and spin raw C., and sell it, either raw or spun, at the market; they also embroider. Men weave and take the finished product to market. A woman of greater means will grow her own C., keep the best for her own needs and sell the surplus. Having spun her own weft, she will take it to a weaver who will provide what is probably a machine-made warp.

Professional weavers have historically occupied a low social position in comparison with agriculturalists, for to weave was a sign of servitude. It is only since the time of *aṣe* Mənilək II that the craft has been practised by Christians.

↗Handicrafts

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 86; BeckHuntAlvar vol. 2, 283, 425f.; EMERI JOHANNES VAN DONZEL, *Foreign Relations of Ethiopia 1642–1700*: *Documents Relating to the Journeys of Khodja Murad*, Leiden 1979 (Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 46); GuiIyas 93, n. 57; EMML vol. 7, 2817, fol. 11ab.; IBN MAṆṢŪR, *Lisān al-ᶜArab*, vol. 7, Beirut 1992, 345ff.; DAE IV, 33, 38f.; MARCO POLO, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, tr. by RONALD LATHAM, London 1959; JOHN WATSON MCCRINDLE (tr.), *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythrean Sea*: *being Translations of the* "*Periplus Maris Erythraei*" *by an Anonymous Writer*, London 1879; BRUCE G. TRIGGER, *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia*, New Haven, 1965 (Yale University Publications in Anthropology 69).

Lit.: WITOLD KAZIMIERZ, "Arabic Loanwords in Amharic Connected with Textiles, Leather Products and Jewelry", *Africana Bulletin* 20 1974, 63–71; DEXTER BURLEY, "The Despised Weavers of Addis Ababa", in: *PICES* 5B, 145–70; MICHAEL GERVERS, "Cotton and Cotton Weaving in Meroitic Nubia and Medieval Ethiopia", *Textile History* 21, 1990, 13–30; FRANCIS LLEWELLYN GRIFFITH – GRACE MARY HOOD CROWFOOT, "On the Early Use of Cotton in the Nile Valley", *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 20, 1934, 5–12; MARGRETHE HALD, "Vaevning over Gruber", *Kuml* 13, 1963, 102–06; ALBERT KAMMERER, *La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie depuis l'Antiquité*, vol. 1: *Les pays de la Mer Erythrée jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge*, part 3, Cairo 1929; DETLEV KARSTEN, *The Economics of Handicrafts in Traditional Societies*: *an Investigation in Sidamo and Gamu Gofa Province, Southern Ethiopia,* München 1972; MAURICE LOMBARD, *Les textiles dans le monde musulman du 7ᵉ au 12ᵉ siècle*, Paris – The Hague – New York, 1978; G. EDWARD NICHOLSON, "The Production, History, Uses and Relationships of Cotton (*Gossypium spp.*) in Ethiopia", *Economic Botany* 14, 1960, 3–36; ID., *Cotton in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1956; ANDREW M. WATSON, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World*, Cambridge 1983; HERMANN AMBORN, *Differenzierung und Integration. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Spezialisten und Handwerkern in südäthiopischen Agrargesellschaften*, München 1990, here 156–213.

Michael Gervers

Coulbeaux, Jean-Baptiste

Père C. (b. 18 October 1843, Coucy-lès-Eppes, Aisne, d. 22 October 1921, Paris) was a French missionary of the Lazarist Congregation and scholar. Dispatched to Ethiopia in 1870, he evangelized in the missions of Təgray (↗Aliṭena, ↗Aḵrur and ↗Kärän) up to 1894, when the Lazarists where replaced by the Capuchins in Eritrea. He left definitely Ethiopia in 1900. While a missionary, C. wrote catechisms and polemics in Amharic. Back in France, he published a hagiography of *abba* ↗Gäbrä Mikaᵓel by the Catholic convert *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot (C.'s edition is an abridged French exposition of the original Amharic text), a dictionary of Təgrəññа and a political history of Ethiopia (ed. posthumously [1929] by J. Baeteman).

Src.: JEAN-BAPTISTE COULBEAUX, *Un martyr abyssin, Ghebra-Michaël*, Paris 1902; ID., *Histoire politique et religieuse d'Abyssinie, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à l'avènement de Ménélick II*, 3 vols., Paris 1929; JEAN-BAPTISTE COULBEAUX – J. SCHREIBER, *Dictionnaire de la langue tigraï*, Wien 1915 (Kommission zur Erforschung von illiteraten Sprachen aussereuropäischer Völker, Schriften der Sprachenkommission 6).

Eloi Ficquet

Council of Ministers ↗ Government

Coup d'état 1916

Ləǧ ↗Iyasu, son of *ras* Mikaᵓel Ali of Wällo and grandson of *aṣe* Mənilək II, became a de-facto ruler of Ethiopia after the death of *ras* ↗Täsämma Nadäw in 1910. With the growth of his power, the Šäwan party, lead by *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis, *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis and probably *dəǧǧazmač* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), among others, grew afraid of losing its central position in the country. The international context of ↗World War I and the ruler's support for the Central Powers was also of some meaning for the Šäwan party, mostly connected with the Allies. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church felt at the same time threatened by the pro-Islamic sympathies of *ləǧ* Iyasu.

As a result, in 1916 the nobles and clergy used Iyasu's visit to Harär for a coup. At a meeting on 27 September in Addis Abäba, they accused *ləǧ* Iyasu of betraying both Mənilək's will and the Christian religion. They proclaimed *aṣe* Mənilək's daughter ↗Zäwditu the new Empress and Täfäri Mäkʷännən the Heir to the Throne, with the title of *ras*. *Fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis became the third member of the triumvirate. On 11 February 1917, Zäwditu was crowned Empress (*nəgəśtä nəgəśtat*). The Wällo army led by *ras* Mikaᵓel was defeated by Šäwans under *fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis at ↗Sägäle on 27 October 1916. *Ləǧ* Iyasu would spend the next years hiding until he was arrested and imprisoned in 1921.

The events that led to the C. attempt centred on dissatisfaction with the growing corruption, inefficiency and incompetence of the Imperial government. The C. plotters also expressed sympathy for the plight of the landless peasants and believed they could be freed from exploitation by a more socially conscious government.

The most important consequence of the C. concerned its impact on Ethiopia's intelligentsia, students and armed forces, all of which became more convinced that a more modern, responsive government would ensure social and economic progress for all Ethiopians.

Lit.: RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 375–418; "Ethiopia", *Keesings Contemporary Archives* no. 17882, 14–21 January 1961; no. 18107, 20–27 May 1961; CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, "The Ethiopian Coup d'État of December 1960", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 6, 4, 1968, 495–507; JOHN MICHAEL COHEN, "Traditional Politics and the Military Coup in Ethiopia", *African Affairs* 74, 295, 1975, 222–48; REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, "About the Abortive Coup Attempt in Addis Ababa from 5 Tahsas to 8 Tahsas 1953 (14–17 December 1960)", *NEASt* 3, 2, 1996, 21–38; Paris Match no. 612, 31 December 1960, 21.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

First audience of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I in the Jubilee Palace after the failed Coup d'état, from *Paris Match*, 31 December 1960, 21

On 15 December 1960 Märəd Mängäša announced that troops had deployed throughout Addis Abäba and called on all Ethiopians to remain loyal to the Emperor. The following day, he declared that the C. had failed. On 17 December 1960 countless thousands of Ethiopians lined the streets to welcome the Emperor's return. However, fighting continued on the outskirts of Addis Abäba for some days. On 21 December 1960 the authorities captured Getaččäw Bäqqälä while Mulugeta Buli, Ṣəgge Dibu, Wärqənäh Gäbäyyähu committed suicide. On 24 December 1960 soldiers killed Gərmame Nəway and captured Mängəśtu Nəway.

On 12 January 1961 the Emperor pardoned all Imperial Guard privates and non-commissioned officers who had participated in the C. but indicated that officers would be placed on trial. Two officers eventually received prison sentences of 15 and 10 years respectively. On 30 March 1961 Mängəśtu Nəway was hanged in a public square in Addis Abäba. The failed C. attempt resulted in numerous casualties in the armed force (29 killed; 43 wounded), Imperial Guard (174 killed; 800 wounded) and among the civilian population (121 killed; 442 wounded). At least seven foreigners also died in the fighting.

Le Courrier d'Éthiopie

Founded before World War I, C.É. was published until the Italian invasion of 1935–36, being the work of Alexis ↗Desvages and Léon de ↗Robillard successively.

After coming to Addis Abäba in 1910, Alexis Desvages founded a private printing press, the Imprimerie Alexis Desvages, in 1913. As the business was prospering, he started to publish C.É. Printed at that time in 24 x 31 cm format, it was issued weekly and only had about thirty readers during its early stages. When World War I broke out, Desvages was mobilized, with the result that publication of the newspaper was interrupted from 4 August 1914 until 5 October 1917. In 1924 having sold his printing press, Desvages returned to France and donated the rights to the title to the French consulate.

In October 1924 the title was reclaimed by Léon de Robillard and the newspaper reappeared, printed by the Capuchin monks of Dərre Dawa, and then, after July 1926, by the Louyç press. Since C.É. was making profits, Robillard bought a press in 1928 which was named the Imprimerie du Courrier d'Éthiopie. Robillard reshuffled C.É. Distribution increased and it soon had readers in 21 countries. It received

publicity and took on an important economic role since it published the price of foodstuffs, the currency rates, accounts of international businesses, tax rates, the comings and goings of businessmen and notables etc. Advertisements for newly available products, for societies, for hotels in Ethiopia and Djibouti, on appointments section and the top functionaries' new crazes filled the columns, beside the notices of marriages or deaths. Its political and cultural role was minor, but it also published news from these spheres. It also served as a correspondent for the international press. A sign of the confidence held in it by the imperial authorities, C.É. was the only newspaper not to be censored, as it was considered as being "completely without political bias" (Weizinger 1928:58), although it strongly advocated the maintenance of Ethiopian independence.

In May 1936 the Italians, who had just entered Addis Abäba, closed the press, outlawed the newspaper and expelled its director. At that time, 2,500 issues of C.É. were being printed, although the French community only amounted to 300 people.

An instrument of French influence, C.É. was nevertheless first and foremost an Ethiopian newspaper, telling day after day the story of national life.

Src.: interviews with Germaine de Robillard, Paris 1989–91; partial collections of the *Courrier d'Éthiopie* in IES and INALCO.

Lit.: ALAIN ROUAUD, "Un journal éthiopien en langue française: Le Courrier d'Éthiopie, 1913–1936", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 711–24; M. WEIZINGER, "Historique de la presse en Ethiopie", *Aethiopien-Korrespondenz* 9, 15 September 1928, 56; ADRIEN ZERVOS, *L'empire d'Éthiopie*, Alexandria 1926, 269f.

Alain Rouaud

Couto, Diogo do

C. (b. 1542, Lisbon, d. 10 December 1616, Goa) was a Portuguese historiographer who continued the work of João de ↗Barros in writing the so-called *Décadas da Ásia*, the semi-official chronicle of Portuguese exploits in India, the Indian Ocean area and the Far East.

As the fourth and last *Década* by Barros, covering events up to 1539, appeared posthumously in 1615, C. let his own *Década IV* begin in 1526 where Barros's *Década III* had ended, and continued the narrative up to 1600 (the unfinished *Década XII*). C.'s vast work (more than 5,000 octavo pages in the first complete edition) contains numerous reports on the events in Ethiopia and the Red Sea area. It is thus a valuable source for the history of region, especially in the second half of the 16th cent., for which foreign material is otherwise scarce. Yet, C.'s *Décadas* to this day have been largely overlooked by Ethiopianists.

C. came from a noble family and received a good education. Around 1559 he went to ↗Goa and, except for a two-year interlude in Portugal in 1569–71, spent the rest of his life there. In the early 1590s C. was chosen, with royal approval, as Barros's historiographical successor and in 1595 was also appointed the head of the newly founded Goan State Archive. This greatly facilitated C.'s work, as he was given unrestricted access to all the official records of Portuguese India. While C. thus enjoyed royal support, he soon encountered massive opposition from influential families of Portuguese India. These circles saw their reputation jeopardized when it became clear that in his work C. would not suppress or embellish inglorious aspects of their record abroad, and hence went to great lengths to sabotage the publication of various *Décadas.* This is why only the *Décadas IV–VII* went into print during C.'s lifetime (Lisbon 1602, 1612, 1614 and 1616, respectively). The first, and, it appears, still sole complete edition of the *Décadas* only appeared in the late 18th cent.

Src.: DIOGO DE COUTO, *Da Asia. Dos feitos, que os Portuguezes fizeram na conquista, e descubrimento das terras, e mares do Oriente. Decadas IV–XII*, 13 vols., Lisboa 1777–88 [with an anonymously compiled undated *Indice geral das Decadas de Couto*].

Lit.: ANTÓNIO COIMBRA MARTINS, *História de Diogo do Couto e dos seus livros*, Coimbra 1991; JOAQUIM VERÍSSIMO SERRÃO, *A historiografia portuguesa. Doutrina e crítica*, Lisboa 1972–73, vol. 2, 244–56.

Michael Kleiner

Covilhã, Pêro da

C. (also Covilham, Covilhan, b. ca. 1455–65, Covilhã, d. after 1526, Ethiopia) was one of two men whom the Portuguese king ↗João II (r. 1481–95) in 1487 dispatched on a joint exploratory journey to the east. At the time, Portuguese interest in the eastern and especially the Indian trade was already well established, but the sea voyage to India round the Cape of Good Hope had not yet been made. In this context, C. and his companion Afonso de Payva were charged with finding out as much as possible about trade, trade routes and the geopolitical situation in the Indian Ocean. This explicitly included the task to attempt to reach Ethiopia in

order to establish friendship and, if possible, an anti-Islamic alliance with this Christian country. C., who appears to have been of humble origins, was chosen for this daunting mission because on several earlier occasions he had proved to be a loyal and competent servant of the crown and because he (just as de Payva) knew Arabic well. This, experience had shown, was indispensable for missions in and beyond the Muslim East.

Travelling via Barcelona, Naples and Rhodes, de Payva and C., posing as merchants, first went to Alexandria and Cairo. These were cities still comparatively well known to Europeans, but from there on the truly exploratory part of their journey began. De Payva died a little later, but C., after journeys that took him, among other places, to Aden, Calicut, Goa, Hormuz, Sofala, Mecca and Medina, eventually became the first official European envoy to reach Ethiopia. Entering the country via ↗Zaylaᶜ, he arrived there in the last years of *aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər's reign. Ǝskəndər received C. well, but died before he could give C. his promised leave to return to Portugal. Ǝskəndər's successors ↗Naᶜod and ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl thereafter took a different approach. While they showed great generosity towards C., they never allowed him to leave the country. As a result C. still lived in Ethiopia when a new Portuguese mission, headed by Rodrigo de ↗Lima, arrived there in 1520, he was now a lord endowed with rich estates, married to an Ethiopian wife, with whom he had many offspring, and with close links to the court. Through his high status as well as through his knowledge of court etiquette and Amharic, C. came to be of invaluable help to the de Lima mission. ↗Alvares praises C. highly for his assistance and characterizes him as "an honourable person of merit and credit" and "a man of great wit and intelligence" (BeckHuntAlvar 369, 376). In conversation with Alvares, C. also claimed that it was he who had first inspired *ətege* ↗Ǝleni to send an embassy of her own to Portugal in 1509 (for which she chose Mateus as her emissary). When the de Lima mission eventually left Ethiopia in 1526, Ləbnä Dəngəl again made C. stay behind. He never returned to his native Portugal, but died in Ethiopia, presumably not much later.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar (Lit.); GASPAR CORREA, *Lendas da Índia*, Lisboa 1858ff., here vol. 3, ch. 3; JOÃO DE BARROS, *Década* (*primeira* [-*terceira*]) *da Asia de Ioão de Barros, dos feitos qve os portvgveses fezerão no descobrimento & conquista dos mares & terras do Oriente*, Lisboa 1562, ²1628, 1940–45, here decade I, book 3, ch. 5.
Lit.: CONDE DE FICALHO, *Viagens de Pedro da Covilhan*, Lisboa 1898 (Lit.); CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM, "The Travels of Pero da Covilhã and their Significance", in: *Colleção de Livros Inéditos de História Portugêza*, *Actas* 2, 1961, 1–14; LUÍS DE ALBUQUERQUE, *Navegadores, viajantes e aventureiros portugueses. Séculos XV e XVI*, 2 vols., Lisboa 1987, here vol. 1, 79–85.

Michael Kleiner

Cowley, Roger Wenman

C. (b. 1940, d. 5 April 1988) was an outstanding scholar of Ethiopian ↗Bible and theology. He studied Natural Sciences, and then Theology, at the University of Cambridge. He graduated in 1961 and went to Ethiopia as a missionary with the Church's Ministry Among Jewish People in 1963, where he worked among the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel. While working in Ethiopia, he became interested in the traditional Amharic commentary material on the Bible and the patristic writings, the ↗*andəmta* commentary tradition, and established contact with teachers in three traditional schools in Gondär. He had copies made for him of manuscripts from the Gondär schools of the traditional commentaries, and he began to publish what was to become a steady stream of articles on this material (the copies of the manuscripts were deposited in the British Library on his death). C. left Ethiopia in 1978 and spent 1978–79 in Jerusalem, where he completed a book on the traditional Ethiopian interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John. On his return to England in 1979, he was on the staff of Oak Hill Theological College in north London while also serving as part-time curate in Anglican parishes.

Notwithstanding his duties at the College and for the Church – he had been ordained deacon in 1976 and priest in 1977 – he prepared a major study on Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation in which he argued with considerable cogency that the exegetical traditions preserved in the *andəmta* commentary tradition were in essential continuity with earlier commentaries, especially of the Antiochene tradition as represented by figures such as ↗John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia, and that it had been transmitted to Ethiopia via Syriac and Arabic translations and adaptations of earlier sources. He already had outstanding achievements to his credit in Ethiopian studies – and would surely have achieved much more – when he died at the early age of 48.

Src.: ROGER WENMAN COWLEY, *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Cambridge 1983 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 33); ID., *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation. A Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge 1988 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 38); for full bibliography cf. Lockot II, s. index.
Lit.: VREJ NERSESSIAN, "Roger Cowley (1940–1988)", *JES* 22, 1989, 171–77; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, [obituary], *The Times* (London), 9 April 1988; MICHAEL A. KNIBB, [Review], *Journal of Theological Studies* 42, 1991, 276–81.

Michael A. Knibb

Crafts, craftsmen ↗ Handicrafts

Crawford, Osbert Guy Stanhope

C. (b. 1886, Bombay, d. 29 November 1957, Southampton) read geography at Oxford, where he graduated in 1910, but developed an interest in archaeology and participated in Henry Solomon Wellcome's excavations in the Sudan in 1913–14. After war service, during which he gained experience as an observer with the Royal Flying Corps in 1917–18, he served as Archaeology Officer with the Ordinance Survey from 1920 till 1946. There he pioneered the use of archaeological surveys for map revision and played a major role in developing techniques of air photography. He wrote extensively on both these areas, in particular on individual British sites, and in 1927 founded the journal *Antiquity*, which he edited till his death.

His studies of the Sudan and ↗Sinnār are regarded as authoritative, while an interest in early maps bore fruit in his *Ethiopian Itineraries* (CrawItin) ca. 1400–1524, including those collected by Alessandro ↗Zorzi at Venice in the years 1519–24, issued by the Hakluyt Society in 1958.

Src.: OSBERT GUY STANHOPE CRAWFORD, *Archaeology in the Field*, London 1960; ID., *Said and Done: the Autobiography of an Archaeologist*, London 1955; ID., *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar: with a Geographical Account of the Middle Nile Region*, London 1961; CrawItin.

Arthur K. Irvine

Criminal codes

Criminal law, the branch of law that deals with crimes and their punishments, was in Ethiopia both customary and statutory, although the former aspect was later marginalized. Ethiopia follows the continental or civil law system, and not the common law system. Prior to 1936, however, the jurisprudence that developed out of the case or judge-made law was upheld as አፄ፡ ሥርዓት (*aṣe śərᶜat*, lit. 'the order of the Emperor', i.e. presidential jurisprudence).

Three codified criminal laws were applied at different times in Ethiopia: the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* and the Penal Codes of 1930 and 1957. The section of the *Fətḥa nägäśt* that dealt with penal matters was applied, along with customary law, from the middle of the 15th cent. up to the end of the third decade of the 20th cent. Especially in major criminal cases, the provisions of the *Fətḥa nägäśt* were applied instead of ↗customary law. It was formally incorporated into the legal system of Ethiopia in 1908 by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. The norms of the *Fətḥa nägäśt* were officially implemented until 1930.

The first modern Penal Code was enacted in 1930. It was applied from the day of its promulgation up until its repeal and replacement by the Penal Code of 1957 which was applied after 5 May 1958.

The 1957 Penal Code is more comprehensive than that of 1930. New concepts, not only juridical, but also sociological, psychological and criminological, were developed into the homogeneous Penal Code of 1957. The purpose of punishment under the *Fətḥa nägäśt* and the Penal Code of 1930 was retributive. Both started from the presumption that criminals have to be penalized for the injury they caused to individuals and to society at large. According to the new Code, the purpose of punishment should not be retributive from the outset, despite the fact that punishment will serve as a deterrent to would-be wrong-doers. The 1957 Penal Code thus had a completely new proposition, with the prevention of crime and rehabilitation of criminals as its principal objective. It was also intended to effect national unity and to provide for the progressive development of Ethiopia.

The avant-project (the initial draft of the Penal Code of 1957) was prepared by Jean ↗Graven, a Swiss Jurist, in French and submitted to the Codification Commission established in 1954, which then referred it to a working Committee of the Commission. The draft was translated into Amharic and distributed to the Ethiopian members of the Commission. Graven explained the rational behind the essential provisions and inserted the amendments made by the Working Committee and the Commission. The final text of the Code approved by the Commission was submitted to the Council of Ministers and eventually to the Parliament. In

the two Chambers of Parliament, every article was read and discussed, and some alterations were inserted. The Code was then promulgated, with the approval of Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I, in 1957. The ↗Criminal Procedure Code was approved and entered into force on 2 November 1961.

The 1957 Penal Code was amended by the Special Penal Code of 1974 (Proclamations no. 8/1974 and no. 21/1975) by increasing the sanctions on certain types of crimes. The Special Penal Code was made to apply to all persons who might be tried by the Special Courts-martial retroactively and prospectively. Its retroactive application and the trying of civilians by a military court undoubtedly denied the accused his or her human rights, besides the harsh penalties it laid down. Containing 48 Articles, it was made to apply retroactively to all persons who might be tried by the Special Courts-martial.

Src.: "Penal Code of the Empire of Ethiopia of 1957. Proclamation No. 158 of 1957", *Nägarit gazeṭa*, extraordinary issue 1, 1957; JEAN GRAVEN, *Le code pénal de l'Empire d'Éthiopie du 23 juillet 1957. Présenté avec une introduction de Jean Graven*, Paris 1959; PHILIPPE GRAVEN, *An Introduction to Ethiopian Penal Law* (*Arts. 1-84 Penal Code*), Addis Ababa – Oxford 1965.

Lit.: JEAN GRAVEN, "The Penal Code of the Empire of Ethiopia", *Journal of Ethiopian Law* 1, 2, 1964, 267–98; STEVEN LÖWENSTEIN, "The Penal System of Ethiopia", *ibid.* 2, 2, 1965, 383–99; ID., *Materials on Comparative Law as Based upon the Penal Codes of Ethiopia and Switzerland*, Addis Ababa 1965, vii–xvii; ABERRA JEMBERE, *Legal History of Ethiopia 1434–1974*: *Some Aspects of Substantive and Procedural Laws,* Leiden 1998 (Lit.); ID., *An Introduction to the Legal History of Ethiopia, 1434–1974*, Münster – Hamburg – London 2000 (Lit.).

Aberra Jembere

Criminal Procedure Code

History

Ethiopia had a long tradition of criminal procedure based both on the mediaeval written law of the ↗*Fəṭḥa nägäśt* as well as on other written texts (e.g., that of the ↗*šarīʿa*) and ↗customary law. Although the Penal Code was promulgated in 1930, combining both traditional Ethiopian criminal law and modern law, a C.P.C. was not enacted. Moreover, during the period 1922–36 foreign nationals had to be tried by a Special Court or under consular jurisdiction. The competence of the Ethiopian Government to pass and to execute sentences on foreign nationals was firmly denied by the foreign powers.

After the Liberation of 1941, Ethiopia faced the need of codifying the law of criminal procedure. The problems of drawing up a modern C.P.C. were similar to the problems of codifying civil procedure. In preparing a draft for a C.P.C., two Swiss experts, Jean ↗Graven and his son Philippe, combined continental criminal procedural law with Anglo-Saxon elements. The Anglo-Saxon and American principle of adversary criminal procedure limits the functions of the trial judge in making his own investigation into the facts and the law. The facts and the relevant law must be presented to the court by the two parties, the prosecutor and the lawyer acting for the accused. The influence of the Anglo-American legal systems is thus also reflected in the code. Like the civil procedure law, the C.P.C. was also influenced by Sir Charles Mathew, the British Counsel of the Ethiopian Ministry of Justice. An additional factor was that Ethiopia's long tradition of criminal procedure had also developed something similar to the Anglo-Saxon adversary principle. The fact that no national codification was taken as a model for the Ethiopian C.P.C. made it even more difficult to fill gaps or to further develop the codification. Problems have also arisen because of an overly eclectic approach to codification, which has attempted unsuccessfully to mix continental and common law rules.

Contents

The C.P.C. was approved and entered into force on 2 November 1961. It contains 224 articles. The different books and sections regulate the following matters: Book I: Jurisdiction of the Courts; Book II: Prosecution and Inquiry; Book III: Preliminary Inquiry and Committal for Trial; Book IV: Trial; Book V: Appeals and Applications to set aside Judgements; Book VI: Execution of Sentences; Book VII: Costs in Criminal Cases; and Book VIII: *Aṭbiya* ↗*Daññā* with Summary Jurisdiction.

Book 4 in particular shows the Anglo-Saxon influence, as well as the influence of the Ethiopian legal tradition. An example of Anglo-Saxon influence is the plea of guilty or not guilty by the accused, the limited function of the trial judge, and the extensive cross-examination. Legal remedies are granted from the court of first instance to the district court, from the district court to the high court, and from the high court to the regional or federal supreme

court. The new court organization replaced the former court system by a Court of First Instance, High Court and Regional Supreme Court. The last book contains rules about the traditional jurisdiction by the so-called "Tania" (=*daññā*).

Competence ratione materiae

The jurisdiction of a court over a particular offence is specified in the First Schedule to the C.P.C. This schedule determines whether the case is to be tried in the High Court, *awraǧǧa* court, *wäräda* court or military courts (Art. 4).

Ordinarily, an offence is triable at the place where it is committed, that is, if it is triable before the *awraǧǧa* court, it is triable before the *wäräda* court within the local jurisdiction of which it was committed (Art. 99).

Where more than one court has local jurisdiction, the decision as to which court the charges are to be filed in rests with the public prosecutor (Art. 107).

Where the act and consequences occurred in different jurisdictions, the charge may be filed in the court in the jurisdiction of which either the act or the consequences occurred (Art. 100).

Where an act is an offence by reason of its relation to another offence, a charge for that offence may be filed in a court in either local jurisdiction in which an offence was committed (Art. 101).

Where it is uncertain in which of several local areas an offence is committed, where an offence is committed partly in one local area and partly in another, where an offence is continued in another local area and where an offence consists of several acts done in different local areas, the charge may be filed in any court having jurisdiction over any of the local areas (Art. 102).

Where the offence is committed while the offender is on a journey, the charge may be filed before any court through or into the local limits of whose jurisdiction the offender, the victim or the thing as to which the offence was committed passed in the course of the journey (Art. 103).

Src.: JEAN GRAVEN, *Le code pénal de l'Empire d'Éthiopie du 23 juillet 1957. Présenté avec une introduction de Jean Graven*, Paris 1959; PHILIPPE GRAVEN, *An Introduction to Ethiopian Penal Law* (*Arts. 1-84 Penal Code*), Addis Ababa – Oxford 1965.

Lit.: HEINRICH SCHOLLER, *The Special Court of Ethiopia 1920–1935*, Wiesbaden 1986 (AeF 15) [Lit.]; STANLEY Z. FISCHER, "Some Aspects of Ethiopian Arrest Law: the Eclectic Approach to Codification", *Journal of Ethiopian Law* 3, 2, 1966, 463–90; PHILIPPE GRAVEN, "Prosecuting Criminal Offences Punishable only upon Private Complaint", *ibid.* 2, 1, 1965, 121–27; ROBERT ALLEN SEDLER, "Criminal Jurisdiction in Ethiopia: a Commentary", *ibid.* 2, 2, 1965, 467–86; NATHAN MAREIN, *The Ethiopian Empire. Federation and Laws*, Rotterdam 1955, 69; JACQUES VANDERLINDEN, *Introduction au droit de l'Éthiopie moderne*, Paris 1971, 337.

Heinrich Scholler

Crosses

Role and function of crosses

In Ethiopia, as in any other Christian tradition, the sign of the C. (መስቀል, *mäsqäl*) has a high symbolic meaning. The rectangle which is fastened to the vertical beam of the C. symbolizes the Gospels. Others interpret it as the ↗*tabot* or the grave of Adam, on top of which the C. has been planted. The exegesis of the Book of ↗Enoch awards heavenly pre-existence to the C.

A C. is carried by a priest as a sign of his office and is worn by Christians as a sign of their faith. Since early times, design of the C. is used to decorate churches, their furnishings, vessels, vestments and hangings, as well as traditional secular clothing and ordinary household utensils. *Aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob decreed that the sign of the C. had to be affixed to all the belongings and put on the forehead of every Christian.

Ethiopian tradition credits two emperors, Dawit II and Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, with introducing into Ethiopia the Fragment of the True Cross, discovered by the Empress Helena. It is said to be preserved on the C.-shaped hill of the monastery of ↗Amba Gəšän, one of the most venerated sacred sites of Ethiopia. In the Ethiopian Church ↗Calendar there are two days for the feasts of the C.: on 17 *Mäskäräm* (the Exaltation of the Cross) and on 10 *Mäggabit* (the Finding of the True Cross; ↗*Mäsqäl*). At the same time, the veneration of the Holy Cross was one of the background issues of the 15th-cent. religious movement of the ↗Stephanites.

The C. is of central importance for a number of liturgical acts and accompanies all the ceremonies and celebrations of the Church from services, baptisms, burials and weddings, to ordinations and blessings. Before the liturgy (↗*Qəddase*), a processional C., put on a stick and decorated with bands, is carried by a deacon in front of the procession of priests from the *betä ləhem* (↗Church buildings) to the church. During the liturgy before the beginning of the eucharistic

prayers (↗Anaphoras), the Ethiopian priest blesses his congregation with the hand C., which he is holding in his right hand while touching the altar with his left hand. While celebrating the Eucharist, the priest blesses, with the sign of the C. made by his hand only. Whether there are three or four blessings to be made is dependent on the anaphora that is chosen.

While in procession through the streets, the priests carry the C. in their hands, ready to put it on the forehead, mouth (in order to have it kissed) and cheeks of the believers who are gathering around them. The words of blessing that are spoken at such occasions are, for a ↗*däbtära*: "May God bless you with the same blessing he has bestowed upon Yared", and, for the layman: "God bless you. May he make your countenance shine."

In popular religious practice, the C. is thought to possess magic powers. As numerous hagiographic works report, the Ethiopian saints used C. (both the design and the C. itself) to expel demons, heal and work other miracles.

Friedrich Heyer

Forms and types of Ethiopian crosses

Ethiopian C. show a great variety of forms. They are rarely limited to the basic design. Finials are added to the ends of the arms, extra designs in spaces between the arms and the whole is occasionally closed within a frame. Sometimes the whole C. is formed of interlaced bands and strap-work, which is also found as a decorative element on Ethiopian manuscripts.

Encrusting with precious or semi-precious stones, familiar from Byzantine and European C., as well as the carved crucifix, were almost unknown in Ethiopia (BeckHuntAlvar; Ludolf 1684). Incised figures on metal C. were common, but three-dimensional figures are extremely rare.

Every aspect of the design of an Ethiopian C. has its spiritual meaning, both closely interwoven with the faith of the Ethiopian Church, like the ↗number symbolism (the Trinity, the Four Evangelists, the Twelve Apostles etc.), and subjective, to the beholder.

The vast majority of surviving Ethiopian C., probably about 90 % of all recorded, are made of metal. Of the remainder, most are made of wood, with a small number of C. of plaited leather or stone. It is hard to know whether this reflects a preference for metal C., or if, simply, fewer wooden C. have survived.

Metal crosses

The main metals used were ↗iron, copper, bronze, brass, silver and, rarely, ↗gold. Iron C. are found among the earliest surviving examples and have been made continuously till today, but iron was rarely used for important prestigious C., being more common in those for everyday use. By the 15th cent., brass began to replace bronze as the main metal for C., but copper and bronze continued to be used occasionally. Before the 15th cent., very few C. were made entirely of silver – or at least very few remain – but it was only in the 19th cent. that silver, imported in the form of ↗Maria Theresia thalers (Pankhurst 1968), came within the reach of common people. Gold was rarely used for an entire C., but was used to gild, entirely or partly, C. made of other metals.

The most famous Ethiopian metal-work technique was the "lost-wax" or *cire perdue* method. It was used for the bronze, copper, brass and silver C. In "lost-wax" casting an image of the object is first made of wax and then covered carefully with soft clay. After the clay has dried, it is baked to harden it. The heat causes the wax to melt and run out through channels left in the clay, leaving a clay mould with an empty core in the form of the wax image. This is filled with molten metal through the channels. When the metal has cooled the mould is broken and the cast object revealed. Each mould can be used only once and for the next cross a new wax image has to be made. The fact that there was no advantage in repeating the same form again must have been one of the reasons for the great variety of C.

The C. seem rarely to have taken advantage of the three-dimensional possibilities of the "lost wax" method. The image was not made in the round, but the wax was rolled out to a flat sheet and the intricate design cut out of that, so that in the final result it is the flat two-dimensional surface aspect that dominates the C.

After casting, the C. were decorated further with incised or punched designs. The component parts of the design, such as the interlace pattern, were defined by incised lines and decorative patterns and borders added in the same way. Pictorial illustrations, copied from icons and manuscripts, were often added, with inscriptions identifying them. The name and date of the donor or owner were similarly inscribed.

Iron C. were not, like copper alloy C., cast by the lost-wax process, but had to be forged, i.e. formed by heating and hammering.

Ethiopian C. can be divided into three types, according to use and form: processional C., hand C. and neck C.

I. Processional crosses

Processional C. are usually large and imposing, made to be carried on a wooden pole in processions and ceremonies. During a service, one is used by a priest to bless the congregation, the baptismal water and the sacraments (Moore 1969). During certain festivals the processional C. are taken outside the church to be carried in a procession.

Most processional C. were made of metal. The main parts are the C., the shaft and the lower arms. The C. are the largest and most elaborate in design, they are the expression of the Triumph of the C. The sizes vary from 20 cm to 70 cm or even more for the C. itself, the earliest ones tending to be smaller, with the really large ones starting to appear in the 18th cent.

The shaft is a hollow socket made to fit on a wooden carrying-pole. The join of the C. and the shaft was always a weak point, often showing subsequent repairs. The lower arms were a typically Ethiopian addition to the processional C. They branch on each side of the shaft, sometimes joining the lower edge of the C., sometimes not, reminding one of a similar feature on some Georgian and Armenian crosses. In fact, a C. of this type is carved in relief on a pillar in Betä Maryam in ↗Lalibäla (Gerster 1968, plate 67). When processional C. are in use, a long cloth is usually threaded through the lower arms, hanging down on each side.

Fig. 1: A bronze processional cross (University Collection, Addis Abäba 4655). Height 23.1 cm

Fig. 2: A bronze processional cross (University Collection, Addis Abäba 4651). Height 32.6 cm

The development of C. forms appears to have taken place mainly in metal processional C., the new forms filtering down to the less important hand-C. We know very little of Ethiopian church art before the fall of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty in the 13th cent., but the C. illustrations on Aksumite coins (↗Coinage) and C.-forms used as architectural ornamental details in early churches suggest that C. used (and probably made) in Ethiopia in the first millennium of Christianity echoed the forms found in the rest of the Christian world, particularly in the ↗Coptic Church. The most important forms were the short-side-armed flared C., the C.-within-a-circle and the Latin, Greek and patté C.

Probably among the earliest-known Ethiopian processional C. is the simple bronze C. in fig. 1, showing the basic early form with rounded finials and lower arms resembling the leaved C. A C. enclosed within an elongated frame, a type traditionally connected with the Zagʷe dynasty, is shown in fig. 2. The ↗Crucifixion is depicted here in an unusual, early and rather naive form, with the feet nailed separately and the long sleeves and collar suggesting the colobium.

Many of the early bronze and copper processional C. were composed of interlaced bands filling a quatrefoil, circular, diamond-shaped or Greek C.-shaped frame, often with a small C. in the centre. They include some of the finest examples of Ethiopian metal-work. On these early bronze and copper C., the lower arms were always cast as one with the C. Reliquary C. were rare, but in the C. shown in fig. 3 the centre C., which is enclosed in a C.-shaped frame, is a hollow reliquary. The illustrations date this C. to the 15th cent.

A new type of C. was introduced in the 15th cent. These so-called short-armed C. were made of silver or brass and have a wide, short-armed C. in the centre, surrounded by elaborate knotted finials, giving the C. a diamond-shaped outline. The C. in fig. 4 has a typical 15th-cent. representation of the Virgin and the Child (↗Mary) with the Archangels Michael and Gabriel (↗Angels) and, on the reverse, St. George.

Fig. 3: A gilded bronze processional cross (University Collection, Addis Abäba 3970). Height 33 cm, shaft not complete

The next important development of the C. is usually connected with the rise of ↗Gondär in the 17th cent. The Gondärine-C. form had equal, strongly flared arms, with the tips of the arms elongated to curve into a circle or to join the tip of the next arms, to form, with the C.-shaped finials, a diamond-shaped outline. The lower arms were larger, made separately and joined strongly to the shaft and the edge of the C., as the now much larger C. needed extra support.

Fig. 4: A silver processional cross (University Collection, Addis Abäba 4142). Height 32.6 cm

The gilded brass C. in fig. 5 is elaborately decorated, in the style of the Gondärine C., with the Virgin with the Child on the superior, St. George on the left arm and the Archangel Michael on the right arm. Most Gondärine processional C. were made of brass.

The 18th and 19th cent. produced very few new C. forms. The Gondärine C. continued to be produced and the strap-work-filled Greek C. continued to be popular, as were the circular and diamond-shaped C. A new form of the quatrefoil crosses was also common.

II. Hand crosses

Hand C. are carried by priests, not only in services and processions but often in the course of their daily activities, as an emblem of priesthood. When a priest meets a lay person, he offers his hand C. for him or her to kiss. The earliest outside reference to Ethiopian C., dated 1404 (Lefevre 1967:68), describes Ethiopian C. made of iron as a sign of their Christian faith.

A hand C. is usually smaller than a processional C. It consists of a C., a handle and a base. The handle is a metal bar of a varying length with a C. at its top and the base at the other end, to stop the handle slipping off the hand and giving the whole a better balance. The handle is usually of a circular cross-section, often decorated with mouldings and occasionally faceted. The form of

the base varies from a small ball or cube to a quite large square or rectangular plate. Some very large C. of the hand-C. form were probably made for ceremonial use as their size would make them inconvenient for everyday use.

Most of the surviving pre-15th-cent. hand C. were made of iron, and iron hand C. have remained popular till the present day. Some copper and bronze hand C. survive from the early period, showing forms related to processional C. By the 17th cent., brass was the most popular material for hand C. and silver was used increasingly from the 19th cent. onwards.

Like processional C., hand C. were decorated with enclosed lines defining the design, with decorative borders and stamped designs, but figural illustrations are less common, presumably because there was less room for them. The base is often used for an inscription, a record of the owner's name or a donation or just a prayer.

Some of the most beautiful Ethiopian C. can be found among the early iron hand C. At their simplest, the C. itself is slim with straight or slightly flared arms, joined to an elegant long handle ending in a small cube-shaped base. They are dated to the 14th–15th cent., but could be earlier. This was obviously a common form and numerous examples have survived. Sometimes the place of the simple C. is taken by a slightly larger, often elaborately pierced diamond-outlined C., showing the influence of the short-armed processional C. of the 15th cent. About the same time, the first flattened plate-shaped bases make an appearance.

Fig. 5: A gilded bronze processional cross (University Collection, Addis Abäba, 4483). Height 42.4 cm

Fig. 6: A gilded bronze hand cross (University Collection, Addis Abäba, 6038). Height 38.4 cm

The copper and bronze hand C. of the 14th – 15th cent. are in form simplified versions of the processional C. of the period. A group of simple C. of a very small size (7–10 cm in length) have a small ring or hole below the base, suggesting that they, though of hand-C. form, were worn suspended round the neck, like neck C.

Fig. 6 shows one of the finest surviving early hand C. The simple early shape with rounded finials is elaborately decorated with St. George and the dragon in the centre, Archangel Michael on the left arm and God presenting a crown to the Saint on the superior arm. On the reverse are twelve Archangels holding crosses or swords. The halos, clothes and wings of all the figures are gilded, as are the horse and the snake. The style of the illustrations dates it to the 15th

Fig. 7: An iron hand cross (private collection). Height 13.6 cm

cent. This is one of the larger hand C., probably made for ceremonial use.

The Gondärine form continued in beautifully made iron hand C. (s. fig. 7) and continued also till the present day in brass and silver. Quatrefoil, circular, Greek-C.-shaped and, particularly, diamond-shaped strap-work C. continued to be made, first in bronze and copper, then in brass and silver, till the present day.

III. Neck crosses

Neck C. are generally small and have a ring at the top for suspension. When an Ethiopian Christian is baptized, he or she has a cord (↗*mätäb*) tied round his or her neck. Neck C. are usually worn hanging from the *mätäb*, often together with small silver charms and rings.

Fig. 8: Silver neck crosses (private collection)

Neck C. were used in the first millennium of Christianity throughout the Roman and Byzantine world and there is no reason to think that they were not used in Ethiopia, but we have very few surviving definitely datable examples. In the 15th cent. *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob ordered all Christians to wear a C. We do not know what these C. were like, but in the 16th cent. Francisco ↗Alvares recorded seeing laymen wearing "small C. of black wood round their necks". The majority of early neck C. may have been made of wood and have simply not survived. Neck C. do not have the same spiritual dimension as other C., which have a church function, and they are treated more like ↗jewelry, so that, if made of metal, they are free to be refashioned.

The majority of surviving Ethiopian neck C. are made of silver or silver alloy. It is generally accepted that very few silver ones date before the 19th cent., due to the limited availability of silver. The "lost wax" method was used commonly to make neck C., but as the jewellers who made C. also made other types of jewelry, other methods of jewelry-production inevitably influenced C.-making. A common way of making jewelry and other ornamental metal objects is the appliqué or filigree method, in which ornamental elements, such as tiny beads, discs and wire, are welded on to a background to form appliqued patterns, or just together without a background to form filigree work. Neck C. are sometimes hinged between the superior finial and the C. and the inferior finial is sometimes replaced by an ear pick, thus combining, with a neck C., this common utensil, also often worn suspended like a pendant. Fig. 8 illustrates neck C. made by the appliqué method.

Wooden crosses

Wooden C. represent an entirely different craft, often more of a folk-art that did not necessarily require special tools or a special place of work. In theory, anyone with a knife and some experience in using it could produce a wooden C. and some of the lovely simple examples were very likely home-made. The more elaborate C., however, were probably made by professional wood-carvers, who produced them to be sold. These carvers would be the men who made

Fig. 9: A wooden hand cross (University Collection, Addis Abäba, 4518). Height 53.6 cm.

other wooden church furnishings, such as vessels, doors, carved ceilings and the often elaborately carved ↗*tabots*.

All three forms of C. were made in wood, but hand C. were by far the most common. Only a few wooden neck C. survive, but, as was mentioned before, they probably used to be quite common. Most of the wooden C. were carved out of a single piece of wood, without the aid of a lathe. Processional C. sometimes had to be made in two or three separate pieces before being joined, due to the difficulty of making a strong enough shaft. The forms mainly copy those of the metal C., adapted to the different material. The delicate finials and finely pierced patterns of the metal forms could obviously not be copied successfully in wood, so that the designs were generally more robust and solid. Added decorative patterns usually copy those of the metal C., but are at times replaced by patterns more related to wood-carving, such as cross-hatching.

Wooden C. are extremely difficult to date in the absence of outside evidence. Related metal forms can give only the earliest possible date, as the same forms continued to be used for centuries.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar.

Lit.: PIERRE DU BOURGUET, *Die Kopten*, tr. by EVA RAPSILBER, Baden-Baden 1967 [English: ID., *Coptic Art,* tr. by CARYLL HAY-SHAW, London 1971]; GEORG GERSTER, *Kirchen im Fels,* Stuttgart 1968; RENATO LEFEVRE, "Presenze etiopiche in Italia prima del Concilio di Firenze del 1439", *RSE* 23, 1969, 5–26; ALFRED LUCAS, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, Mineola – New York 1926; HIOB LUDOLF, *A New History of Ethiopia being a Full and Accurate Description of the Kingdom of Abessinia …*, tr. by J. P. GENT, London ²1684, 1982; EINE MOORE, *Ethiopian Processional Crosses*, Addis Ababa 1969; RICHARD PANKHURST, *Economic History of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1968; RICHARD PANKHURST — RITA PANKHURST, "Ethiopian Ear-Picks", *Abbay* 10, 1979, 101–10; SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN, *The Armenians*, London 1969; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Matäb", *Ethnological Society Bulletin* 9, 1959, 38–42; TadTChurch 239; CSILLA FABO PERCZEL, "Ethiopian Crosses: Christianized Symbols of a Pagan Cosmology", in: *PICES* 6, 427–46.

Eine Moore

Crown Council

The C.C. (**የኢትዮጵያ ዘውድ ምክር ቤት**, *Yäʾityopya zäwd məkər bet*, 'The Crown Council of Ethiopia') had first been created by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in the early 1930s (Perham 1969:89), as an advisory body without any executive powers. The members were distinguished traditional leaders, among them descendants of the Solomonid line. Due to their closeness to the crown, in the past they had informal advisory functions (cp. the ↗*bitwäddäd*). The C.C. existed extraconstitutionally. Only in 1955 it has been formally established by Article 70 of the Revised Constitution (↗Constitutions).

A complete list of members has never been published (s. Clapham 1969:123ff. for the most important ones from the 1940s until the 1960s). Among the first and most important Crown Councillors were *ləᶜul ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu, a cousin of the Emperor, *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša of Təgray, and *ras* ↗Abbäbä Arägay. The Crown Prince ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase himself later was a member. The last president of the C.C. was *ləᶜul ras* ↗Aśratä Kaśa Ḫaylu, a grandson-in-law of *ətege* Mänän from an earlier marriage. The Prime Minister (already before 1955), the Patriarch, and the President of the Senate were members ex officio.

Important matters of state were debated in the C.C., such as the draft of the Revised Constitution, which had been widely accepted by traditional leaders also due to the approval by the C.C. (Paul – Clapham 1972:388, 509). The traditional political elites assembled in the C.C. also had to solve disputes at the highest level. The C.C. seems to have been very important as a policy-making body in the 1940s to 1950s during the restauration of Ḫaylä Śəllase's regime (Perham 1969:89), but later lost its importance due to the growing role of the Council of Ministers (↗Government). It "has come to serve as a place of honourable retirement for ageing politicians" (Clapham in Perham 1969:407).

It has often been remarked that the lack of institutions in Ethiopia traditionally led to a lack of restrictions of the Emperor's power (Clapham, in Paul – Clapham 1972:828). However, it is especially the creation of new institutions by Ḫaylä Śəllase which helped him to centralize his power. Regions and their traditional leaders in the past often enjoyed a high degree of autonomy, and also held influential positions at the Court. New institutions were created to respond to, but also appease, the claims of traditional leaders, especially the Imperial Senate (upper chamber) of the ↗Parliament, created in 1931, and the C.C. As a Solomonid with a potential claim to the throne, but loyal to the Emperor, and as an integrative figure, e.g., the choice of Kaśa (later followed by his son) as its

president corresponded perfectly to this policy.

During the ↗Revolution the C.C. was abolished (on 16 August 1974; Lefort 1983:67), and most members of it were imprisoned or executed, like its president. Different from the Council of Regency (Art. 10 of the Revised Constitution), which was supposed to act in case of absence or incapability of both the Emperor and the Crown Prince (↗*Alga wäraš*), the C.C. has always been an active body, and could therefore later be used by legitimists to assure some sort of continuity after the Emperor's deposition and death. It was formed again in exile, presided by a descendant of Ḫaylä Śəllase, and empowered by the Crown Prince Asfa Wäsän (then crowned in exile) to represent the Crown during the "interregnum". After the latter's death, in 1997, it had to take over the functions of a Regent of the Crown. It, however, has no means to enforce its claims.

Src.: *Revised Ethiopian Constitution*, Arts. 8, 10–11, 13, 17, 22, 24, 70; *http://www.ethiopiancrown.org*.

Lit.: PrRosDic; MARGERY PERHAM, *The Government of Ethiopia*, London ³1969, 89, 407; JAMES CAVERLY NEWLIN PAUL – CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development*: *a Sourcebook*, 2 vols., Addis Ababa 1972, 388, 509, 828; CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, "The Functions and Development of Parliament in Ethiopia", in: *ibid*., 828; ID., *Haile-Selassie's Government*, Harlow 1969, 123ff.; RENÉ LEFORT, *Ethiopia*: *an Heretical Revolution?*, London 1983, 67; GREGORY COPLEY, *Ethiopia Reaches Her Hands Unto God*: *Imperial Ethiopia's Unique Symbols, Structures and Role in the Modern World*, Washington ²1998.

Wolbert Smidt

Crowns

In Ethiopia C. were worn by kings, queens, nobles and high officials. In past centuries bishops, including the metropolitan, did not bear C., with the exception of Ethiopian church dignitaries in Jerusalem. The present custom by which the Ethiopian patriarch wears a Byzantine mitra, or bishop's C., was adopted in 1951. The C. as a main attribute of Ethiopian royalty seems to be of South-Arabian origin (↗Arabia; Nielsen 1927:234; Cacquot 1957:216), but influences from ↗Meroë, ↗Persia and even Rome cannot be excluded (Munro-Hay 1978, 1991). Its sacral character was expressed by the royal custom of offering C. as gifts to churches. Deacons wear them during church ceremonies, while the most precious examples are carried at the head of solemn processions. Each successive Ethiopian ruler ordered at least one new C. for himself. He received it after the act of proclamation had taken place at the principal church in the area in which he found himself at the time of his accession to power. The full ↗coronation ceremony, as described in the book ↗*Śərᶜatä mängəśt*, was usually celebrated later in the cathedral ↗Aksum Ṣəyon. Few kings ever fulfilled the entire ritual, however.

A votive crown from St. George Church of Addis Abäba, from Hough 1911:276, plate 14

No Aksumite C. has yet been found, but important evidence for ancient Ethiopian regalia is provided by Aksumite coins. Members of royalty appearing on pre-Christian and Christian pieces seem to wear the same type of crown. Represented both frontally and in profile, they are often rendered as a diadem composed of arcades, miniature pillars and spike-like and slender oval elements topped by bullets, which may be in imitation of large precious stones. On some of them a cross is also visible (e.g. the coins of King ↗Ioel, middle to end of the 6th cent.). The diadems were worn over a helmet-like headcloth embellished with triangular or rounded ribbons hanging at the back and two pendilia at the sides. This cloth was probably retained as a padding for a heavy diadem, but it could also be worn separately.

From the 8th cent. until the end of the 15th cent. there are no material, iconographic or

A collection of conic and rectangular crowns in Aksum, photo courtesy of Michael Gervers

written sources concerning Ethiopian crowns. The crown of *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak depicted in the late 13th-cent. church of ↗Gännätä Maryam shows the standard model which was used typically in representations of an oriental ruler.

The C. of kings, dignitaries and military saints appearing in Ethiopian miniatures of the late 15th and early 16th cent. are also represented in the form of a diadem, but composed of stylized decorative elements, including interlacing strips with palmette endings, looped crosses and long ribbons fastened with knots (e.g., BN, d'Abbadie 105, fol. 13v, 67v, 121v, 127v; London, collection of R. McCarthy, Psalter, fol. 115v). Examples depicting ornaments in the shape of geometrized thorns, spires and collonettes bear a resemblance to Aksumite C. (e.g., BN, d'Abbadie 105, fol. 89v; *Gädlä sämaᶜətat* of Däbra Maryam in Qʷäḥayn, fol. 2v, v–r; and London, collection R. McCarthy, Psalter, fol. 66v).

The oldest preserved C. seems to belong to the early Gondärine period. They remained conical, pointed helmets similar to those depicted in Persian miniatures of the mid-15th century. Subsequently, two forms of C. were dominant in Ethiopia: the **አክሊል** (*aklil*), a cone-shaped crown resembling a tiara; and the **ዘውድ** (*zäwd*), a dome-shaped crown with a square base, usually with horn finials and a set of bell-pendants. Both types were surmounted by a cross. The materials used were silver gilt, bronze or copper, pure silver and sometimes even pure gold, surrounding a leather core lined with velvet or silk. The decoration included encrustation of artificial (seldom precious) stones and coloured glass, filigree and punched ornaments, engravings, and occasionally figurative enamelled or painted plaques representing Christ, the Virgin Mary, angels and saints. Both types are preserved in many examples and are recorded in numerous iconographical sources as attributes of royal personages (both Ethiopian and biblical), nobles, Church Fathers and holy figures of high rank. Among the latter, the Virgin Mary as Queen of Heaven, archangels, military saints, the Twenty-Four Elders and some martyrs predominate.

In the 18th and 19th cent. the most important centres for the production of decorative metalwork, including C., were Gondär, ᶜAdwa, Däbrä Marqos and Harär.

The largest collection of C., consisting of about 25 items, is preserved in Aksum Ṣəyon. The oldest of them is claimed to have been the gift of *aṣe* Fasiladäs. C. connected by Ethiopian tradition with the emperors ruling in the 14th–15th cent. are kept in the monasteries of the islands of Lake Ṭana, Daga Ǝsṭifanos, Kəbran and Dima Giyorgis. Some C. from the Gondär epoch are still to be found in the churches of Gondär and in the church of Wəqro Kidanä Məḥrät on Zäge island, Lake Ṭana, but most of them were lost due first to the looting of the town by *aṣe* Tewodros II and again in the aftermath of the fall of Mäqdäla. C. belonging to the last three Ethiopian rulers and their consorts are preserved in the church of Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam and in the collections of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies and the National Museum in Addis Abäba.

In the 20th cent., the symbolism of royal crowns and their historical value were still a matter of great importance. For instance, the crown of *aṣe* Mənilək II, when worn by *nəguś* Mikaᵓel of Wällo, was understood to underline the transmission of political power from Šäwa to Wällo, whereas the restoration of one of Tewodros's crown to Ethiopia in 1925 was connected with an unpleasant diplomatic affair.

↗Coinage; ↗Jewelry; ↗Nəguś

Src.: BN, d'Abbadie 105, fol. 13v, 67v, 89v, 121v, 127v; Psalter, London, collection R. McCarthy, fol. 66v., 115v; WILHELM RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main 1840, 180f.; HENRY STANLEY, *Coomasie and Magdala*; *the Story of two British Campaigns in Africa*, London 1874, 140f.; PerrZarY 29–51, 83, 124–50; JAMES THEODORE BENT, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians. Being a Record of Travel and Research in Abyssinia in 1893*, London – New York ²1896 [repr. ³1971], 123ff.; CRHist 89ff.; GuiIyas 27–31; PEDRO PAEZ, *Historia da Etiopia*, 3 vols., Porto 1945–46, vol. 1, 115ff., 139.

Lit.: DITLEF NIELSEN, "Zur altarabischen Religion", in: ADOLF GROHMANN – ENNO LITTMANN (ed.), *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, Kopenhagen – Leipzig 1927, vol. 1, 234; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La regalità sacra in Abissinia e nei regni dell'Africa centrale ed occidentale", *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 21,

1947/48, 18–21; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "La royauté sacrale en Éthiopie", *AE* 2, 1957, 205–18; RENÉ BRUS, "Ethiopian Crowns", *African Arts* 8, 4, 1974, 8–13; GUY ANNEQUIN, "Le lac Tana et ses îles. Trésors méconnus d'une thébaide à l'abandon", *Les dossiers d'archéologie* 8, 1975, 102–110; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *The Chronology of Aksum: a Reappraisal of the History and Development of the Aksumite State from Numismatic and Archeological Evidence*, Ph.D. thesis, SOAS, London 1978, 172–81; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "A Note on the Costumes in 15th and Early 16th Century Paintings: Portraits of the Nobles and their Relation to the Images of Saints on Horseback", in: STANISLAW SEGERT – ANDRÁS J. E. BODROGLIGEI (eds.), *Ethiopian Studies Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday*, Wiesbaden 1983, 521–53; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Story of Ethiopian Looted Crowns, 1. The Crown of Emperor Tewodros II", *Addis Tribune*, week of December 25, 1998; ID., "The Story of Ethiopian Looted Crowns, 2. The Dilemma of the Two Looted Crowns", *ibid*., week of January 1, 1999; ID., "The Story of Ethiopian Looted Crowns, 3. Mussolini, and the Ethiopian Crowns of Tewodros, Yohannes, Menilek, and Haile Sellassie", *ibid*., week of January 8, 1999; ID., "The Crowns of Emperor Tewodros: Loot from Maqdala", *ibid*. week of March 26, 1999; WOLBERT GUSTAV CAROLUS SMIDT, "The Coronation of Negus Mikael in Desse in May 1914: a Photograph from the Nachlass Jensen and its Historical Background", *AE* 17, 2001, 361–73.

Ill.: WOLFGANG F. VOLBACH (ed.), *Koptische Kunst. Christentum am Nil. Katalog der Austellung in der Villa Hügel*, Essen 1963, no. 520–26; JULES LEROY, *Éthiopie. Archéologie et culture*, Paris 1973, fig. 85–88; EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "Le psautier éthiopien illustré de Belēn Sägäd", in: *Imagines medievales. Studier i medeltida ikonografi, arkitektur, skulptur, måleri och konsthandverk,* Uppsala 1983, fig. 15, 23, 26, 29, 30; STUART MUNRO-HAY – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 6 [JJ 79], 24 [JJ 4403], 132 [JJ 333], 134 [JJ 12]; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea", *RSE* 38, 1994 [1996], 13–69, fig. 6f.; JACQUES MERCIER (ed.), *L'Arche éthiopienne. Art chrétien d'Éthiopie, 27 septembre 2000 – 7 janvier* 2001, Paris 2000, 57, 58; W. HOUGH, "The Hoffman Philip Abyssinian Ethnological Collection", *Proceedings of the United States National Museum* 40, 18 May 1911, 276, plate 14 (ill.).

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Crucifixion

In Ethiopian art, the oldest known C. (Gəᶜəz: **ስቅለት**, *səqlät*) represent a distinctive iconographic type. It is characterized by the absence of Christ's body which in most cases is replaced by a symbolical Lamb, situated over the cross and accompanied by the inscription: **ነዋ፡ በግዑ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘያአትት፡ ኃጢአቶ፡ ለዓለም** (*Näwa bägᶜu läᵓəgziᵓabḥer zäyaᵓatət ḫaṭiᵓato läᶜaläm,* 'Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world'; Jn 1:29). The cross, which takes the shape of a golden processional or altar cross decorated with precious stones, may be associated with the cross reliquary erected in 420 A.D. on Golgotha by the Emperor Theodosius II – the archetype of innumerable liturgical ↗crosses and their painted copies. The central group of the composition is completed by the Sun and the Moon, depicted either as the planets or as personifications of Helios and Selene, the thieves and the sponge- and lance-bearers. The background of some representations includes the topographical environment of Golgotha. The scene is known from 18 Gospel miniatures, all dating from the 13th to the 15th cent. (s. Balicka-Witakowska 1997; Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, ms. 836, fol. 6v; Oslo – London, ms. collection Schøyen, no. 2113, fol. 16r; ms. from a private collection, fol. 7v, published in Mercier 2000:45).

Fig. 1. An ancient Ethiopian crucifixion motive with the th-cent. manuscript, courtesy of The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (call number W. 836 f. 6v)

The closest analogy to all these representations is the C. relief on the ciborium in San Marco, Venice, showing the Lamb in the centre of the cross, and the group of pilgrims' souvenirs from the Holy Land (ampullae, bracelets, medallions, rings) with the bust of Christ above or upon the

cross. It seems that the Ethiopian miniatures represent one of the variants of the C. without Christ, the early Christian type which can be connected with Jerusalem and which was most probably created there. This iconographic formula disappeared from Christian art elsewhere in the first part of the 7th cent. The fact that it survived exclusively in Ethiopian Gospel Books for a further eight centuries may be explained by the country's isolation from the rest of the Christianity and by its cultural conservatism.

In the 15th cent. other C. types appear in Ethiopian art. They follow two main iconographic formulas, with Christ alive or dead upon the cross. That central element of the composition is usually accompanied by additional motifs which create a narrative context for the scene.

The oldest known C. with the living Christ are connected to non-narrative representations, i.e. the Crucifix type. They appear on carved altar chests (**መንበረ፡ ታቦት**, *mänbärä tabot*) in the churches of Betä Maryam (↗Lalibäla), Ṭəlasfäri Ǝsṭifanos (Lasta), both from the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th cent. and on a group of silver crosses dated to the 13th–early 15th cent. (IES 4104, 4561, from the churches of ↗Dima Giyorgis of Goğğam, and Maryam Mägdälawit of Təgray).

The oldest narrative C. belonging to this type seem to be 1) the miniature in the Gospel Books of the church of Ǝsṭifanos on ↗Kəbran, where Christ is accompanied by the thieves, two angels, the sponge- and lance-bearers and 2) a wall-painting in ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon church in ↗Gärᶜalta, where the latter pair of figures is replaced by the Virgin Mary and St. John.

The type portraying the dead Christ first appeared in the second half of the 15th cent. The earliest examples, the Psalter miniatures in Paris (BN, d'Abbadie 105), fol. 11r, and in ↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat* from the church of Ǝnda Abunä Märᶜawi Krəstos, Təgray, fol. 169v, depict the Crucified flanked only by the Virgin Mary and St. John. This rather rigid formula is developed in manuscripts dating to the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries belonging to the so-called ↗Gundä Gunde school, itself associated with the monastic milieux of the ↗Stephanites. At the foot of the cross in the Gospel Books from Gundä Gunde (no. 162 in Roger Schneider's unpublished list) we find the Virgin Mary, St. John and three Holy Women. The lance- and sponge-bearers, the Virgin Mary, St. John and two angels appear there in the ↗Gännätä Maryam example, fol. 20r, while in a fragment from Munich (Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, no. 86–307644, fol. v–r), the cross is flanked by the Sun, the Moon, the sponge- and lance-bearers (the latter identified by his attributes as Longinus), St. John, the Virgin Mary and the six Holy Women. The Gospel Book from ↗Amba Gəšän, dated to the beginning of the 16th cent., and its copy from the 17th cent. (BritLib, Or. 481) contain two C., one showing the dead Christ lamented by two angels and flanked by the Virgin Mary and John (fol. recto and 105v, s. fig. 2), and the second by the thieves (fol. verso and 106r).

All the iconographic variants of the C. with Christ alive and dead on the cross mentioned above were used by Ethiopian artists until modern times. Some new elements (Adam's skull, falling stars, mounted Longinos, angels collecting Christ's blood and, very rarely, soldiers dividing Christ's cloak) were added due to the influences of West-European and Byzantine models, but in general the changes of scene apparent through the 16th–19th cent. concern style far more than iconography.

Fig. 2. Crucifixion from the Gospel Book of Amba Gəšän , ms. BritLib Orient. 481, fol. recto and 105v

Fig. 3. Crucifixion from ms. BritLib Orient. 641 f. 257r

From the middle of the 16th cent., painting on wood appeared alongside miniatures as an important medium for transmitting the different C. types. Earlier examples are rare: a diptych and the central panel of a triptych, both in the private collections (Mercier 2000:82), a double-faced triptych (IES 3450), probably the diptych in Munich (Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, no. 86-307678) and a group of paintings produced by Nicolo ↗Brancaleone and his workshop: diptych IES 4325, the so-called Sisoo icon in a private collection and, from the church of Getesemane Maryam, Goğğam, a painted panel and a painted box containing the miraculous icon known as **ሥዕለ፡ ስርጉት** (*Śəʿälä Sərgut*).

Only exceptionally was the C. chosen as a theme for wall-paintings before the middle of the 17th cent. (cf. above Däbrä Ṣəyon; BeckHuntAlvar vol. 2, 516), i.e. before the decorative program for round churches had been formulated. According to that program the scene invariably occupies the western wall of the ↗*mäqdäs* as part of a christological cycle or of the Passion. One of the early examples, belonging to the so-called first Gondärine school, is to be found in the church of ↗Däbrä Sina near Gorgora.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar vol. 2, 516; ChAbb no. 105, 66; BritLib Orient. 481; BritLib Orient. 641; IES 3450, 4101, 4325, 4561; BN d'Abbadie 105; Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, ms 836, fol. 6v; Oslo – London, ms. collection Schøyen, no. 2113, fol. 16r.

Lit.: WILHELM STAUDE, "Étude sur la décoration picturale des églises Abbā Antonios de Gondar et Dabra Sinā de Gorgora", *AE* 3, 1959, 185–235; GEORG GERSTER, *Churches in Rock*: *Early Christian Art in Ethiopia*, tr. by RICHARD HOSKING, London 1970, 141ff.; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "Notes on Art in Ethiopia in the 16th Century. An Enquiry into the Unknown", *JES* 9, 2, 1971, 45–55; DIANA SPENCER, "Travels in Gojjam: St. Luke Ikons and Brancaleon Re-Discovered", *JES* 12, 2, 1974, 201–31; MARILYN E. HELDMAN, "An Early Gospel Frontispiece in Ethiopia", *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 48, 1979, 110–13; CLAUDE LEPAGE, "Reconstruction d'un cycle protobyzantin à partir des miniatures de deux manuscrits éthiopiens du XIVe siècle", *Cahiers archéologiques* 35, 1987, 164–70; MARCUS MRASS, "Kreuzigung", in: KLAUS WESSEL – MARCELL RESTLE (ed.), *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*, Stuttgart 1995, vol. 5, 284–356; EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, *La Crucifixion sans Crucifié dans l'art éthiopien. Recherches sur la survie de l'iconographie chrétienne de l'Antiquité tardive*, Warszawa — Wiesbaden 1997 (Bibliotheca nubica et aethiopica 4); ID., "The Crucified Thieves in Ethiopian Art. Literary and Iconographical Sources", *OrChr* 82, 1998, 204–56; ID., "Is Näwa Bägu an Ethiopian Cross?", in: *PICES* 8, 1, 105–24.

Ill.: JULES LEROY – STEPHEN WRIGHT – OTTO JÄGER, *Éthiopie*: *Manuscrit à peinture*, Paris 1961, fig. 4, 17, 24, 31; JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gonder Dynasty*, London 1967, pl. 10, 12; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Ethiopian Icons. Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University*, Milano 2000, passim; JACQUES MERCIER (ed.), *L'Arche éthiopienne. Art chrétien d'Éthiopie, 27 septembre 2000 – 7 janvier 2001*, Paris 2000, 45, 70, 83, 90.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Čufa ↗ Jewelry

Cumming, Duncan Cameron

Sir Duncan Cameron C. (b. 1903, d. 1979), hailed from a prominent line of Scottish nobility (his pedigree included the traveller James ↗Bruce). In 1925 he joined the ↗Sudan Political Service and served as colonial administrator in Eritrea (1941–43) and Libya (1943–45). Thereafter C. became Chief Civil Affairs Officer of the Middle East and in 1951 he was assigned to the most important position in his political career: Chief Administrator of Eritrea. He served in this capacity until Eritrea was handed over to the Ethiopian Crown in September 1952.

His major achievement was to find a compromise solution between the politics of independence and union. When he assumed his duties in 1951, the security ↗*šafta* issue in Eritrea was the most pressing one. He requested and received additional revenue from London for the formation of the Eritrean Police Field

Force and worked closely with the Crown's representative in Asmära on the security issue. The work on drafting the UN based Federal Constitution of Eritrea is described in his article (s. Cumming 1953). When the Federal proposal became current, C.'s major task became the establishment of the Eritrean Government. This was the final contribution C. made as a British employee of the colonial administration. In 1952 C. left Foreign Service and worked for different institutions until he became the President of the Royal Geographical Society (1974–77).

His interest on Ethiopia remained lifelong. His work about the life of the early traveller Mansfield ↗Parkyns was prepared for publication eight years after his death by his novelist daughter, Ann Shelly.

↗Eritrean-Ethiopian Federation

Src.: MARY ELISABETH CUMMING-BRUCE, *Family Record of the Bruces and the Cumyns*, 1870; DUNCAN CAMERON CUMMING, "The Disposal of Eritrea", *Middle East Journal* 7, 1953, 18–32; ID., *The Gentleman Savage: the Life of Mansfield Parkyns*, London 1987; for D. Cumming's full bibliography s. Lockot II.

Jordan Gebre-Medhin

Cunningham, Alan Gordon

General Sir Alan C. (b. 1 May 1887, Edinburgh, d. 30 January 1983, Tunbridge Wells) was a British military commander who participated in Ethiopia's liberation from Italian Fascist rule in 1941. He was educated at Cheltenham College and the Royal Military College. An officer with no African experience and a low opinion of "native" troops, C. assumed command in British East Africa on 1 November 1940. He was reluctant to take the initiative until after the rains of 1941, but the British Premier Winston Churchill insisted on immediate action. C. tried to advance from Kenya into southern Ethiopia, but failed to make much progress. However, at the beginning of February, he launched an attack on Kismayu port in Italian Somalia and was immediately successful. Italian morale collapsed. C. swept forward and in three months captured Mogadishu, Harär and Addis Abäba, which fell on 6 April.

C. was reluctant to see the immediate resumption of Ethiopian rule. On 22 April he telegraphed the Emperor's field commander, Orde ↗Wingate, to stop Ḫaylä Śəllase's advance on Addis Abäba by all means "short of force". Wingate refused, whereupon C. dispatched him to London and disbanded his force. C. justly ranks as one of Britain's principal liberators of Ethiopia.

↗Italian war 1935–36

Lit.: HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONARY OFFICE, *The Abyssinian Campaigns. The Official History of the Conquest of Italian East Africa*, London 1942, 70–111; ANTHONY MOCKLER, *Haile Selassie's War*, Oxford 1984, 438, s. index; JOHN HATHAWAY SPENCER, *Ethiopia at Bay: a Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years*, New York 1984, 91–94; W. E. CROSSKILL, *The Two Thousand Mile War*, London 1980, 219, s. index.

Richard Pankhurst

Currency

Traditional currency

After the downfall of Aksum (for Aksumite coins s. ↗Coinage) the population of the Horn still knew both barter and means of payment such as coins, these usually being coins current along the great Red Sea trade route. However, at the Horn the nature of these coins changed; from being a universal mode of exchange (i.e. money), they became one of many local equivalents of exchange (items for barter), which were appreciated for their use value, this varying in different regions. Others included bars of rock salt (↗*Amole*), pieces of ↗cotton cloth, ↗iron bars (↗*Ḫakunu* in Däwaro), ploughshares, spear- and arrow-heads, cartridges, glass (cp. GueCopMen 591, 595), etc. Precisely like the latter, silver coins were first and foremost consumer goods and in fact were usually "consumed" by silversmiths as raw material. These foreign C. included ↗*dīnārs*, and other Egyptian coins (in medieval Ifat and other eastern sultanates); also, Venetian ducats, used at that time in the highlands, and, from the late 18th cent., the Austrian silver ↗Maria Theresia thaler.

When *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II (for political, not at all economic considerations) issued in 1894 his own silver coins, he had by decree to prohibit silversmiths from melting them (Pankhurst 1962:79). If along caravan trade routes and in trade centres, like Ifat, silver coins were accepted, they could be rejected as a means of payment elsewhere, for example, in Šäwa where people preferred salt to coins (Harris 1844:170), while near Lake Ṭana they said flatly: "We don't eat silver" (Cheesman 1936:184).

Some of these local equivalents of exchange could be hoarded as treasures, again according

to local preferences. For example, these were silver coins in commercial Ifat and iron ploughshares in agricultural Mänz (Isenberg – Krapf 1843:275), but those equivalents of exchange which served as small change were always current consumer goods, like women's jewellery, red pepper, etc. However, by the turn of the 20th cent., after the wholesale introduction of cheap rifles resultant upon France's 1886 decision to dispose of army Gras stock, cartridges became an almost universal equivalent of exchange. As Russian Lieutenant Arnoldi wrote in 1908, "cartridges are accepted everywhere" (Arnoldi 1908:5). The situation, fluid as it was, is characteristic for non-monetary economies in general, when barter prevails, liable to revive during periods of economic dislocation.

Traditional currency subunits

The transformation of an exchange matter into a "C." is, among other factors, indicated by its regular appearance in form of different units of defined value (divisibility). In fact, diverse sources of the 17th to 20th cent. report that *amole* bars, used as "quasi money", also circulated in subunits. Smaller values were expressed as fractions of the *amole*. Poncet (1949:122) noted during his 1698–1700 visit that "they break them according to the sum they have to pay". Half a bar was called **ኩርማን** (*kurman*). His contemporary Hamilton (1930:25) says that *amole* was known in bars of 80 pounds, and pieces of a half, a quarter, one eighth and one sixteenth of it. Ethiopians "are so expert in dividing it that they err not above 5 per cent".

In the 19th cent. divisions into up to 12 pieces (Amh. **ጣት** *ṭat*, lit. 'toe') were in use (GuiVoc 419). In that time the terms *gəmmaš* (**ግማሽ**, Amh. 'half') and *kurman* designated respectively a half and a quarter *amole* (Pankhurst 1970:73). With this degree of complexity the Ethiopian economy went beyond a pure barter system. This is also shown by the fact that arbitrarily broken *amole* lost considerable value, contrary to the defined *amole* subunits. According to an early source on Oromo language, divisions of *amoolee* (also called *sogiddaa*, 'salt', 'coin') were known also among the Oromo. Half an *amoolee* was called *č̣abnana* ('half', lit. 'breaking'), a quarter *kurmaana*, whereas a *mogor* or *mogora* equalled two *amole* (Tutschek 1844:13, 172; 1845:96f.). In Käfa the *amole* (or *yāmmō*) was the dominating C. still in the early 20th cent., *amole*-pieces of defined length being used as C. subunits for small commerce (Bieber 1920:463).

Other traditional C. may have appeared in the form of subunits, as is reported of **ፋርጊ** (*färgi*, Tgn. for pieces of cloth used for payment) in the early 19th cent. Torn "into halves, quarters, half-quarters, peakes, and spans" it makes small money (Pearce 1831:15f.).

Cartridges were the most important "small money" in the late 19th cent.; 16 equalled one Maria Theresia thaler (but with the time this amount decreased much, s. GueCopMen 595). To replace them with his new small coins of 1894 and 1896/97 (↗*Bərr*; ↗Coinage) *aṣe* Mənilək II decreed that one **መሐለቅ** (*mäḥalläq*, also **መሐልቅ**, *mäḥalləq*) should equal one cartridge (Mənilək's *mäḥalläq* or *gərš*, his smallest silver coin, in daily commerce equalled 1/16 of his thaler). Anyone unable to pay the market fees (1 *mäḥalläq*) in coins had to pay two cartridges, i.e., double the fee. This contributed to the quick acceptance of the *mäḥalläq*, which replaced the traditional small value money on the main markets. Following the traditional system of subdivisions of money, however, Mənilək's new C. largely stayed within the rules of the traditional economy (details s. underneath in the part "National currencies").

Also cartridges were still accepted as small units of exchange in the 1930s. Another small money mode still in use in the early 20th cent. was bent pieces of iron, especially in southern Ethiopia. Nine to eleven pieces of it equalled one Maria Theresia thaler (Huyn – Kalmer 1935:122ff.).

Src.: GuiVoc 419; KaneDic 135, 391, 896, 962; CHARLES JACQUES PONCET, "A Voyage to Æthiopia Made in the Year 1698, 1699, and 1700", in: WILLIAM FOSTER (ed.), *The Red Sea And Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, London 1949 (Hakluyt Society, Second Series C), 122; ALEXANDER HAMILTON, *A New Account of the East Indies*, ed. WILLIAM FOSTER, vol. 1, London 1930, 25; CHARLES TUTSCHEK, *Dictionary of the Galla language*, vol. 1 *Galla – English – German*, München 1844, 13, 60, 61, 73, 172, 183; *ibid*., vol. 2 [English – Oromo], Munich 1845, 96f, 188; NATHANIEL PEARCE, *The Life and Adventures ...*, vol. 2, London 1831, 15f.; WILLIAM CORNWALLIS HARRIS, *The Highlands of Aethiopia*, London 1844, vol. 2, 170; CARL WILHELM ISENBERG – JOHANN LUDWIG KRAPF, *Journal of the Rev. Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf, Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, Detailing their Proceedings in the Kingdom of Shoa and Journeys in other Parts of Abyssinia, in the Years 1839, 1840, 1841 and 1842*, London 1842, 274; ROBERT ERNEST CHEESMAN, *Lake Tana and the Blue*

Nile: *an Abyssinian Quest*, London 1936, 184; K.N. ARNOLDI, *Voyennye ocherki Abissinii* ('Military essays on Abyssinia'), St. Petersburg 1908, 5.

Lit.: GueCopMen 591, 595; RICHARD PANKHURST, "'Primitive money' in Ethiopia", *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* 32, 2, 1962, 213–47; ID., "The Trade of Northern Ethiopia in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", *JES* 2, 1, 1964, 49–159; ID., "The Trade of Central Ethiopia in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", *ibid.* 2, 2, 1964, 41–91; ID., *Ecomonic History of Ethiopia 1800–1935*, Addis Ababa 1968, 460–89; FRIEDRICH BIEBER, *Kaffa*: *ein Altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, Münster in Westfalen 1920, 463; RICHARD PANKHURST, "A Preliminary History of Ethiopian Measures, Weights and Values (Part 3)", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 45–86, here 73 (Lit.); Graf LUDWIG HUYN – JOSEF KALMER, *Abessinien. Afrikas Unruhe-Herd*, Salzburg 1935, 122–25; WOLFGANG HAHN, *Münzen, Naturalgeld und Banknoten in Äthiopien von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Sonderausstellung Oktober 1996 bis März 1997*, ed. by ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBANK, Wien 1996.

Sevir Chernetsov – Wolbert Smidt

Modern currency

Colonial currencies

Soon after Eritrea became an Italian colony in 1890, King Umberto issued a set of four silver coins by proclamation of 10 August 1890 (½, 1, 2 and 5 liras), called the ↗*tallero eritreo*, again issued in 1896. As the populations of the countries surrounding the Red Sea had been used to trading with the Maria Theresia thaler for almost a century, the Eritrean 5-lira-piece had nearly the same weight as the thaler. The nominal worth of 5 liras was marked in the middle of the coin in Italian, but also "1 *bərr*" in Amharic and "1 *rīyāl*" in Arabic. As the aim was its introduction in the whole area – beyond the boundaries of the colony – the denominations were given also in the locally known scripts. However, the new C. was largely unsuccessful, the population still preferring the Maria Theresia thaler because of the quality of its silver and the elegance of its design. The situation, however, was slightly different with the subunits of both the *tallero* and Mənilək's *bərr*, these being more accepted due to the general lack of small units of money.

In areas bordering the Sudan, Eritreans also used the C. of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, i.e. Egyptian coins (1898-1954). The largest Egyptian silver coin – also modelled after the Maria Theresia thaler (in 1836) – had the value of 20 piastre; the largest denomination was the 100 piastre gold coin, the Egyptian pound (1 pound or "junayh" = 100 piastre or "guerches" [Arab. *qirš*] = 1000 millièmes or "ochr-el-guerches").

The *tallero* of 1918 (40 mm), courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

Egyptian C. had already been used before the Italian colonisation in the Red Sea ports like Massawa and Sawākin.

Italians in colonial services were paid in Italian lire, while Eritreans in Italian services (like soldiers) often received their salaries in *talleri*. Locally the small coins were called *färänka* (Tgn. **ፋራንካ**, 'Franc'), as an alternative name for lire. This was due to the Latin Monetary Union, founded in 1865, with France, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland as its member states; within this monetary system, which was valid also in the Belgian Congo, one lira equalled one franc (until the end of World War I). Another *tallero* following the Austrian model was introduced in Eritrea in 1918, as the Maria Theresia thaler, not minted from 1915 to 1920, had became scarce. Again widely rejected by the population, it did not circulate for long. After the end of the Latin Monetary Union new lire coins were introduced in Italy in 1922 (with 1/5 of the weight of the old ones) and also used in Eritrea (1 lira = 100 centesimi).

When ↗Africa Orientale Italiana was proclaimed in 1936, the population generally refused to adopt the Italian C. Therefore Mussolini maintained the Maria Theresia thaler C. during the occupation. As a reaction, several democratic nations also started to produce thalers in order to thwart the Italian project, e.g., England minting them in London and Bombay. However, in 1938 and 1939 the Banca d'Italia issued banknotes, exclusively valid in Africa Orientale Italiana and used mostly by Italians, with the denominations 50, 100, 500 and 1000 lire ("Serie Speciale Africa Orientale Italiana"). When Italy lost its possessions in the Horn of Africa in 1941, the colonial C. of the British, the East African Shilling (£), was introduced into Eritrea, Ethiopia and Italian Somaliland (1 £ = 100 cents; first introduced in 1921 in Kenya and Tanganyika to replace the rupee).

Mənilək II's one *bərr* silver coin (40 mm) of 1894, with the lion holding the banner in its left paw (as seen on coins struck before 1900), courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

In the 19th and early 20th cent. the Indian rupee enjoyed general acceptance in the southern Horn of Africa (1 rupee = 16 annas = 64 pice). Therefore, between 1909 and 1921 Vittorio Emanuele III issued a set of six rupia coins (1 rupia = 100 bese [from Hindi *paisa* / Engl. pice]) in Somalia Italiana (↗Italian Somaliland). Its value was noted both in Italian and Arabic (*rūbīya*). However, Italian monetary reform in 1922 also resulted in the issuing of two new lire coins for Somalia Italiana in 1925 (5 and 10 lire), subsequently replacing the rupia until 1927. The Italian C. disappeared only when the East African Shilling was introduced by the British in 1941 in the Horn of Africa. This British C. was circulated in Somalia until it gained independence in 1960.

In British Somaliland the Indian rupee was used until 1951, having been introduced by Arabic traders already before colonisation. In the French possession of Obock rupees were in use in the late 19th cent. However, when first the protectorate of French Somaliland had been erected and then, in 1902, the colony, the Franc was introduced (1 franc = 100 centîmes). Within Ethiopia, this C. was used along the railway, up to Dərre Dawa and beyond.

National currencies

The origins of a national Ethiopian C. lie in the thalers used for trade in the Red Sea area (e.g., Spanish thalers, then since the early 19th cent. mainly Maria Theresia thalers), the appearance of colonial C., and the coinage of the Emirate of Harär (↗Coinage). The rise of Harär, commercially an important state, was accompanied by the introduction of local money, the *mäḥalläq* (cp. in the 19th cent. by ↗Abū Bakr b. *aftal-garād* ʿAbdalmannān b. Muḥammad). Then, during the occupation of Harär 1875–85, Egyptian C. was widely introduced (1 silver piastre [Arab. *qirš* or Ottoman Turkish *guruš*] = 40 *para*). In 1892 *aṣe* Mənilək II resumed, for a short time, the issuing of *mäḥalläq* coins in Harär, following the Egyptian piastre standard. Around the same time foreign C. were subsequently introduced into Ethiopia due to colonialism. This included the *tallero eritreo*, introduced into Eritrea in 1890 (s. above on colonial C.), and Indian rupees, brought into the Somali region through political and commercial links with the British Aden Protectorate, administered by British India.

An important, and chronologically early, feature of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək's modernization programme was the introduction, in 1894, of Ethiopia's first national C. Modelled, in size, weight and metallic content, on the old Maria Theresia thaler (like all other major C. of the region), it was called both thaler (dollar) and ↗*bərr*, the latter Amh. for 'silver'. Unlike the Maria Theresia thaler, the Mənilək thaler, however, was accompanied by lesser value coins, of silver and copper, struck in 1894 and 1896/97. These were reportedly more convenient than "primitive money", and hence useful for petty trade. The penetration of Mənilək's C. as a whole was, however, slow, as many people continued to make use of their traditional C. (cp. above, "Traditional currency subunits").

This new C. was partially based on the system used in Egypt and therefore showed already elements of a modern decimal system; one *bərr* or Mənilək thaler was originally divided into 20 *gərš* (the *gərš* of 1897, mostly called *mäḥalläq*, was modelled after the Egyptian piastre = 1/20 Maria Theresia thaler). However, the traditional non-decimal system of C. fractions also led to the introduction of non-decimal C. subunits. As the *amole* could be divided into up to 16 pieces, the Mənilək thaler was correspondingly "divided" into small coins (1/2 = **አላድ**, *alad*; 1/4 = **ሩብ**, *rub*; 1/8 = **ተሙን**, *tämun*; 1/16 = *mäḥalläq*, also called piastre or further in the south *tämun*; 1/32 = **ቤሳ**, *besa*, a small copper coin; and 1/64 = a half *besa*).

The *mäḥalläq* originally had the value of 1/20 of the thaler, but, highly esteemed as small money, was soon rated higher. The value of these small coins differed throughout the country, and one could get more for them in remote trading places (this is the reason, why the small *mäḥalläq* coin was called *tämun* sometimes, especially in the 1920s, when small money became more scarce). Following the Egyptian model, only one element of the "European"

decimal system appeared, the *mätoññа* (መቶኛ) of 1897 ('one hundredth' or 'cent', i.e. 1/100 of the *bərr*), a small copper coin, which was, however, used only rarely.

In 1904 the C. denominations were amended by the *wärq* ('gold'), dated 1889 A.M. (1897 A.D.). However, it was rarely used as a real C., rather as a medal or commemorative issue, its value varying with the value of gold.

Paper money was later introduced by the Bank of Abyssinia (↗Banks), printed in England (1915–29). Five different denominations were issued, namely 5, 10, 50, 100 and 500 thalers. These banknotes had, however, only limited circulation, mostly among Europeans in Ethiopia; until 1921 banknotes worth 214.765 thaler were issued (GueCopMen 596). They were later exchanged against the new banknotes issued under Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I; therefore copies of the earliest banknotes are little known. They were nearly identical with those known from 1929 onwards (cp. Shafer – Bruce 2000:442f.). The Maria Theresia thaler remained the main C. used in Ethiopia.

Mənilək's money served as the basis of the subsequent C. of Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I. The main denominations in use for the fractions were *gərš*, in French spelling "guerche", or, alternatively, *mäḫalläq*, in French spelling "mehalek". Further fractions appeared, e.g., as ½ *gərš* (*yägərš alad*), ¼ *gərš* (*yägərš ərub*). In July 1933, however, he radically reformed the C., introducing a decimal system of monetary subunits following European pattern (1 *bərr* = 100 *mätoññа*, later called *santim*, from French "centîme"). His new banknotes of the 1950s reflected, in design and pattern, US dollars.

In practice, C. denominations locally used do sometimes differ from the official denomination. One *bərr* will be called *bərr* in Amh., but also "dollar" (because of its origin in the thaler), in Tgn. *qərši* or ↗*qərš* (from Arab.). The terms pound and shilling are still sometimes used in the country to refer to Ethiopian C., due to the introduction of the East African Shilling by the British in 1941 (s. above, "Colonial currencies").

Lit.: GueCopMen 591-96 (Lit.); AHMED ZEKARIA, "Harari Coins. A Preliminary Survey", *JES* 24, 1991, 23–46; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Äthiopische Münz- und Geldgeschichte von Endubis bis Haile Selassie kurzgefasst – Ein numismatischer Beitrag zur Äthiopistik", *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* 42, 3, 2002, 128-35; ID., *Münzen, Naturalgeld und Banknoten in Äthiopien von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Sonderausstellung Oktober 1996 bis März 1997*, ed. by OSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBANK, Wien 1996; RICHARD PANKHURST, *An Introduction to the Economic History of Ethiopia*, London 1961, 160–68; ID., *Economic History of Ethiopia 1800–1935*, Addis Ababa 1968, 460–503; ID., "The Advent of the Maria Theresa Dollar in Ethiopia, its Effect on Taxation and Wealth Accumulation, and Other Economic, Political and Cultural Implications", *NEASt* 1, 3, 1979/80, 1–17; ID., "The Perpetuation of the Maria Theresa Dollar and Currency-Problems in Italian-Occupied Ethiopia", *JES* 8, 2, 1970, 89–118; ID., "Ethiopian Monetary History in the Phase of Post-War Reconstruction (1941–1945): a Collation of Ethiopian, British and American Documents", *EthObs* 16, 1974, 228–303; ID., "Early Ethiopian Banking History, The Bank of Abyssinia, and its Bank Notes", *Addis Tribune* 11 December 1998 [with early banknotes], 18 December 1998; KaneDic 896 [*besa*]; DENNIS GILL, *The coinage of Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Italian Somalia*, New York 1991; NEIL SHAFER – COLIN R. BRUCE II, *Standard Catalog of World Paper Money*, vol. 2: *General Issues*, Iola, WI ^{9}2000, 442ff. (ill.).

Richard Pankhurst – Jacques Druart – Wolbert Smidt

One hundred thaler or *bərr*, issued in 1932 by the Bank of Abyssinia, courtesy of Richard Pankhurst

Currey, Muriel Innes

C. was an English journalist who was an apologist for Italian colonial rule in Ethiopia. Travelling as a guest of the Italian government, she accompanied the Italian military advance into Ethiopia during the September–December 1935 period (↗Italian war 1935–36).

In recounting her experiences in East Africa, C. extolled Italian colonial rule for bringing "contentment and well-being" to Ethiopia. After returning to England, C. remained an important ally to Italy by defending its record in Ethiopia writing sympathetic articles and speaking to groups such as the British-Italian Council for Peace and Friendship and the Hampstead Conservative Association. In return for her services, Italy awarded her the *Croce di Guerra*.

Src.: MURIEL CURREY, *Emancipation in the Tigrai*, Asmara 1966; ID., *A Woman at the Abyssinian War*, London 1936.

Lit.: DANIEL PHILIP WALEY, *British Public Opinion and the Abyssinian War 1935–36*, London 1975.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Cushitic

The name C. has its source in the Bible, where Cush is presented as the son of Ham, the son of Noah (Gen 10:6), and where the river Gihon flowing out of Eden is described as surrounding "the whole land of Cush" (Gen 2:13). As an ethnic designation the term continues throughout the Old Testament. It subsequently appears much later (and usually with the spelling "Kushitic" in English) in Western scholarly writing where it denotes the Egypto-African kingdom (2656–2325 B.C.) and culture centred on ↗Meroë. This use of the name in relation to Meroë continues the biblical tradition. No implicit identification with the peoples or territory of modern Ethiopia and Eritrea should be read into these usages. In modern linguistic usage C. is employed primarily to refer to some 40 to 50 languages and dialects belonging to a particular stock of the ↗Afro-Asiatic phylum (Greenberg 1950), though by extension it has often been employed for referring to ethnic groups who speak these languages.

Demography

In terms both of numbers of languages and numbers of speakers the Ethio-Eritrean area represents the present-day epicentre of C. Beyond the boundaries of Ethiopia and Eritrea, however, we find ↗Beğa spoken also in Sudan and Egypt, ↗Somali spoken also in northern Kenya and Djibouti – where ↗ᶜAfar is found too – and, of course, in Somalia, where it exercises a virtual monopoly. ↗Đaasänäč speakers at the northern end of Lake Turkana span the Ethiopia – Kenya border, while ↗Oromo speech communities extend into Kenya as far as the Tana River. East C. Rendille, Boni, Yaaku, and Elmolo (the latter two being close to extinction) are found only in Kenya. Languages of the South C. subfamily have an outlier in Kenya but are otherwise confined to northern Tanzania, where, with the exception of Iraqw, they are spoken by quite small numbers of people. In earlier times, however, it seems clear that both East and South C. had a much more significant presence in East Africa (Ehret 1971, 1974).

There are also expatriate communities of ᶜAfar and Somali in Yemen and thriving Somali-speaking communities in Nairobi and many other places. There are also sizeable Oromo refugee populations in Sudan, Somalia, and outside Africa. Dating from an earlier refugee migration we find many (now naturalized) Burği in Kenya (Mude 1969), and the number of those still speaking the language has been augmented by fresh influxes of speakers from Ethiopia during the *Därg* regime.

Speakers of C. languages span a wide range in terms of economic production and lifestyle. At one extreme we find a hunter-gatherer economy as practised by the Dahalo, Boni, and Yaaku, and at the other we encounter the sophisticated entrepreneurism of the urban Somalis and Kenyan Burği. But these are extremes and the great majority of C. language speakers are subsistence farmers and keepers of livestock. The popular conception of C. peoples as transhumant pastoralists is certainly validated by many groups of ᶜAfar, Somali, and Rendille, as well as by the ↗Boorana and ↗Gabbra Oromo. But the numbers of those who can actually be sustained in such a way of life are strictly controlled by the availability of natural resources. In the fertile highlands skirting the central Ethiopian Rift Valley large populations of speakers of C. languages constitute a sizeable proportion of the peoples who exist by cultivating ↗*ənsät*, while those on the plateaus further north and west are predominantly plough farmers. In coastal and lacustrine areas yet others engage in fishing, alien though that occupation is to the C. stereotype.

Based on *Ethnologue* ([13]1996) those C. languages having more than a million speakers are the following: ᶜAfar – 1,000,000; Beğa – 1,148,000; ↗Hadiyya – 1,000,000; ↗Kambaata – 1,000,000; Oromo (including Orma and Munyo dialect speakers) – 13,960,000; ↗Sidamo – 1,500,000; Somali – 8,335,000.

Internal classification

While C. is universally recognized as one of the constituent families of Afro-Asiatic – still known to some as ↗Hamito-Semitic – it has also to be recognized as that family most beset with classificatory controversies. Greenberg's (1963) classification comprised five groups: 1. North C., consisting of just one language, Beğa (Beḍawie) that shows only dialect diversity internally; 2. Central C., consisting of ↗Agäw, an internally coherent group of languages spoken in

north-west Ethiopia and Eritrea; 3. East C., the largest and most diverse group which comprises about 35 languages spoken within a vast territory extending round the Horn from Somali on the Indian Ocean coast to ᶜAfar on the Red Sea coast, then south to Elmolo on southern Lake Turkana and returning eastwards to Boni in the Ṭana River delta; 4. West C., a group of some 26 languages and dialects spoken almost entirely to the west of the Rift Valley in southern Ethiopia; 5. South C., comprising six languages spoken in Tanzania and one (Dahalo) in Kenya.

Arguments for excising West C. and setting it up as an independent Afro-Asiatic family (soon after to be called ↗Omotic) were advanced by Fleming in 1969. This was buttressed by Bender's (1971) lexicostatistical classification of Ethiopian languages and in other subsequent publications (Fleming 1974, Fleming in Bendlang, Fleming in BendNonSLang; Bender 1975). Not all scholars have accepted this proposal however (Lamberti 1988b:22ff., 1991; Zaborski 1986, 1997:49).

Further major revisions were suggested a decade later by Hetzron (1980), whose survey of morphological features in C. led him to consider: 1. that Beğa shared no distinctive innovations with the rest of C. and should accordingly be considered as yet another independent branch of Afro-Asiatic; 2. that the so-called Highland division of East C. languages (Highland East Cushitic = HEC) shared rather more morphologically with the Agäw languages than with the rest of East C., and might possibly therefore constitute a common Highland C. subfamily, but ought, at the least, to be set apart from the rest of East C. as a distinct Rift Valley grouping; 4. that this remainder of East C. and South C. showed insufficient distinctions morphologically and could more conveniently be grouped as a common taxon. The first and second of these proposals have encountered some specialist opposition: concerning the abandonment of Beğa (Zaborski 1997); and concerning the mooted HEC–Agäw relationship (Appleyard 1996). One may presume too that Tosco's analysis (1996) of what had long been considered "problematic" verb forms in the northern HEC languages (Burği had always appeared to be more orthodox) may have helped to restore East C. status to the group. Although with regard to the merging of East and South C., morphology may be indecisive, the rather unique set of sound changes separating them as adduced by Ehret (1987:146ff) would certainly mirror the extent of the geographical separation between them.

The most radical proposal of all, that of Orel and Stolbova (1992; 1995:x–xiii) is to disband C. as generally conceived, and see the linguistic groups usually subsumed under that label (including Omotic) as a *Sprachbund* of independent Afro-Asiatic families. The proposal rests primarily on the claim that it does not seem possible to reconstruct a unique lexicon for Proto-C. clearly establishing it as an entity distinct from Proto-Afro-Asiatic. The question of the internal classification of C. can certainly be expected to continue into the 21st cent.

The following table indicates the fairly conservative classification still held by the majority of Cushitists. Under each subfamily and group are included the names of representative languages.

North C.	Beğa varieties
Central C.	Agäw
East C.	
Lowland East C.	
Saho-ᶜAfar	Saho and ᶜAfar varieties
Oromoid (*Macro-Oromo*)	Oromo, Konso, Ðiraašša
Omo-Ṭana (*Macro-Somali*)	
West Omo-Ṭana	Ðaasänäč, Arbore, etc.
East Omo-Ṭana	Somali, Rendille, etc.
Highland East C.	Burği, Sidamo, Kambata, Hadiyya, etc.
Dullay (*Werizoid*)	Dobase, Gawwada, Tsamai, etc.
Yaakuan	Yaaku
South C.	
Rift	Iraqw, Alagwa, etc.
Mbuguan	Maʾa
Dahaloan	Dahalo

Linguistic characteristics

I. Phonology

C. languages exhibit features at every linguistic level that point to their Afro-Asiatic membership. In the content and organization of their phonological systems there are clear parallels with languages of other Afro-Asiatic families. Thus, the sound systems of a number of C. languages include a class of "guttural obstruents" comprising pharyngeals (ᶜ, ḥ), laryngeals (ʾ, h), and sometimes uvulars, which immediately invites comparison with ↗Semitic. Nor is

the occurrence of this feature confined to languages that are in areal contact with Semitic languages; particularly here we must note the Dullay languages of the Wäyṭo Valley, and (South C.) West Rift languages in the interior of Tanzania. Moreover, although many C. languages have lost the pharyngeals, regular traces of them often survive in vowels that were once in contact with them (Sasse 1973; Hayward 1984a:11ff).

The triadic organization of obstruents into voiced, voiceless and glottalized series (e.g., **t, *d, *t̪; *k, *g, *q*) is another feature with easily recognized parallels in Semitic and Omotic. Indeed, in view of Dolgopolsky's arguments regarding the emphatics of Proto-Semitic (Dolgopolsky 1977), it seems clear that glottalization is a direct continuation of ancestral Afro-Asiatic pronunciation.

Other phonological features generally believed to have characterized Afro-Asiatic are preserved sometimes in several subgroups of C., but sometimes only in languages of a single subgroup. Thus, labialized velars (**g^{w}, *k^{w}, *q^{w}*) are preserved in Southern C., Agäw, and (partially) Beğa, but the lateral obstruents (**ɬ, *ɮ, *ɬ̪*) are preserved only in Southern C. The hypothesized voiceless velar fricative (**x̲*) and glottalized alveolar affricate (**ṣ*) and even the voiced alveolar fricative (**z*) all have clear attestations somewhere in C., but for many languages reflexes of such entities can be established only by the comparative method (e.g., Sasse 1976; Ehret 1987; Arvanites 1991).

C. languages generally have a simple five-vowel system (*i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*), though some have moved away from this, e.g., Agäw (Hetzron 1976:12) and the northern dialect of Somali (Andrzejewski 1955); cf. also Ehret (1980:38ff.) concerning Southern C.

One non-segmental aspect of C. phonology that is almost universally in evidence is length, both of consonants and vowels; and this too is a reflection of common Afro-Asiatic. The expression of prominence and contrastive pitch are varied and commonly reflect *Sprachbund* features that may be shared with local Omotic, Semitic, and/or Nilo-Saharan languages (though cf. Ehret 1980:40ff.). Thus, typologically C. languages of the south and west of the range (Dullay, Arbore, Rendille) are more obviously 'tone languages' (with two register tones) than are those of the north, which offer good grounds for having often been analysed as having stress-accent systems (Hudson 1973; Morin 1977:356; though cf. Hayward 1991). Burği is a clear exception to these geographically-based generalizations (Sasse 1982:17). For major languages such as Somali and Oromo analyses in terms of tonal accent have gained general acceptance, though they may differ in detail (Hyman 1981; Banti 1999) and it is likely that the majority of Ethiopian C. languages belong in this category typologically.

Considerations of lexical meaning, the identification of cognates, the establishment of numerous inter-language sound correspondences, together with hypotheses of the direction of sound changes have elevated discussion of the consonant and vowel phonology from the level of the merely typological to levels that can articulate ideas of genetic relationships. Major references concerned with C. lexical reconstruction are Black 1974; Sasse 1979, 1982; Dolgopolsky 1987, and Hudson 1989 (for HEC); Ehret 1980 (for Southern C.), Ehret 1987 (for C. as a whole) and, though with a somewhat enlarged C. in view, i.e., one still including Omotic (as West C.), Dolgopolsky 1973 and the various etymologically-organized word-lists of Lamberti 1988a, 1988b, 1993a, 1993b and Lamberti – Sottile 1997.

At the interface of phonology and lexicon we find for most C. languages sets of "morpheme structure conditions" governing co-occurrence of segments within roots. For consonants these have a generalized formulation expressing the fact that "within a root all obstruents will either be identical or else non-homorganic", where homorganic generally refers to place of articulation but may also denote a category such as "liquid". Thus, in many C. languages it would be rare, if not unknown, to find roots in which, say, more than one member of the velar obstruent set (*k*, *g*, *q*) were found, or in which /r/ and /l/ co-occurred. Another such condition allows no co-occurrences of non-identical non-low vowels, though co-ocurrence with /a/ is permitted. Such constraints are very typical of Afro-Asiatic in general, and some are so widespread as to be inherited (cf. Diakonoff 1975; Bender 1978).

II. Grammar

The non-concatenative (root-and-pattern) morphology commonly noted in Afro-Asiatic, but

especially as a feature of Semitic (e.g., verb-stem apophony, stem-internal reduplication, "broken plurals", etc.) is also found in C. It has been retained best in the northern languages, Beğa, Sāho, and ᶜAfar, which are in close contact with Semitic languages, which may have influenced the retention. Nevertheless there are sufficient traces of this type of morphology in far-off isolated languages such as Bayso, Rendille, Arbore, and Iraqw to suggest this was a regular feature of the proto-language (cf. Zaborski n.d.).

In general C. languages have a head-final syntax, which explains why in their morphology suffixation predominates. There is, however, one exception to this generalization. It appears in the so-called Prefix Conjugation (PCj). This verb class is characterized by prefixal subject agreement; the ᶜAfar verb 'to run' illustrates the point: *erd-e* 'I ran', *t-erd-e* 'you [sg.] ran', *y-erd-e* 'he ran', *t-erd-e* 'she ran', *n-erd-e* 'we ran', *t-erd-e-n* 'you [pl.] ran', *y-erd-e-n* 'they ran'. The similarity of these agreement prefixes to those found in Semitic and Berber has long been recognized as one of the strongest proofs of the wider affinities of C. The perfect in the PCj has lexically determined stem vocalism, though the low vowel /a/ does not occur, e.g., ᶜAfar: *t-erd-e* 'she ran', *t-ubl-e* 'she saw', *t-irgiᶜ-e* 'she cut (transitive)', *t-okm-e* 'she ate'. The imperfect and jussive are indicated by degrees of apophony to /a/, thus the imperfect forms corresponding to the preceding are: *t-ard-e* 'she runs', *t-abl-e* 'she sees', *t-argiᶜ-e* 'she cuts', *t-akm-e* 'she eats'. The PCj is a decided archaism, and although quite well preserved in Beğa and Sāho-ᶜAfar, it never accounts for more than a handful of verbs in the seven or so other languages where it is represented (cf. Hayward 1978a; the diachronic significance of the various sub-types of prefix verbs in East C. is considered in Sasse 1980).

It was Praetorius (1893) who first pointed out and explained the similarity of the agreement elements in the PCj to those found in the productive and widely-found Suffix Conjugation of C. The pattern of agreement suffixes of ᶜAfar *ab-* 'do' (*ab-e* 'I did', *ab-t-e* 'you [sg.] did', *ab-e* 'he did', *ab-t-e* 'she did', *ab-n-e* 'we did', *ab-t-e-n* 'you [pl.] did', *ab-e-n* 'they did') matches up well with the pattern of prefixes of *erd-* 'to run' above, and were explained as deriving from a postposed auxiliary PCj verb. It is generally assumed that the stem vocalism of the monosyllabic PCj verb involved in this formation was either a palatal vowel, /e/ or /i/, or the diphthong /ai/, that would easily monothongize to /e/ (Hetzron 1980:40-44). Together with the apophony to /a/ mentioned above, such an assumption explains the -e (or -i) perfect versus -a imperfect aspect suffixes of the Suffix Conjugation, e.g., ᶜAfar: *ab-t-e* 'she did' versus *ab-t-a* 'she does', etc. There is evidence from across C. that the formation of the Suffix Conjugation was a shared event, and this is often adduced as one of the unique innovations that guarantees an independent family status to C. (for full discussions of this subject cf. Zaborski 1975; Hetzron 1980:40f.; Banti 1987:123–26).

What has been called the "jussive" and/or "subjunctive" is a verb form that is marked with a round vowel (*-u* or *-o*) and is found in at least some languages in most subfamilies. It has a wide variety of functions; thus although it often occurs in the expression of indirect commands, e.g. Điraašša: *hé heᶜrraᶜ sé kaᶜp-ú* 'Let him sieze the dog!', it also often appears in subordinate clauses, e.g., Oromo: *hagaˀ isiˀin ɗuft-uˀ taaˀe* 'He stayed until she came', in sentential complements, e.g., ᶜAfar: *yaktaˀb-u duuda* 'He is able to read', in relative clauses, e.g., Arbore: *ˀummoha barri sahas-o ˀaso yaaččа* 'The children who will work tomorrow are coming', and sometimes even in negative forms of main clause verbs, e.g., Gollango: *ano teeḥ-u* 'I did not give'. It has been considered by Hetzron (1980:47) as another diagnostic innovation of C. Since however it also occurs widely in Omotic, such a claim should inevitably lead to the re-admission of that group to C. (cf. Zaborski 1986). An alternative interpretation would be to see the form as a shared retention of an Afro-Asiatic feature.

Another aspect of Afro-Asiatic verb morphology well represented in most C. languages is a highly developed system of derived verbs. The core of this system is concerned with changing patterns of valency, where increase of valency (transitivization, causativization) is typically signalled by an affix containing a sibilant (*-s, -is, -siis*), while decrease of valency (intransitivization, passivization) is signalled by an affix containing either a (bilabial) nasal (*-im,-am*) or a dental stop (*-t, -Vt*), e.g., Oromo: *fayy-* 'be/become well/healthy', *fayy-is-* 'make well, heal'; *beek-* 'know', *beek-siis-* 'make known, announce', *beek-am-* 'be known/understood;

Bilin: *əs-* 'make', *əs-t-* 'be made', *qʷəs-* 'bore through', *qʷəs-t-* 'be bored through'. In many languages both nasal and dental stop affixes occur, but in such cases the former generally indicates passive while the latter tends commonly to confer "subjective" or "middle-voice" meanings, and in some East C. languages an "autobenefactive" meaning has developed, e.g., ᶜAfar: *ɖaam-* buy, trade', *ɖaam-it-* 'buy/trade for oneself'; Điraašša: *dih-* 'build, plant, count', *dih-aḍ-* 'build/plant/count for one's own benefit'. In South C. Iraqw however we see yet other distinctive roles for these two formatives (Mous 1993:170ff). Moreover, both the above and other formatives are commonly concerned with forming inchoative and factitive verbs from substantives, e.g., ᶜAfar: *ᶜaaf-o* 'foam', *ᶜaaf-it-* 'become frothy', *amóʾyta* 'chief', *amoyt-is-* 'appoint as chief', *áʾmri* 'command (n.)', *amr-im-* 'be commanded'; Iraqw: *ɬeer-* 'long', *ɬeer-uw-* 'to become long', *k̲ure* 'doubt', *k̲uruut-* 'to be in doubt'; Bilin: *abən* 'guest', *abən-t-* 'stay as a guest', *ǧik̲-a* 'poor', *ǧik̲-t-* 'be poor'. For general treatments of this topic (s. Hayward 1984b; Appleyard 1986).

Morphosyntax in C. is everywhere pervaded by grammatical gender. Masculine and feminine categorization sometimes affects the basic shape of nominals themselves, thus in ᶜAfar all consonant-final nouns and all vowel-final nouns having penultimate accent are masculine; all others are feminine. Generally however gender is manifested in verb and NP-internal agreement, e.g., Điraašša: *námsè màákà ʾìkàýý àráp ɖèý* 'The man who killed the snake has come here', *ìnántsé màákà ʾìkátt áráp ɖèýt* 'The girl who who killed the snake has come here'. Gender contrasts also appear in case inflection; cf. below. (Some semantic associations of gender in C. are explored, among other works, in Castellino 1975.)

The number system commonly operates with three terms. There is a basic morphologically unmarked form commonly called "singular", though its reference may be indeterminate semantically as to singularity : plurality. In many languages some basic forms have collective or mass reference, and these may require 3rd pers. pl. agreements; thus in Arbore, where they are assigned "plural" gender, the nouns *kobó* 'sandals', *goofaré* 'mane', *herḍó* 'poison', and *reeqá* 'vertebral column' are of this type; similar nouns in Iraqw are assigned to a 'neuter' gender (Mous 1993:41). In contrast to this basic form there are two marked forms. Firstly, there may be a "singulative", which refers strictly to a single individual, e.g., Arbore: *dór* 'feather(s)', *dor-té* 'a single feather'; *sóʾ* 'meat', *soʾo-n* 'piece of meat'. Singulatives, which are often fossil forms within a contemporary language system, may show morphological differentiation for gender, e.g., Dullay dialects: *aráp-ko* 'elephant (masc.)', *oraap-att-é* 'hyaena (fem.)'. Secondly there is a "multiple reference" form, which in some cases denotes many individuals, and in others denotes many collective units or types.

In most C. languages it is common to find an abundance of "multiple reference" formations (cf. Zaborski 1986), and individual nouns often show variation, e.g., ᶜAfar: *dale* 'wound', *daleela/dalelwa* 'wounds'; *ɦàngal* 'brain', *ɦangalitte/ɦangalwa* 'brains'. What has sometimes been termed "polarity" refers to the switching of gender sometimes observed between the (basic) singular and "multiple reference" form of a noun. Moreover, such multiple reference forms generally require singular (3rd pers. masc. sg., 3rd pers. fem. sg.), rather than plural (3rd pers. pl.) agreement, e.g. Arbore: *orgí* (masc.) 'billy-goat', *orgi-mmé* (fem.) 'billy-goats'; *tirá* (fem.) 'liver', *tirá-n* (masc.) 'livers'. The phenomenon has usually to be related to inherent gender properties of the particular 'multiple reference' formative employed, thus in the preceding Arbore forms affixation of *-mmé* confers feminine gender, while affixation of *-n* confers masculine gender – regardless of the gender of the singular base form.

A common core case system may be reconstructed for C. (Sasse 1984; Appleyard 1988; Hetzron 1980:14ff). It comprises marked nominative and genitive forms and a basic nominal form ending in **-a*, the absolutive, which is generally identical to the citation form but has a wide syntactic distribution which includes the head of noun phrase complements of verbs, adpositions and – where one exists – the copula. However, not all the extant groups retain all of this system; thus a marked nominative case is absent from Dullay and from South C. Moreover, the manifestation of case is always linked to gender, and the marking of nominative case is thought to have been confined to masculine nouns originally, though languages of the Omo-Ṭana group have developed nominative marking in feminines too.

It is generally accepted that introduction of a masculine nominative suffix *-i* was a C. innovation (Hetzron 1980:16), e.g., Sidamo: *manna* (neutral absolutive) : *manni* (masc. nominative) 'people', cf. *seemmo* (fem. absolutive and fem. nominative) 'girl'; ᶜAfar: *ḥáḍḍa* (masc. absolutive) : *ḥaḍḍi* (masc. nominative) 'stick', cf. *ḥaḍa* (fem. absolutive and fem. nominative) 'tree'; Kemant: *gərw-a* (masc. absolutive) : *gərw-i* (masc. nominative) 'man', cf. *gäna* (fem. absolutive and fem. nominative) 'mother'. There are also, however, clear traces of an Afroasiatic masculine nominative suffix *-u* which has reflexes in Semitic and Berber (cf. Sasse 1984). This continues in nominative pers. pron. of a few languages (e.g., ᶜAfar *anu* 1st pers. sg., *atu* 2nd pers. sg., *nanu* 1st pers. pl.) but appears widely in personal deictic pronominal and certain determiner categories, where it is generally associated with the masculine formative *k*, viz. *-k-a* (absolutive) : *-k-u* (nominative). In this it is paralleled by fem. forms *-t-a* (absolutive) : *-t-i* (nominative); e.g., Burği: *nin-ka* (masc. absolutive) : *nin-ku* (masc. nominative) 'our – with masc. head', *nin-ta* (fem. absolutive) : *nin-ci* (< */nin-ti/*) (fem. nominative) 'our – with fem. head'. There is no evidence for the **-i* nominative in Beğa, though there are case forms for definite prefixes with *uu-* (masc.) and *tuu* (fem.) in the nominative.

A genitive case with *-i, -ii* and -V(V)*ti* marked on masculine and feminine possessors respectively has been reconstructed for Proto-C. (Appleyard 1988:372). Such hypothesized forms are particularly well reflected in Sāho, e.g., *kar-í ikok* 'teeth of a dog', *kare-t íkok* 'teeth of a bitch'.

Afro-Asiatic personal pronouns comprised two series: dependent and independent (Diakonoff 1965; and for discussion of this: Hetzron 1990). The reconstructed C. pronouns (Appleyard 1986) furnish strong evidence for this duality. In the most general terms the dependent series pronouns occupy those syntactic roles where nouns would occur in the absolutive form (cf. above); it includes also the function of possessive determiner. The independent series play a more marginal role as external arguments (subjects and/or topics). While the main features of the system are easily detected in every language of the family, the following Rendille forms seem to preserve a good deal of the original system; independent: *aní* 1st pers. sg., *atí* 2nd pers. sg., *usù*~ 3rd pers. masc. sg., *iče̋*~ (*č* <**s*) 3rd pers. fem. sg., *innò*~ 1st pers. pl. inclusive, *náḥ* 1st pl. exclusive, *atìn* 2nd pers. pl., *iče̋*~ (*č* < **s*) 3rd pers. pl.; dependent: *i* 1st pers. sg., *ki* 2nd pers. sg., *-is†* 3rd pers. masc. sg., *iče̋†* (*č*<**s*) 3rd pers. fem. sg., *-en†* 1st pers. pl. inclusive, *-enyò†* 1st pers. pl. exclusive, *kiṇt-ínna*~ 2nd pers. pl., *iče̋†* (*č*<**s*) 3rd pers. pl. (The forms marked '†' are non-focussed possessive determiners.)

From a syntactic point of view, adjectives share both nominal and verbal properties, and this is well-demonstrated by C. languages, for all adjectival concepts appear packaged morphologically either like nouns or like verbs. Thus, in Oromo some adjectives resemble simple nouns, e.g., *ṭúríí* 'dirty', cf. *múḍḍíí* 'waist'; while others in their gender agreement forms carry derivational suffixes typical of nouns, e.g., *gúraača* (masc.), *gurááttii* (fem.) 'black', cf. *qáálliča* 'male shaman', *qaallíttii* 'female shaman'. However, in Điraašša, a language of the same Oromoid subgroup of East C., the vast majority of adjectives behave like verbs in taking the predicational particle *he* in predicative function, which nominals never do, e.g., *ʾìmmát hè-nàýp* 'the boy is thin', *ʾínànt hè-nàỳpít* 'the girl is thin', cf. *ʾìmmàt hè-ḍèyí* 'the boy came', *ʾínànt hè-ḍèyìtí* 'the girl came' (cf. *hín kármà* 'this is a lion', ***hín hè-kármà*). Verbal properties are strongly in evidence in ᶜAfar where the adjectives, which inflect for person and (to some extent) tense have been analysed as a distinct "stative verb" conjugation (Hayward 1978b), e.g., *dat-iyo* 1st pers. sg., *dat-ito* 2nd pers. sg., *dat-a* 3rd pers. masc./fem. sg., *dat-ino* 1st pers. pl., *dat-iton* 2nd pers. pl., *dat-on* 3rd pers. pl. 'be black'. Banti (1987) finds good traces of such a paradigm across East C. and plausibly reconstructs a second (stative) Suffix Conjugation for the subfamily.

The grammar of most C. languages seems commonly to be subservient to discourse factors (Sasse 1981). The morphosyntactic devices signalling topicalization and focalization were probably first appreciated in the case of Somali, where topicalized noun phrase subjects take nominative case, e.g., *nink-u wuu imanayaa* 'the man is coming', but if focalized, appear in the absolutive, e.g., *nink-aa* (< *ninka* + *baa*) *imanaya* 'the man is coming'. (Note too the complementary distribution of the focus particle *baa* and the pre-verbal *wuu* and the alternation in the length of the verb-final vowel.) However, general recognition of discourse-driven strate-

gies in C. morphosyntax grew apace during the 1980s and led to the resolution of many apparent problems relating to agreement, case-marking, and variable verb forms (cf. Amborn, Minker and Sasse 1980:80–85; Sasse 1981; Saeed 1984; Hayward 1984a, ch. 3; Hayward – Saeed 1984; Owens 1985:60ff.).

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN – GUNTER MINKER – HANS-JÜRGEN SASSE, *Das Dullay: Materialien zu einer ostkuschitischen Sprachgruppe*, Berlin 1980 (Kölner Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 6); BOGUMIL W. 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Customary law

C.l. may be defined as a set of social norms which in a given community or society are considered as law. In Ethiopia, C.l. norms are compiled, amended and accepted at the community level. As such it is regarded as the "pure peoples" law to signify the fact that it is made by the people and not by the state. The legitimacy of C.l. is, thus, derived from the participation and consensus of the community and recognition of the same by the government. Prior to 1931, the emperors of Ethiopia, at the time of assuming state power, invariably stated in the preamble to their first decree, that the custom of each and every locality should be respected and that cases were to be adjudicated according to the C.l. of the locality.

Even though one may trace certain rules of C.l. with a wider scope of application, it is very difficult to identify a "national" C.l. Thus, when we say "the C.l. of Ethiopia", we are referring to the corpus of C.l. of the different ethnic groups. As there are over eighty ethnic groups in Ethiopia there are as many C.l. They are not reduced to written laws (with the exception of those of highland Eritrea). They have been transmitted from one generation to the next by oral tradition. Their detailed contents were unknown to the majority of the people. They were different in form and substance. Each applied in a given area only. They did not have uniform application all over the country. They were applied by the traditional institutions and elders of the locality. On appeal, however, the C.l. were interpreted by the local administrator (who was judge at the same time) and at the last resort by the higher authorities and courts of national jurisdiction. At this level, if the customary norms were accepted as a good means of solving disputes, they would receive the status of law of national application by being recognized as **አጼ፡ ሥርዓት** (*aṣe śərʿat*, 'presidential jurisprudence'), with which similar cases were solved in the future.

Customary law in modern Ethiopian legislation

One finds in the sources the application of C.l. as far back as the 10th cent. C.l. continued to be applied after the introduction of the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* in the 15th cent. Thus, the norms of the C.l. were applied for criminal matters, along with the *Fətḥa nägäśt*, until the promulgation of the first Penal Code in 1930 (↗Criminal code), and for civil matters until the enactment of the ↗Civil Code in 1960. The application of C.l. was limited in 1960 by the Civil Code. In the codification process of 1954–65, some norms were scrapped altogether, while others were maintained as they were, or in a revised form.

Art. 3347 (1) of the Civil Code provided that: "Unless otherwise expressly provided, all rules,

whether written or customary, previously in force concerning matters provided for in this code shall be replaced by this code, are hereby repealed." The effect of this sweeping repeal provision was to limit the operation of the diverse C.l. in civil matters.

As the repeal provision, Art. 3347(1) of the Civil Code of 1960 does not entirely cancel the application of the C.l.; even now the norms of customary law are applied in specific cases. However, the code only refers in a few instances to the application of custom: in family law (concerning betrothal, marriage etc.), in property law (about the principle of usucaption, right of way, rural servitude etc.) and in extra-contractual liability law (in fixing the amount of fair compensation).

The C.l. needs thorough study in the future so that some of its useful principles might be included in the Civil Code by way of revision of the code. As it stands now some of its undesired and undemocratic norms may be applied by the lower courts due to the leeway created by the repeal provision of the Civil Code cited above. Codification is a process of moving from diversity to unity.

In criminal matters the first Penal Code of Ethiopia had made use of the C.l. principles. It was by means of the 1957 Penal Code that the application of the C.l. norms were barred together. Some of the legal norms of C.l. which were already maintained by the 1930 Penal Code were, however, incorporated in the 1957 Penal Code. The modern Penal code of Ethiopia is a blend of modern law jurisprudence with Ethiopian traditional concepts of justice and C.l.

Scope and content of Customary law

In general, C.l. deals with ↗land tenure and pastoral rights, criminal offences, ↗marriage, inheritance, property, local administration, mode of litigation and dispute-solving devices. There is unity in diversity in the C.l. of Ethiopia.

If we take the case of marriage and inheritance alone, the unity and diversity of the C.l. of Ethiopia are evident. Among certain ethnic groups (for example, among the Təgrəñña- and Amharic-speaking population of the highlands), a contract of marriage was generally concluded between unrelated families, whereas in some ethnic groups, it is concluded between close relatives (i.e. ↗ᶜAfar and ↗Somali). The mutual consent of the future spouses was not a precondition for concluding marriage in most ethnic groups, whereas in the case of the ↗Oromo and the ↗Añwaa, in some of their marriage arrangements, mutual consent was a prerequisite. Unlike the other ethnic groups, in the form of marriage of the ↗Wälaytta and the Añwaa, the marriage process was initiated by the future spouses. Equally, there were also differences in the payment of dowry, bride-wealth and in the contribution towards the common property of the future spouses.

Among Təgrayans, *gəzmi* ('dowry') was paid by the parents of the female in cash and in kind. Under the Amharan C.l., on the other hand, *ṭəloš* ('present') was given in kind to the bride by the bridegroom and among the majority of the Amhara an equal number of cattle was contributed by the parents of both parties to the common property of the future spouses.

Among other ethnic groups, the Oromo and the Somali, for example, bride-wealth (prise paid by the bride) was paid either in cash or in kind at varying rates.

In the case of inheritance, too, there is both similarity and diversity. In almost all of the ethnic groups, the right to succeed devolves on male descendants. Even among the male descendants the eldest son enjoys special privileges. In all cases other than the Amhara, female descendants were limited in the past to the property that was donated to them on the occasion of their marriage. Other than this, they do not have the right to succession of immovable property. Among the Amhara, on the other hand, female descendants enjoy equal rights to inherit the property of their deceased parents.

Customary procedural law

C.l. was applied in Ethiopia before 1936, not only as substantive law, but also as procedural law. In fact it was the procedural aspect which attained a higher degree of excellence and was more popular among the people than the substantive law.

The traditional Ethiopian mode of litigation (procedural law) was known as ↗*muggət* (**ሙግት፡ በተጠየቅ፡ ሥርዓት**, *muggət bätäṭäyyäq śərᶜat* or **እሰጥ፡ አገባ፡ ሙግት**, *əsäṭ agäbba muggət*). It has special characteristics, especially in the rhetorical and dialogical use of language. This mode of litigation was practised for many centuries in Ethiopia before the Italian occupation in 1936.

It was quite distinct from the procedural law of the later period. Indigenous Ethiopian procedural law was replaced by court rules after 1942 and changed more markedly since 1961 for criminal cases, and since 1965 for civil cases, when the modern ↗Criminal and the ↗Civil Procedure Codes were enacted. The Ethiopian indigenous (customary) laws were gradually replaced by foreign laws adopted from the West, particularly from the civil-law system.

↗Aadaa; ↗Seera; ↗Wäg

Lit.: ABERRA JEMBERE, *An Introduction to the Legal History of Ethiopia, 1434–1974*, Münster – Hamburg – London 2000; ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada: Three Approaches to the Study of African Society,* New York—London 1973; REMO CHIATTI, *The Politics of Divine Kingship in Wolaita <Ethiopia>, 19th and 20th Centuries,* Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1984; RENÉ DAVID, "Sources of the Ethiopian Civil Code", *Journal of Ethiopian Law* 4, 2, 1967, 341–49; FANTAYE ETEFA, *Civil Code and Customary Marriage: A Case Study with Reference to the Seboo Oromo*, ms., Addis Ababa 1983; ĞAMALUDDIN REDO, **የአፋር፡ ልማዳዊ፡ ሕግ** (*Yäʾafar ləmadawi həgg*, 'The Afar Customary Law'), ms., n.d.; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Galla of Ethiopia: the Kingdom of Kaffa and Janjero,* London 1955; FRIEDERIKE KEMINK, "The Customary Law Codes of Hamasen", paper presented to the *10th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, ms., Paris 1988; GEORGE KRZECZUNOWICZ, "Code and Custom in Ethiopia", *Journal of Ethiopian Law* 2, 2, 1965, 425–39; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho,* London 1969; AMNON ORENT, *Lineage Structure and the Supernatural: the Kafa of Southwest Ethiopia,* Boston 1969; DAVID CONRAD OSTERLUND, *The Anuak Tribe in South-Western Ethiopia: a Study of its Music within the Context of its Sociocultural Setting,* Urbana – Champaign 1978; ALAN RICHARD TIPPETT, *Peoples of Southwest Ethiopia*, Pasadena 1970; MARGERY PERHAM, *The Government of Ethiopia,* London 1948; YƎLMA DÄRESSA, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ፡ በአስራ፡ ስድስተኛው፡ ክፍለ፡ ዘመን** (*Yäʾityopya tarik bäʾasra səddəstäñña kəflä zämän*, 'The History of Ethiopia in the Sixteenth Century'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.].

Aberra Jembere

Cyprian of Antioch

C. of Antioch (Gəʿəz: **ቆጵርያኖስ**, Qoprəyanos), magician and martyr, is well known in the old and medieval literatures of Eastern and Western Christianity. The story where he acts as the main character was known at least at the middle of the 4th cent. A.D., when C. of Antioch was already confused with ↗Cyprian of Carthage. The legend relates the conversion of C. to Christianity after a long struggle where his demons and magical arts were defeated by the pure faith of the virgin Justina, the repentance of C., and the martyrdom of both. The Cyprianic saga is the subject of a number of hagiographical (also poetic, like the Greek *De sancto Cypriano* by the Empress of Byzantium Eudocia, d. 460 A.D.; cf. Livrea 1998) and magical texts, from Late Antiquity on, and is also believed to be the first nucleus of the Faust saga (cf. Zahn 1882).

The hagiographical tradition is articulated in three main texts: the *Conversion* (three Greek, two Latin, more Arabic, one Syriac, Armenian and Slavonic recensions at least), the *Repentance* (*Confessio*: three Greek, one Latin, Coptic, Slavonic recensions at least) and the *Martyrdom* (*Passio*: four Greek, two Latin, more Arabic, one Coptic, Syriac, Armenian and Slavonic recensions at least).

The Ethiopic tradition has only one *Martyrdom* of C. and Justa (Qoprəyanos and Iyusṭa), published by Goodspeed (1903; from the mss. London, BritLib Or. 686, fols. 43v–44vc, Orient. 687–88, fols. 61ra–62rc, and Orient. 689, fols. 45rb–47rb), actually found in ten manuscripts of the ↗*Gädlä Sämaʿətat* (cf. Bausi 1998:102), and to be read on 7 *Ṭəqəmt*; the legend of the evil deeds and conversion of Qopəryanos is found also in the Vita of ↗Märqorewos (cf. Conti Rossini 1903:18).

As a converted magician, C. tends to be considered not only a Saint, but in particular a protector against charms; therefore a number of "magical prayers" are attributed to him. The main prayer is the so called *Prayer of Cyprian*, known in Greek, Latin, Syriac (cf. Bausi 1998:104), Armenian and Georgian versions (cf. Simon 1936); both Arabic and Ethiopic traditions have a "long" and a "short" recension of the *Prayer of Cyprian*. The Ethiopic "long" recension of the *Prayer of Cyprian* was first translated by Basset (1896), from the ms. Paris, BN Éth. 57, fol. 45–64, and then published and translated by Grohmann (1917–18, from the mss. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Äth. 7, fol. 8r–12v, and Äth. 21, fol. 59r–85r); the Ethiopic "short" recension, which is found in some magical scrolls, is very different from the "long" one, and is still unpublished (cf. Strelcyn 1955:L).

Under the name of Qoprəyanos there are a number of other prayers, better known as **መፍትሔ፡ ሥራይ** (*Mäftəḥe śəray*, 'Solver of charms', cf. Strelcyn 1955); it is to be noted that the same

use of C.'s name as a title of a work is found in the Armenian tradition. The *Mäftəḥe śəray* prayers are found both in homogeneous collections of prayers and as isolated texts.

↗Gəᶜəz literature

Src.: RÉNÉ BASSET, *Les apocryphes Éthiopiens traduits en français. VI. Les Prières de S. Cyprien et de Théophile*, Paris 1896; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "L'*Epistola 70* di Cipriano di Cartagine in versione etiopica", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 100–30 (Lit.); KAROLUS CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum I. Gadla Marqorēwos seu Acta Sancti Mercurii*, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1904 [repr. Louvain 1962] (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 16, 17]), 18 (text) = 19 (tr.); LEO DEPUYDT, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, Leuven 1993 (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts 4, Oriental Series 1), 338ff.

Lit.: FRIEDRICH BILABEL — ADOLF GROHMANN, "Studien zu Kyprian dem Magier", in: FRIEDRICH BILABEL (ed.), *Griechische, koptische und arabische Texte zur Religion und religiösen Literatur in Ägyptens Spätzeit*, Heidelberg 1934 (Veröffentlichungen aus den badischen Papyrus-Sammlungen 5), 32–203; HIPPOLYTE DELEHAYE, "Cyprien d'Antioche et Cyprien de Carthage", *Analecta Bollandiana* 39, 1921, 314–32; EDGAR JOHNSON GOODSPEED, "The Martyrdom of Cyprian and Justa", *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 19, 1903, 65–82; ADOLF GROHMANN, "Studien zu den Cyprianusgebeten", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 30, 1917–18, 121–50; HOWARD M. JACKSON, "A Contribution toward an Edition of the Confessio of Cyprian of Antioch. The *Secreta Cypriani*", *Le Muséon* 101, 1988, 33–41; LUDMILLA KRESTAN — ALFRED HERMANN, "Cyprianus II (Magier)", in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 3, Stuttgart 1957, 467–77 (Lit.); ENRICO LIVREA, "L'Imperatrice Eudocia e Roma. Per una datazione del *de S. Cypr.*", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 91, 1998, 70–91 (Lit.); PAUL PEETERS, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*, Bruxelles 1910, 53f. [nos. 228–32] (Lit.); JEAN SIMON, [Review of Bilabel – Grohmann 1934], *Orientalia*, new ser. 5, 1936, 152–60 (Lit.); STEFAN STRELCYN, *Prières magiques éthiopiennes pour délier les charmes* (*maftəḥē šərāy*), Varsovie 1955 (Rocznik Orientalistyczny 18) [Lit.]; THEODOR ZAHN, *Cyprian von Antiochien und die deutsche Faustsage*, Erlangen 1882.

Alessandro Bausi

Cyprian of Carthage

C. (Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus, Gəᶜəz: ቆጵርያኖስ Qoprəyanos; d. 258 A.D.), martyr, is one of the main "fathers of the Church" of the 3rd cent. Born in Africa, and a famous rhetor, he was converted to Christianity, and became bishop of Carthage ca. 248/49 A.D. Deeply involved into baptismal controversies with the siege of Rome, he maintained that it is necessary that all who come from heresy must receive full baptism before re-entering the Orthodox community.

This very thesis is advanced also in the only text of his known in the Ethiopian literary tradition, that is the *Epistle 70*, which is found in five mss. of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Senodos*, with no attribution to C. (Paris, BN, Éth. 121, fol. 78va–79va; EMML 1843, fol. 58rb–60rb; EMML 2430, fols. 42rc–43rb; Uppsala, Universitätsbibliothek, O Etiop. 39, fol. 121ra–22rc; Biblioteca Vaticana, Borgia Etiopico 2, fol. 173rb–74vb; text and tr. in Bausi 1998). The text had already been identified by ↗Wansleben (Vanslebius 1671) in the manuscript Biblioteca Vaticana, Borgia Etiopico 2, but his finding was never given attention in further studies. The *Epistle 70* is addressed by 32 bishops to 18 colleagues after the so called council of Carthage (254/255 A.D.). Written in Latin as all C.'s works, it was translated into Gəᶜəz certainly from a Greek Vorlage, and is a new piece of the scanty Ethiopic literature of Aksumite age. It is likely that it came to Ethiopia via a Greek canonical collection, certainly older than the Byzantine canonical collections by John Zonaras and Theodore Balsamon (12th cent.) in which it was also included. An Ethiopic ms. from Təgray, which came to light in 1999, preserves the *Epistle 70* with the entire list of the names of senders and addressees, as well as the explicit attribution to C.

The role and the impact of the *Epistle 70* in the Ethiopic baptismal practices and theology have not yet been studied.

↗Gəᶜəz literature

Src.: ZotBNat 141–44; EMML vol. 5, 354–56; vol. 6, 487–90; LöfUpp 110–16; GreTisVat 767–82.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "*L'Epistola 70* di Cipriano di Cartagine in versione etiopica", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 100–30 (Lit.); GRAEME WILBER CLARKE (ed., tr.), *The Letters of St. Cyprian of Carthage*, vol. 4: *Letters 67–82*, New York — Mahwah 1989 (Ancient Christian Writers 47); JOHANNES MICHAEL VANSLEBIUS, *Conspectus Operum Aethiopicorum Quae ad excudendum parata habet R.P. Fr. Joan. Michael Vanslebius*, Parisiis 1671.

Alessandro Bausi

Cyprus, relations with

C. (Gəᶜəz: ቆጵሮስ, Qopros), which lay on the trade route between Alexandria and the Holy Land (Palestine), long the abode of many Ethiopians, was visited over the centuries by not a few of their number, some of whom settled permanently on the island. It is believed that Ethiopians first made their way to C. after the conquest of Palestine by Ṣalāḥaddīn in 1189 A.D. Their presence can be traced back to early medieval times. There is thus mention of Ethiopians, together with Monophysite Christians

and Copts, on the island in documents of the 13th cent. and, with Copts and Nubians, in those of the 14th cent. (Cerulli 1937–38:31–37, 43, 94, 155–57). The Ethiopians seem at first to have formed a community with Copts, in the monastery of St.Anthony at the coastal town of Famagusta (Turk. Mağoşa), but subsequently established their own separate community at the Cyprus capital, Nicosia (Turk. Lefkoşa). Later again, in 1564, the Ethiopians of the island appealed to Pope Pius IV to appoint them a Bishop, and thus free them from Coptic control.

The presence of Ethiopians on the island finds interesting expression in a 16th cent. Gəʿəz manuscript of the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* in the Vatican Library (Vat. Aeth. 272). It contains two tales relating to the Christians of Cyprus.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, *Etiopi in Palestina; storia della communità etiopica di Gerusalemme*, Roma 1937–38, vol. 1, 31–37, 43, 94, 155–57; ID., "Two Ethiopian Tales of the Christians of Cyprus", *JES* 5, 1, 1967, 1–8.

Richard Pankhurst

Cyriacus of Antioch

C. (Gəʿəz: **ኪራኮስ**, Kirakos; Syriac: Quryāqōs; d. 817), was a Patriarch of Antioch of the Syrian Orthodox Church (ordained in 793). At a synod in 797, by means of a Christological formula acceptable to both parts, he managed to achieve a church union with the Julianists (↗Julianism). He prohibited using the eucharistic formula (of a Nestorian tendency) "We break the heavenly bread" (795), which evoked a strong opposition in the Church and a schism, led by antipatriarch Abraham, who even sought recognition from the Coptic patriarch Mark, but due to C.'s intervention was instead excommunicated by him. This did not put an end to the schism, which existed during the whole period of C.'s pontificate.

C.'s literary works, in addition to letters and responsa, an anaphora, a collection of metrical homilies on theological themes, and a biography of ↗Severus of Antioch, include the Synodal Letter to the Coptic Patriarch Mark. It is a profession of faith, containing a Trinitarian and a Christological part, of the type which the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria used to exchange at the beginning of either's pontificate. The Letter is not extant in Syriac, but in Arabic (Teule 1978) and Gəʿəz (not published) translation. Together with many other excerpts from writings of several pre-Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian theologians translated into Arabic, it was included into the collection entitled *The Confession of the Fathers* (Ar. *Iʿtirāf al-abāʾ*), compiled in 1078 and translated into Gəʿəz in the middle of the 16th cent., as *The Faith of the Fathers* (↗*Haymanotä abäw*).

Lit.: ANTON BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur: Mit Ausschluss der christlich palästinensischen Texte*, Bonn 1922, 270f.; WOLFGANG HAGE, *Die syrisch-jakobitische Kirche in frühislamischer Zeit: Nach orientalischen Quellen*, Wiesbaden 1966; HERMAN TEULE (ed., tr.), "La lettre synodale de Cyriaque, patriarche monophysite d'Antioche (793–817)", *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 9, 1978, 121–40.

Witold Witakowski

Cyriacus of Jerusalem

C. (Gəʿəz: **ሃርያቆስ**, Həryaqos), a bishop of Jerusalem allegedly martyred under Julian the Apostate in 362, is a saint mentioned in the ↗*Sənkəssar* for *Ḫədar* 3. According to van Esbroeck (1990), although in contradiction to some other scholars, the figure of C. is not purely fictive but has some roots in Jewish-Christian milieu of Jerusalem before 135 A.D. (for a review of existing viewpoints s. Drijvers – Drijvers 1997:12–29). His legendary martyrdom is known throughout the Christian world (Halkin 1957:465; for Oriental versions s. Guidi 1904/1906; for the Ethiopic one, which ultimately goes back to Syriac s. Guidi 1906; for Syriac s. Pigoulewsky 1927–28).

Besides, his hagiographic "dossier" contains two pieces. The most known is a specific version of the legend of the Finding of the True Cross (Drijvers — Drijvers 1997), where a Jew, named Judas, is helping St. Helene to find the Cross; after this, he converts and is baptised with the name C. and then becomes the bishop of Jerusalem.

The second text is **ድርሳን፡ ዘይነግር፡ ዘከመ፡ ተረክበ፡ ዜናሃ፡ ለቅድስት፡ ማርያማ** (*Dərsan zäyənägər zäkämä täräkbä zenaha läqəddəst Maryam*, 'A Tract Which Describeth How The History of Saint Mary Was Discovered'; s. BritMus, Orient. 604–06). This is a kind of preface to the *Transitus* [of the Virgin] in six books (which date back to the 5th–6th cent.; however, the date of the preface may be later) existing in Syriac, Arabic, and Gəʿəz (↗*Fəlsäta*) which can help to understand the relationship between C. of Jerusalem and Cyriacus of Behnesa as an authoritative witness

of traditions on the Virgin in the Coptic and Ethiopic hagiography. The *Tract…* says that the book of *Transitus* was obtained through C., bishop of Jerusalem, by the ruling persons of the monastery of Batos on Sinai, and these people presided over 320 monasteries on Sinai. A historical substrate of the story is recognisable: Melkite monasticism on Sinai and especially in the monastery of Batos was flourishing in the post-Chalcedonian epoch, while especially in the 7th and 8th cent., and its links with Patriarchate of Jerusalem (Melkite as well) are well known. Therefore, the *Tract…* is probably a Melkite composition in which C. of Jerusalem became a (Melkite) witness of the origin of the *Transitus* story; instead of this, Coptic anti-Chalcedonians used to refer to Cyriacus of Behnesa.

↗Gəᶜəz literature

Src.: IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Textes orientaux inédits du martyre de Judas Cyriaque, évêque de Jérusalem", *ROC* 9, 1904, 79–95, 310–32; *ibid*., 11, 1906, 337–51; NINA PIGOULEWSKY, "Le martyre de Saint Cyriaque de Jérusalem", *ibid.* 26, 1927–28, 305–56; HAN J.W. DRIJVERS — JAN WILLEM DRIJVERS (ed., tr.), *The Finding of the True Cross. The Judas Kyriakos Legend in Syriac*, Lovain 1997 (CSCO 565, Subsidia 93); MICHEL VAN ESBROECK, "Une note de Sévère d'Antioche sur Juda Cyriaque", in: RENÉ LAVENANT (ed.), *V Symposium Syriacum, 1988*, Rome 1990 (OrChrA 236), 183–93 (Lit.). FRANÇOIS HALKIN (ed.), *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, Bruxelles 1957 (Subsidia hagiographica 8a); WrBriMus 142, 144f., nos. 214 [Orient. 605], 216 [Orient. 604], 217 [Orient. 606].

Basil Lourié

Cyril of Alexandria

C. (Gəᶜəz: **ቂርሎስ** Qerəllos, b. between 370 and 380, d. 444), a Bishop of Alexandria during 412–44 (↗Coptic church), was one of the most important Church Fathers whose views influenced the Christological decisions of two councils, those of ↗Ephesus and of ↗Chalcedon.

During his entire episcopacy C. fiercely fought all whom he regarded to be enemies of Christianity ("pagans", Jews), schismatics (Novatians) and "heretics" (Arians, Nestorians).

His controversy with ↗Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, was of far-reaching consequences. When Nestorius began to teach that Mary was not "Theotokos" (God-bearer), but merely the mother of Christ-the-man, C. reacted energetically by writing polemical letters and treatises and by building a coalition against him with other bishops (esp. with Pope Celestin of Rome). To solve the controversy, Emperor Theodosius II decided to summon a council (Third Ecumenical) to Ephesus in 431. C. took over the presidency and started the proceedings before the arrival of the Antiochene bishops, whom he expected to be in favour of Nestorius's views. The result was the condemnation and deposition of Nestorius by the bishops gathered there. However, the Syrian bishops, with John, Patriarch of Antioch, arrived four days later and held a separate council which, in its turn, condemned and deposed C. After this culminating point of the controversy, a period of reflection and intensive theological work followed and in 433 an agreement was reached upon a common formula, which ended the split of the Church (later it became one of the official documents of the Council of Chalcedon).

C. was a prolific writer (Geerard 1979:1–57). Before the Christological controversy, he wrote mainly exegetical works: those on the Old Testament, e.g. *Glaphyra* (on the Pentateuch) and the *Commentary* on Isaiah (ibid. 5201, 5203), are mainly allegorical (in accordance with the Alexandrian tradition), but not extremely so. His New Testament commentaries include those on the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John and on both the Pauline and Catholic letters (ibid. 5206–10).

C. initiated his polemic against Nestorius with the *Letter to the Egyptian monks* (Geerard 1979:5301). His other works written during the period of controversy include the *Against Nestorius* (ibid. 5217) and three *Letters* to the latter, of which the second (ibid. 5304) and the third (ibid. 5317) were accepted by the Councils of Ephesus and of Chalcedon (451). To the *Third Letter* there were appended twelve *Anathematisms* against Nestorius, which, however, were removed from both the union document of 433 and from the acts of Chalcedon. C. continued his polemic even after the agreement with John of Antioch, e.g., with his *Against Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia*, i.e. the teachers of Nestorius, written ca. 438 (ibid. 5229). C.'s other important texts in the controversy are: three treatises *On the True Faith* (ibid. 5218ff.), the treatise *Christ is one* (ibid. 5228) and the *Fifth* and *Sixth Homilies* (ibid. 5249f.).

C. accepted the full unity of godhead and manhood in Jesus Christ and felt no need to discuss the relation of the divine and human natures in Christ, that was a major issue for the Antiochene school. He expressed the unity with

the formula: **μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη** 'One incarnate physis of God the Word', which C. took as coming from ↗Athanasius, whereas in reality it was coined by Apollinaris of Laodicea, who had been condemned as a heretic at the Second Ecumenical Council in Constantinople in 381. C.'s use of the word **φύσις** created another problem: C. understood it as 'person' (otherwise expressed by the terms **ὑπόστασις** or **πρόσωπον**), not in the later sense of 'nature'. Therefore, in the union formula of 433 C.'s terms were corrected by the Antiochenes. C.'s usage of the term understood as 'nature' led however to monophysitism (Eutychianism) condemned by the Council of Chalcedon, and eventually to the rise of the non-Chalcedonian Churches.

C. solved the Nestorius stumbling block, the term "God's bearer" (**θεοτόκος**, *Theotokos*) as characterizing Mary with the help of the idea of the 'interchange of properties' between Christ's divine and human natures (**ἀντίδοσις τῶν ἰδιωμάτων** '*communicatio idiomatum*'), which allowed to talk about God's suffering and death on the Cross, although strictly speaking it was only Christ's humanity that suffered and died. As a consequence it was legitimate to speak of Mary being "God's bearer" (*Theotokos*), not only "Christ's bearer" (**Χριστοτόκος**, *Christotokos*), which was Nestorius's solution.

C. is venerated in both the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches as a saint on 27 June, in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church on the 3 *Ḫamle* (↗*Sənkəssar*).

C.'s most important writings in Ethiopic are included in the collection which bears his name, ↗*Qerəllos*. Excerpts from his works are also included in another dogmatic collection, the ↗*Haymanotä Abäw* (48 excerpts and the 12 *Anathematisms*), as well as in Giyorgis of Sägla's *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Məsṭir*, but can also be found outside the collections named above. *Scholia* from C.'s exegetical writings are included in the *Catena Commentary on the Gospel* (↗*Tərgʷame*).

There are many other writings attributed to C., the authenticity of which is, however, doubtful. The following can be named as spurious: *Rules* in a late (19th-cent.) canonical collection (e.g., in EMML 417); excerpts in the *Book of the Histories and Apophthegmes of the Fathers*, called *Gännät* ('the Paradise'); a *Homily on Lent* (in, e.g., EMML 1956 A.D., from ca. 1400); the prayers for Sunday in the ↗*Wəddase Amlak* (none of these compositions is published). The best known among C.'s apocrypha is the *Anaphora of St. Cyril*. According to one manuscript, its author was, however, another Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, namely Cyril ibn Laqlaq (1235–43).

In addition to the commemoration account of C. in the *Sənkəssar*, there is a separate Vita, composed on the basis of the *Sənkəssar* and historiographic works of ↗John of Nikiu, ↗Abušakər and ↗Giyorgis Wäldä ᶜAmid.

↗Christology

Src.: MAURITIUS GEERARD, *Clavis Patrvm Graecorvm*, vol. 3: *A Cyrillo Alexandrino ad Iohannem Damascenum*, Turnhout 1979 (Corpus Christianorum), 1–57; JOHN A. MCGUCKIN, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*: *the Christological Controversy, its History, Theology and Texts*, (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 23), Leiden 1994 (Lit.); OSCAR LÖFGREN (ed.) – SEBASTIAN EURINGER (tr.), "Die beiden äthiopischen Anaphoren 'des heiligen Cyrillus, Patriarchen von Alexandrien'", *ZSem* 8, 1932, 210–34; *ibid.* 9, 1933–34, 44–86; EMML 417, 1956.

Lit.: EDWARD R. HARDY, "Cyrillus von Alexandrien (ca. 380–444)", in: GERHARD MÜLLER – HORST BALZ – GERHARD KRAUSE (ed.), *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 8, 1981, 254–60; AZIZ S. ATIYA, "Cyril I, Saint", in: *CE*, vol. 3, 1991, 671–75.

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Cyril of Jerusalem

C. (Gəᶜəz: **ጌርሎስ**, Gerəllos, or **ቄርሎስ**, Qerəllos; b. ca. 315, d. 387) was a bishop of Jerusalem from ca. 348 onward. Although initially an Arian, he gradually changed his views to the Nicene orthodoxy, for which he was exiled three times (357–59, 360–62, and 367–78), and which he supported at the 2nd Ecumenical Council in Constantinople in 381. C. tried to promote the honorary position of Jerusalem against that of Caesarea, the metropolitan see for Palestine at that time. He is venerated as a saint in both the Orthodox and the Catholic Church on 18 March; in Ethiopia on 22 *Mäggabit* (with the ↗*Sənkəssar* for this date containing an account on C.).

C. wrote a *Letter on the Appearance of the Cross* on Golgotha to Emperor Constantius II in 351 (retold in the *Sənkəssar* on 12 *Gənbot*, s. BudSaint 884). He is mainly known, however, for his 24 *Catechetical Homilies* (Geerard 1974:289–96; 1998:195–99), unknown in Ethiopia, which contain an exposition of the Christian faith and liturgy.

There exist four other writings, translated into Gəᶜəz from Arabic, which are (falsely) attributed to him: *Homily on the Presentation of*

Jesus and Simeon's Carrying Him (Arabic: Graf 1944:335, 2a); *Homily on the Resurrection of the Lord* (ibid.); *Homily* [*məʿədan*] *on the Assumption of Mary* (ed. by Arras 1974; Graf 1944:336, 2c), included in the ↗*Dərsanä Maryam*; *Homily on the Icon of Mary in Däbrä Ṣedenya* (i.e. Saydnaya near Damascus) in the *Dərsanä Maryam*; also in the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* (Cerulli 1943:75, 268).

Src.: BudSaint 884; EDWIN HAMILTON GIFFORD (ed., tr.), *"The Catechetical Lectures" of S. Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem*, New York 1893 [1974] (A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser. 7); VICTOR ARRAS (ed., tr.), *De Transitu Mariae apocrypha aethiopice*, Louvain 1974 (CSCO 351, 352 [SAe 68, 69]), 1–33 (text) = 1–25 (tr.).

Lit.: MAURITIUS GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, vol. 2: *Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomum*, Turnhout 1974 (Corpus Christianorum), 289–96; MAURITIUS GEERARD – J. NORET, *Supplementum*, Turnhout 1998, 195–99; ENRICO CERULLI, *Il libro etiopico dei Miracoli di Maria e le sue fonti nelle letterature del medio evo latino*, Roma 1943, 75, 268; GEORG GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Bd. I: *Übersetzungen*, Città del Vaticano 1944 (Studi e testi 118), 335ff.; TITO ORLANDI, "Cyril of Jerusalem", in: *CE*, vol. 3, 681–82; EDWARD YARNOLD (ed.), *Cyril of Jerusalem*, London 2001.

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